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THE
ASIATIC REVIEW

JANUARY, 1930

The views expressed in the pages of the ASIATIC REVIEW must be taken as those of the individual contributors.

THE PRINCES AND THE VICEROY'S ANNOUNCEMENT

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION

BY MAJOR-GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJADHIRAJ OF PATIALA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., A.-D.-C.
(Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes)

I MIGHT reasonably, perhaps, have expressed my opinion long ere this upon the Viceroy's historic announcement, but I preferred to wait in order to give deep thought to that remarkable utterance. I realize that what I say will be read as coming from one who combines in himself a triple capacity as the ruler of Patiala, the Chancellor of the Chamber of Princes, and as a true friend of the British Government. These various capacities are in no sense exclusive. On the contrary, they overlap and are intimately related with each other. In each and all of those capacities I welcome His Excellency's pronouncement as timely and statesmanlike. Even as far as it goes—and it could not very well have gone further—it announces a step, the essential first step, towards the ultimate solution of India's pressing constitutional problem. I say without hesitation and without fear of contradiction that our Mother Country owes to Lord Irwin a deep debt of gratitude in connection with the project of a Round Table Conference between His Majesty's Government in England and all the different India interests. Our sense of gratitude to him is infinitely deepened when we realize, as we all must, the steadfastness of purpose, the sincerity of conviction, and the persuasive advocacy which must have gone to the making of such an announcement in the present condition of party politics in

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England; and I would express the fervent hope that nothing further would occur to mar the very favourable effect which this pronouncement has already had in this country.

Speaking as a patriotic Indian, I also venture to say that Lord Irwin has created a favourable opportunity for the early honourable realization of India's legitimate political aspirations through the only effective means—namely, friendly negotiation. From the point of view of my own self as a ruler and of the Princes generally, I feel myself warranted in affirming that by ensuring the association of the Princes of India with the negotiations now recognized as indispensable, he has done much to put heart into a body which, while remaining staunch to the British connection, has not felt itself the gainer for its unflagging fidelity. In British India opinion on this point could not be, without exception, united. There was bound to be some variety of view, some difference of opinion.

It is no wonder that some people should have scented danger in the recent tendency to joint action on the part of the Princes, but I think I am correctly representing the public mind when I say that the phrase "neither can afford to ignore the other" embodies the mutual feelings of British India and the States. To those who feel justified in distrusting our association I would merely say that the Princes were never willing—and if it were possible they are less so today—to submit to being employed as tools or levers to retard the progress towards the destined goal of their brethren outside their own territories.

British India is asking for Dominion Status. I speak with due diffidence, but, so far as I understand the matter, that phrase has not always carried the same rigidly defined connotation. It meant one thing before the Great War; it means something else today. Things evolve in the passage of time. They have to; they must be allowed to.

Within the orbit of the British Empire there are today various dominions, each of which has a status of its own *vis-à-vis* the world and the Empire. India will have to have her own constitution. The Viceroy has ensured that India's constitutional problem will be solved in a dignified manner and, let us hope, to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, and thus all such untoward developments would be averted, as might have created insurmountable barriers between British India and Indian India and might have resulted in widespread and avoidable human suffering. I most earnestly trust that such a great opportunity will not be missed for the sake of mere sentiment, party gain,

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or personal prestige. The higher interest of the Motherland, I have no doubt, will be permitted to transcend all such ephemeral considerations. At the same time, it is obvious that the maximum advantage can be derived from this unique opportunity only if we compose all our differences and go to the conference truly united in heart and mind. I am sure it is a great satisfaction to my brother Princes, as it is to me, to find that there is to be representation of the States at the Round Table Conference. The question arises, What should be the position of the States in the constitution that will come into being within the next year or two and also in the form it may assume at a later date? I have tried to answer this question to myself, and I find that my thought is being expressed by Kipling's well-known verse:

> "Daughter am I in my mother's house,
> But mistress in my own."

This has been the insistent claim of the present generation of Indian Princes. It must be, it will be, the claim of the States *vis-à-vis* any government of India.

If it were necessary to make the position of myself and my brother Princes still clearer, I would recall the famous resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1926, which read: "Their position and mutual relation may be readily defined. They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

If one wants to get an approximate notion of the attitude of the States, all one has to do is to think of this resolution in the light of the history of the British connection with the States which is enshrined in their subsisting treaties. Eliminate external affairs, slightly qualify equality of status with due regard to factors that cannot be ignored, substitute for the British Commonwealth of Nations the Federated States of India, and you have in a nutshell more or less what is in the mind of the States.

This brings me to the question of Federation. This device has been suggested as the likeliest and the best solution of the Indian problem by many thinkers and endorsed as such by many political leaders in British India. They all have, however, insisted that over such a federation should be superimposed a strong Central Government. It

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should be obvious that if the States are expected to consent to federation, they cannot very well be left entirely outside that strong Central Government, whatever form their inclusion might take; and whatever form may be devised it can only be introduced with their free and willing consent.

From the published correspondence it is apparent that, although the original terms of Sir John Simon's Commission strictly confined both investigation and recommendations to British India, the Commission is now able to formulate proposals which must directly concern the States and may radically affect their interests. This may turn out to be a piece of good fortune for the States from their own point of view. It may easily be otherwise. Therefore it needs to be said plainly and without flinching that at present there is a real danger lest the cause of the States should go by default.

Sir John and his colleagues, who did not themselves investigate the problem of the States, will only have before them (*a*) the evidence of British Indian witnesses on the Indian Constitutional problem in which the States figure as a factor and are dealt with from the British Indian point of view; and (*b*) the report of the Butler Committee. This imposes upon us the necessity not merely of offering our observations upon every aspect of the Butler Committee's report, but, if we get time for the necessary preparation before the Round Table Conference, of ventilating our views on the place of the States in any future constitution of India to which His Majesty's Government may be led to give their imprimatur.

I trust that my quotation of Kipling's verse and my reference to the resolution of the Imperial Conference will indicate the mind of the States in this behalf, and that the indication will be of some use to Sir John Simon. But even so it is necessary to state that the report of the Simon Commission will probably be drafted before the Chamber of Princes meets in February, and that recommendations will have been formulated without the Princes having had an opportunity either to discuss with the Commission questions bearing on their own position or the evidence that was tendered before that Commission.

Clearly India in general and the States in particular are at the parting of the ways. We (the States) naturally desire not merely to preserve our identity, but those rights which, as our treaties make apparent, were retained only after great sacrifices at the altar of difficult circumstances. In view of that fact the present position requires that we

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should do all that in us lies to regain any rights that may have been lost to us through various circumstances for which we were not responsible. Indeed, to do this is a duty which we owe primarily to our subjects and also to our posterity, and we shall be unworthy representatives of our forebears if we flinch from this task. I do not, however, disguise from myself the fact that it is essential that we respect the temper of the modern age and accord our administrations to modern standards with due regard to our ancient polities, the traditions of our individual States, and the existing local conditions. If the much talked of Federation between the Indian States and British India is to fructify, it would be essential that each one of the Federated States should be internally autonomous, and that all should in due course attain a fairly uniform level of good administration, though not necessarily by identical methods. So long as the States and British India earnestly combine in the pursuit of the common end of single-minded service of India and of the Empire, it would remain a question for consideration whether even today the rulers of States have any different purpose in view than have either the present Government of India or the present generation of British Indian political leaders.

THE PRINCES AND THE CONFERENCE

By Major-General His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., K.C.B., A.-D.-C., LL.D.

As a patriotic Indian devoted to his Motherland, as a Ruler of an Indian State who, in common with his subjects, has a real stake in the country, and as a Ruling Prince deeply attached to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor by inalienable ties of unflinching loyalty, I sincerely welcome the momentous declaration authoritatively made by His Excellency the Viceroy at the beginning of November on Dominion status as the ultimate goal for British India, and announcing the intention of His Majesty's Government after the Simon Commission has reported to invite representatives of different parties and interests in British India, as well as the representatives of Indian States, to a Conference for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement in regard both

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to British Indian and all-Indian issues, so that it may be possible for them eventually to submit to Parliament such proposals as may command a wide measure of general assent.

This statesmanlike, courageous, and timely action is a further manifestation of the gracious sympathy and abiding solicitude of our beloved King-Emperor for the Princes and people of India, on whose behalf His Majesty, as Prince of Wales, made such an earnest appeal for greater sympathy on his return to England after his first visit to India; and to whom, as Emperor, His Majesty was further pleased, a few years later, to deliver at Calcutta the heartening message of faith and hope. Those who have the privilege of knowing well our popular Viceroy were fully assured of the genuine sympathy and noble sentiments which Lord Irwin entertains for both British India and the Indian States. But His Excellency's recent announcement must surely afford the amplest proof to everyone of his transparent sincerity of purpose and the conscientious manner in which he has faithfully discharged his duties during his recent mission to England as India's Ambassador.

The fair, liberal, and businesslike manner in which the Labour Government tackled the Egyptian and Iraq questions so soon after coming into power showed that His Majesty's Government appreciate full well the saying that "great empires and narrow minds go ill together," and encouraged me in the belief that problems connected with British India and the Indian States would be dealt with in the same liberal and statesmanlike spirit and with the same breadth of vision and imagination so neessary in regard to questions of such significance. We of India—to whichever of its two great parts we belong—have good reason to be grateful to the Viceroy as well as His Majesty's Government, and the Secretary of State, Mr. Wedgwood Benn, for thus paving the way for the attainment by India of its full political freedom as an equal and honourable member of the British Commonwealth of Nations.

With the Report of the Simon Commission still under preparation and the impossibility of anticipating the nature of any constitutional changes that may hereafter be proposed, it is not reasonable to expect more at this stage. It is now for the Indian States and British India to demonstrate to the world at large that they are jointly and severally capable of dealing successfully with, and solving, the problems involved in a practical and businesslike manner,

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coupled with reasonableness and good-will and with mutual toleration and sympathy and a due appreciation of each other's claims and difficulties.

There must inevitably be some disappointment at the prospect of delay in holding the proposed Conference in England. It may not be found feasible to meet before the summer of 1931; for a severe European winter is not the most favourable time for the settlement on amicable lines of problems of such grave import to all concerned. A few months are of comparatively small importance in the lifetime of a nation or a country; and it is perhaps all to the good that not only British India but also the Indian States should have ample time calmly and carefully to study the proposals of the Simon Commission before the Conference.

The minds of the Indian Princes who gathered in Delhi at the end of October were never "exercised" as to the effect which the forthcoming announcement would have on the Indian States as alleged in some papers. Far from feeling any apprehensions, the Princes and Governments of the Indian States welcome the proposed Round Table Conference. They cherish the strong hope that it will finally set at rest all the doubts and apprehensions entertained in the States and clarify the special position of the States within the Empire. The Princes, realizing full well that they are bound to their brethren in British India by ties of blood, race, and religion, have no desire to hamper the attainment of Dominion status by British India or to be a drag on its constitutional advancement. Nothing is further from their desire than to break up the country into two discordant halves warring against each other in fratricidal feuds; and they as earnestly look forward to the unity of India as their friends the political leaders of British India.

Undue inflexibility in this matter on the part of the Princes would be both unpatriotic and unreasonable. They have in the past repeatedly emphasized their sympathy with the legitimate aspirations of their fellow-countrymen in British India, and they went a step further at the Bombay Conference in June last when they cordially welcomed the prospect of the ultimate attainment of Dominion status by British India as an integral part of the British Empire. In my speech at the Administrative Conference delivered early in October, after expressing the hope that the rumours of a Round Table Conference to be convened by the Imperial Government were true, I went on to state that the

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sympathy and support of the Princes would be forthcoming in a very substantial and practical manner at such Conference.

Though various important details have yet to be considered and agreed upon, the Princes are not unmindful of the full implications of Dominion status now happily assured to India. They have openly given expression to the belief that the ultimate solution of the Indian problem and the ultimate goal—whenever circumstances are favourable and the time is ripe for it—is federation: a word which has no terrors for the Princes and Governments of the States. Ever since 1918 the Princes have been asking for some means of joint deliberation on questions of common concern affecting British India as well as the States. Customs duties; excise, salt and opium; railways and means of transport and inter-communication, including aerial navigation; posts and telegraphs; wireless and radio broadcasting; as well as the fiscal and financial problems of coinage and currency, banking and exchange—these are all questions affecting the two constituent parts of the country and requiring joint deliberation between their respective Governments. The policy hitherto pursued in the absence of joint deliberation has been not only unjust to the interests of the States, but has benefited the Government and people of British India at the expense of the States.

The Princes have long been anxious for an equitable and satisfactory settlement as regards the future position of the States in the polity of India of the future. This was one of their chief objects in asking for the appointment of the Indian States Committee; but this aspect of the Indian States problems was not dealt with in the Butler Report. I anticipate that good—and not harm—will come to the States by this question being seriously handled between the Imperial Government, the Viceroy, and the Governments of the States, by separate negotiations, as well as by discussions at the Conference. The wisdom of asking for the Butler Committee to be appointed will now be more apparent.

What the Princes have all along attached importance to is a just recognition of the correct position of the States and adequate guarantees and safeguards for the preservation and maintenance of their own honourable position as "Perpetual Allies and Friends," and for their rights and privileges as such in any new polity devised for the governance of the country. Naturally they lay special

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stress upon an obvious point—namely, that in any new arrangements under the Dominion form of government any adjustment of their future relations with British India should be settled only with their free consent on terms just and honourable and satisfactory to the States as well as to British India. The States cannot be expected to agree to any proposals involving a violation of their Treaties or infringement of their sovereign rights and internal autonomy and independence. British India and the States have indisputably existed side by side for a great many years as two separate parts with mutual advantage, and it is impossible to believe that they cannot so exist in the future without anyone desiring to encroach upon the rights of the other or wanting the States to merge their separate entity. The Princes and States will, therefore, be gratified at noting that the scope of the Conference is to be confined either to British Indian or all-Indian problems, and that questions purely of domestic concern affecting the internal autonomy of the States have been wisely eliminated.

In all their efforts in the past to secure the just rights of their States, the Princes as a body have whole-heartedly worked in the best interests of their subjects of whose rights they are the custodians, and they will endeavour honourably and consistently to bear in mind their duties towards their people and to do their best for them in all future negotiations. The Treaties of the States have been entered into between the British Government and the Rulers as the representative of their people; and as such the Rulers and their Governments, who have every right to stand on their constitutional rights, will note with satisfaction that this correct distinction has been drawn in the Viceregal statement and the Prime Minister's letter by making it clear that the invitation of His Majesty's Government will be extended to "representatives of different parties and interests in British India and the representatives of the Indian States."

It is to be earnestly hoped that determined efforts will be made by the leaders and people throughout India, wherever and whoever they are, to break through the webs of mistrust, which have not only clogged the relations between India and Great Britain, but between British India and the States. It will be the duty of everyone to contribute to the success of the Conference by constructive, and not destructive, proposals. Whatever mistakes have been made on any side, or by any individuals, in the past, now, with the prospects once again bright for India, we

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ought, each and every one of us, to remember the eloquent and moving appeal made by His Royal Highness the Duke of Connaught in 1921, "to bury along with the dead past the mistakes and misunderstandings of the past, to forgive where you have to forgive, and to join hands and to work together to realize the hopes that arise from today," and thus bring about, in His Excellency the Viceroy's words, "the touch that carries with it healing and health" by which we may all contribute to the good of Greater India and of the Empire.

THE PRINCES AND DOMINION STATUS

By Colonel His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

I cordially welcome the decision to convene a Conference or conferences where British Indians will place their views before the Government of the day, and similarly Indian Princes will also put their points of view forward. Avenues are to be explored as to how in the future the relations of what is now called the Greater India are to be examined which should exist between the two Indias.

It is only natural that I should feel exultation over this announcement, for during the period of the Viceroyalty of Lord Reading, and again within the first month of the arrival of Lord Irwin, I pressed to the best of my ability for such conferences to take place in India; for I firmly believe that where four eyes meet solutions are arrived at quicker between those who want and those who can decide than by the interchange of voluminous correspondence, or by means of ascertaining views through deputies. I therefore offer my whole-hearted and sincere congratulations to His Majesty's Government and the Viceroy, as well as to Sir John Simon, for taking the right course and one which should be the harbinger of many right understandings, and, as I devoutly hope, the satisfactory solution of the outstanding problems for all concerned. The decision to convene the Conference, I am glad to see, is one about which there is almost complete unanimity of opinion alike in official and unofficial circles.

The second question to which I make reference is that of the two much discussed words in the Viceroy's pronouncement, "Dominion status," which His Excellency

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defined to be the ultimate goal for British India. The Viceroy's pronouncement seems, even to one with such a limited knowledge of the English language as myself, to be a perfectly clear declaration. The momentous announcement of August, 1917, made in the House of Commons by Mr. Montagu, declared emphatically that progressive responsible government, under certain conditions, was to be the goal before British India.

For the Viceroy to say now, in consultation with His Majesty's Government, that that announcement implied ultimate Dominion status seems to most of us the statement of a foregone conclusion—for what else could it denote? What was this responsible Government going to lead to? Surely not chaos! What does that Dominion status mean? Everybody knows that the situation in India is different in important respects from that of the other self-governing Dominions of the Empire, such as Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, Newfoundland, and Ireland. Firstly, there is the question of the Indian States who are in Treaty relations with the Crown, as has always been known and has recently been emphasized by the Butler Committee, having their relations adjusted by their own free-will with the future governance of India. And, secondly, whilst in these Dominions, particularly in South Africa, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand, the Dominion status applies to the settlers in those countries, in India it would apply to the indigenous inhabitants of that great sub-continent.

If, then, responsible government is to be the method, surely Dominion status is the logical conclusion. Although it may possibly require to be worked out on a different footing, nevertheless, it will place India in a position of equality with her sister Dominions. The many utterances made in responsible places on this subject make me think that this logical conclusion should be doubted. I have often given public expression to my own opinion on this subject, and I declare, without hesitation, that a status which would place India on a similar footing of equality to that of her sister Dominions is a noble aspiration for our country and an equally noble goal to be aimed at by those in whose hands lies the future progress and advancement of India at the present moment.

The bogey of the Indian States has been held out, sometimes with unhappy results, as the alleged obstruction in the way of the achievement of this goal. In this connection let me state what is my view. The King-Emperor

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is the great connecting-link that unites the Empire, the greatest that history has known, and we are proud to be partners inside it, be it in a small or large degree. The question of the goal does not seem to me in doubt, but the difficulties appear when the question of time is considered as to when this Dominion status goal might be reached. My simple answer to that proposition is: When, by mutual consent between the Government of British India and ourselves, our future relations are so adjusted that we can all unitedly work towards the achievement of this ideal. The Conference that has been proposed will be a fundamental factor, I hope, in its realization; but it will remain for each one of us concerned to work towards the ideal which, in any case, has always been a United States of India, with the States working out their destiny in accordance with their own traditions and environment, and British India going her own way, neither interfering with the other in domestic or internal concerns, but uniting together in matters of common interest.

Surely it will be to the glory of the Empire and of the great British people when, as the result of over a century of rule, my country reaches that position, more than which I do not aspire to, when governing her own domestic affairs in harmony and co-operation, she may be and remain a loyal partner in the British Empire, with the King-Emperor as the final link that will keep us all united in loyalty and attachment to the Throne.

As for the Indian States, we have our Treaties with the Crown, and we therefore enjoy a unique position unparalleled in the world, for I do not believe such a system exists elsewhere. But with the help of the British Government and with their good-will, as also with the co-operation and friendliness of our neighbours in British India, if there is a will towards co-operation and the spontaneous recognition of our individual positions, matters can be adjusted in such a way that our future interests, without being jeopardized, can become not only a source of happiness and contentment to our country, but, as I earnestly believe, a source of strength to our Empire, in which we are proud to be partners.

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FRENCH DEVELOPMENT WORK IN INDO-CHINA

By Pierre Cordemoy

(*Translated by* Miss Nancy Williams)

[The present is the first of a series of articles designed to familiarize our readers with recent progress and coming plans of development in France's Far Eastern possession, and deals with the railways. Although the problems involved and the results achieved are not the same as those in India, yet they offer interesting comparisons, as will be seen by those who have read Sir Clement Hindley's paper on "Indian Railway Developments," published in last October's issue of the Asiatic Review. The author, Brevet Lieut.-Colonel Fouquet of the Reserve in the French Army, has, during his service and since his retirement, published a number of works, including "Infantry Tactics: the Lessons of the Russo-Japanese War" (Chapelot, 1908) and "The Armies of Modern France" (Berger-Levrault, 1908). Under his pseudonym of "Pierre Cordemoy" he has written a novel, "La jolie Berbel," dealing with the history and customs of Alsace towards the end of the Middle Ages. In the last three years he has written upon the defence of Indo-China (*Revue de Pacifique*) on rice as a colonial food-product for the national food-supply (published by the Government of Indo-China), and on Indo-China and the Colonial Loan (published by the Agence Économique de l'Indochine in Paris).

This series will be continued by articles on the road and river communications.]

Under the influence of Western civilization, brought to the very threshold of Indo-China and the East Indies by France, Great Britain, and Holland, the indigenous population of those parts are being borne along in a forward movement which is peaceful in character, but offers remarkable scope for future development.

Vast countries, but yesterday impenetrable, which used to be the centre of Oriental races, the sanctuary of old religions and unchanging civilizations, today are being opened up to new ideas, and to opportunities of production and commerce which must henceforth influence the whole human race.

Our grandchildren will appreciate better than ourselves (since we lack the sense of perspective and impartiality necessary for judgment) the true value of the work carried out on the shores of the Indian Ocean by Europe in the twentieth century.

Yet even today it may be said that this work is, on the whole, firmly established and generous, and that France, installed since the end of the nineteenth century in Eastern

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Indo-China, has helped in carrying it out with a vision, an ardour, and an energy worthy of her illustrious past.

It is equally unquestionable that the public works undertaken by the French Government in Indo-China have been the necessary channels for the conveyance of the benefits of peace, security, and prosperity from the Mother Country to European colonists and native peoples.

There, as elsewhere, our engineers have been the unwearying pioneers of modern progress and French ideas, at the same time national and for all mankind. For grandeur of conception, boldness of execution, for the greatness of the difficulties overcome and the results obtained, many of the works constructed under their direction deserve to be ranked among the most remarkable of the age.

It must be admitted, however, that the work achieved by the Governors of Indo-China and their collaborators is not only ignored by the great European public, but—which does seem surprising—is not always appreciated as it should be by those who benefit by it every day of their lives. This ignorance borders on an injustice, because it prevents the recognition which is due to the men of courage, knowledge, and goodwill who deal with, sustain, and direct the task of government.

We should like, if we may, to remedy this state of things by showing very briefly, with the minimum of technical details, the conception, execution, and results of the great public works undertaken by France since her settlement in Indo-China. We will, however, confine ourselves to an examination of those works which are of supreme importance for the development of the colonies of the Indo-Chinese Union, that is to say—

Communications (works of indirect benefit).

Agricultural hydraulics (works of direct benefit).

It should be added that the greater part of the information contained in this essay comes from a very able and well-documented compilation "Les Travaux Publics de l'Indo-Chine,"* by M. Pouyanne, one of the most distinguished members of the French Board of Roads and Bridges.

This high official has for a long time occupied most successfully the post of Inspector-General of Public Works in Indo-China; he is, therefore, particularly qualified to speak with authority on the questions with which we are now concerned.

* A. A. Pouyanne, "Les Travaux Publics de l'Indo-Chine." Hanoï: Imprimerie d'Extrême-Orient.

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COMMUNICATIONS

(*a*) Railways

For a hundred years the railway has played a very large part in the development of every continent, and particularly in most of the European colonies. It will be of paramount importance for a long time yet, because, in spite of the motor-car and the aeroplane, it remains the best means of economic transport, quick, cheap, and indispensable to new countries.

French Indo-China has, at this moment, a railway system which is still incomplete, but already able to be of powerful assistance in her development.

We propose to examine this system, its construction, situation, and prospects, the value of its permanent way and rolling-stock, the conditions of its improvement.

This study is the more necessary as one can only compute exactly the efforts and results obtained by the French by making a comparison of the development in mileage of their lines with those constructed in the centre and west of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula by Siam and Great Britain.*

1. *The System of Railways*

Indo-China has, at the present time, 2,389 kilometres of running railways, of which 1,924 are in her own territory and 465 in China (Yunnan line). The system comprises three groups, of which two (north and south) are worked directly by the colony, and the third (Haiphong-Laokay-Yunnanfou) has been conceded to the Compagnie Française de Chemins de Fer de l'Indo-Chine et du Yunnan.

These railways were built in two periods, separated by the year 1898, during which the Doumer programme was adopted. Before 1898 there were constructed, for local needs, military or economic only, two comparatively short lines.

(1) In the thickly populated district of Cochin-China from Saigon to Mytho (70 kilometres), open to traffic in 1885.

(2) The other the Tonkin line, going to Gia Lam, near Hanoï, to Dong-Dang, in the neighbourhood of Langson, that is to say from the Delta of the Red River to the Chinese frontier of Kouangsi.†

* There are about 10,000 kilometres of railways working in the whole of Indo-China.

British system	undertaken in	1875 = 4,700	kilometres.
Siamese ,,	,,	1893 = 2,900	,,
French ,,	,,	1881 = 2,400	,,

† Since 1898 this line has been extended at both ends. On the south, since 1902, it has been linked to Hanoï, crossing the Red River by the

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In 1898 Governor-General Doumer drew up, and secured the approval of the French Government for, a vast programme of construction, notable for a very clear and comprehensive conception of the needs and possibilities of the Indo-Chinese Union.

This programme provided in its essentials for the making of two great arteries :

(1) The line running up into Yunnan, from Haiphong to Yunnanfou (849 kilometres) by Laokay ; this links up a rich Chinese province, previously without any outlet, with the great seaport of Haiphong. This has been in full working order since 1910.

(2) The coastal line of junction with the Transindochinese line, about 2,000 kilometres long, destined to realize in a practical way the unity of Indo-China by setting up rapid and comprehensive communications between the different and remote districts that make up this group of colonies. This line, which is of paramount importance, has not yet been completed.

Since 1927, 1,236 kilometres of it are working, but there are still two gaps : in Annam from Tourane to Nhatrang ; in Cochin-China and Cambodia from Saigon to Phnom-Penh.

When this line is finished it will connect Hanoï to Phnom-Penh by the Annam coast, while serving two intermediate capitals Hué and Saigon, and it will allow of the exchange of produce and the circulation of handicrafts necessary for the development of the southern district.*

In 1898, and for thirty years, the carrying out of the Doumer scheme has gone on with varying fortunes. Many obstacles—financial difficulties, the World War, etc.—have delayed its fulfilment. However, considerable results have been attained already, and even now it may be hoped that the project drawn up at the end of the nineteenth century will be completely accomplished in about ten years.

Doumer Bridge, an important metal structure 1,682 metres between the abutments. In the north, in 1921, it was extended to Nacham, on the navigable reach of the Song-Ky-Kong, a tributary of the Canton River. The total length is now 200 kilometres.

* The Trans-Indo-China Railway has various short branches : the most important go from Tourcham (main line) to l'Arbre Broyé (a terminus situated on the top of the Langbian plateau). Since 1927 the Langbian branch has had 66 kilometres working (of which thirteen are rack-and-pinion). Prolonged by a good road, it affects rapid communication between Saigon, the capital of the south, and Dalat (the great health resort and summer capital). The last section from l'Arbre Broyé to Dalat, moreover, has been put under immediate contract.

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The scheme of the French Colonial Loan of 1929 allots to the public works and economic machinery of Indo-China a round sum of 146 million piastres (1,752 million francs), of which

92 millions will be allotted to the railways.

40 millions will be allotted to agricultural hydraulics.

14 millions will be allotted to posts, telegraphs, and telephones.

New Extension Programme.—While working for the accomplishment of this programme, the Government of Indo-China, in 1921, initiated the study of a new extension plan. It is necessary, on the one hand, to prepare for the junction of the Colonial Railways with those of Siam and British India; on the other hand, the necessities and possibilities of a great country must be dealt with. It is a great and lengthy undertaking if one reflects that our colony will be, probably in half a century, more populated than France; that she is already on the road to great achievements, although her fertile soil and natural riches are still partially unexplored and still undeveloped for lack of adequate communications.

The railway work planned in this programme comes under two heads:

1. Lines whose execution is judged to be indispensable, for which the plans are drawn up and the construction work soon to be contracted for.

2. Proposed lines for the development of the interior of the country.

It is not yet possible to determine exactly the scope or the order of importance of the railways, but the economic growth of certain centres of civilization makes the construction essential within a short period.

Lines of Paramount Importance.—Under this first heading five lines may be classed:

(*a*) *Two New Lines.*—1. The line of penetration Tanap-Thakhek (188 kilometres), which would connect northern Laos (the great navigable reach of the Mekong) with the China Sea (ports of Vinh-Benthuy and Haiphong) through the medium of the Transindochinese line.

A traffic line following the adopted plan has already been built from Annam to Laos. The contract for the construction work has been prepared. Already (last summer) a contract has been made for the making of a section of 18 kilometres, starting from the station of Tanap (Annam), on the Transindochinese line.

The contract will be carried out with the help of funds

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from the Colonial Loan: cost, 23 million piastres; duration of work, seven years.

2. The line of penetration Bencat-Locninh (Cochin-China), which will be carried out as a tramway, the concessions of which have been submitted for the consideration of the Council of State.

(*b*) *Three Lines which appear in the Doumer Scheme.*—3. The Tourane-Nhatrang section (Annam coast) of 55 kilometres, designed to fill the gap on the Transindochinese line.

The construction of this should next be put under contract. This line will be built with the help of funds from the Colonial Loan and the payment in kind levied from the Germans.

The expenditure of 44 million piastres is set aside for construction to extend over a period of five years. Germany should contribute 300 kilometres of rail and 120 fifty-metre metal points. The delivery of these in Indo-China has already begun.

4. The extension across Cambodia of the Transindochinese line, linking Saigon to the Siamese frontier (Aranya) by Phnom-Penh and Battambang (652 kilometres).

The concession of the Phnom-Penh and Battambang section, which is principally useful as a means of bringing to Mekong the products of the rich neighbouring provinces of the Siamese lines, is at this moment under consideration by the Council of State.

5. The Mytho-Bac-Lieu line (285 kilometres), designed to prolong the Saigon-Mytho line towards the south-west of Cochin-China.

The carrying out of this line, which is principally of local interest, and not likely to have a remunerative traffic, seems less urgent.

Lines Still in Contemplation.—Under the second heading of lines which are still being planned may be mentioned shortly:

1. The construction by stages of a Transindochinese railway to the interior.

2. The establishment of lines of penetration towards the centres of colonization in the Moï country.

The projected Colonial Loan provides for the construction of two sections of this line:

1. From Saigon to Tay-Minh (97 kilometres) in Cochin-China. This section would be at the same time the southern annex of an interior Transindochinese line, which has long been due, and which has for its object the

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connection of Cochin-China with North Annam by the Mekong valley.

2. From Phnom-Penh to Battambang (Cambodia, 275 kilometres). This section would give Cambodia the railway which is necessary for her economic development, and in particular would link this sea and river district of Phnom-Penh with the neighbouring rich agricultural provinces of the Siamese frontier.

The construction and development of this section has been consented to by the Council General for the Colonies.

The funds of the Colonial Loan and the German contribution in kind would contribute to the work of building, which should take five years and cost 17 million piastres.

The lines running up into the Moï country would serve for the improvement of the vast tract known as the Red Country, which, between the Mekong and the Annamite chain, covers 16 million hectares (nearly a third of France). About a fifth of this district, perhaps 3 million hectares, seems by its exceptional fertility to open up a great prospect of industrial development.

If the exploitation of this region demands it, the building of two railways may be anticipated:

1. From Lochninh towards Bandon (a province of Darlac), parallel with the Colonial Road No. 14 (Saigon to Hué), already partly open to traffic.

2. From Thy-Hoa (on the proposed Tourane-Nhatrang section of the Transindochinese coastal line) to Pleiku (a province of Kontum), a centre of colonization already served by Colonial Road No. 19 from the port of Quin-Hon.

To sum up, the present development of the railway system of French Indo-China is indicated in the following:

1. At the end of 1928, nearly 2,500 kilometres of line can be counted as in working order.

In the north, as in the south, a solid framework is in existence, thus allowing for a quick extension of the system.

2. In about ten years the continuation of the new lines classed as of first importance will take the total length of the lines to about 4,000 kilometres. By that time the Transindochinese railway would be finished, and the French system would be linked to those of Siam and British India.

3. In an equally near future, a complimentary programme of gradual construction following on the requirements of economic development would allow of the opening up of the back country.

The colonies of the Indo-Chinese Union will then be in

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an excellent position to compete with other countries of the Far East in the matter of their system of railways.

2. *The Permanent Way and Rolling Stock*

We will confine ourselves to a rapid survey of the characteristics of the permanent way and the stock in use on the railway.

The permanent way in the whole of French Indo-China is 1-metre gauge. It rests on a platform 4·40 metres wide. The curves have a minimum radius of 100 metres. The gradients are at most 15 millimetres to the metre.*

Building constructions are numerous. Small bridges, of 6-metre capacity, are built of masonry; the great viaducts have an iron base which usually allows of the passage of a road and a railway at the same time. Reinforced concrete is often used in the recent buildings.

By reason of the number and variety of these constructions, and the beauty and impressiveness of their sites, the Yunnan line laid in Chinese territory from Laokay to Yunnanfou is remarkable both from the picturesque and the technical points of view.

Opened in nine years (1901-1910), in the midst of a most difficult mountain region, to reach the heights of the Yunnanese plateau, it offers to the traveller a vision of lovely places, vast forests, deep gorges, and foaming waterfalls.

To give some idea of the gigantic work carried out in this corner of China by French engineers, it is enough to remember that this line, which stretches for 465 kilometres, goes through 155 tunnels of a total length of nearly 18 kilometres, and crosses 3,422 viaducts, bridges, and aqueducts. The cost per kilometre works out at 353,000 francs at least, worth at the time 147,000 piastres.

A. THE PERMANENT WAY—1. *Superstructure.*—The rails are steel, of the Vignole type. According to the lines the rails weigh 20 to 30 kilogrammes to the running metre, but by degrees the 30-kilogramme rail is being substituted on the whole system of railways in place of the lighter type.

The way is laid upon a ballast measuring 2·40 metres between the sides and 0·50 metres deep.

Sleepers of mild steel are on most of the lines. Each sleeper weighs 40 kilogrammes, and there are 1,250 of them to the kilometre.

* Except for some sections of the Saigon-Mytho line and the rack-and-pinion railway of Langbian.

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Metal sleepers will, by degrees, as renovations are carried out, replace the wooden sleepers that are still in use.

2. *Buildings.*—The small stations have a single building for all purposes (passengers and goods). The more important stations have buildings of various types and accommodation for the staff.

There are no workshops; the metal parts generally arrive ready-made from Europe. The carpentry and the making of inside fittings are done in Indo-China.

3. *The Fixed Stock.*—This plant—tanks, cranes, turntables, etc.—has no particular characteristics.

The signal system, still very reduced, will be modified and increased in proportion to the growing importance of the traffic.

B. Rolling-Stock—1. *Locomotives.*—The type in general use* is an engine with three coupled axles, of about 30 tons weight, capable of dragging trains of 300 tons weight at 40 kilometres an hour, or trains of 370 tons weight at 20 or 25 kilometres.

Coal is used as fuel in Tonkin and Yunnan, wood on the southern lines.

2. *Passenger Coaches.*—There are four classes for travellers. The fourth class, mainly used by natives, carries 82 per cent. of all passengers.

The coaches generally weigh 16 tons, have two bogies, and measure 2·80 metres wide.

Types in use are: for the first class, sleeping and dining cars of very comfortable patterns. For the first three classes, corridor coaches containing eight compartments (two first class, two second, and four third). Special coaches for the third and fourth classes. The fourth-class coaches have benches running the length of the carriage, the central part of the carriage being used for luggage which is not allowed in the van.

3. *Goods Trains.*—The stock includes: covered trucks, open trucks, flat trucks. There are 5, 10, and 20 ton covered trucks.

Improvements.—Many improvements in the permanent way are in course of construction. They are made necessary by the constant increase of traffic and the recent extension of the lines. The rolling-stock has been much increased (engines, sleeping cars, restaurant cars, goods trucks). Engine yards have been made or enlarged, and the automatic brake, which is safer and more powerful, is being substituted for the vacuum brake.

* The Yunnan line uses 40-ton engines with four axles.

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There has been organized recently (October, 1928) a direct Hanoï-Saigon service, for which, to north and south, the two sections opened up by the Transindochinese line are used, and in the centre, between Tourane and Nhatrang, Colonial Road No. 1 (the Mandarin Road), with the help of a connecting motor service.

The Hanoï-Saigon service is weekly, both ways. It leaves on Thursday evening and arrives on Monday morning. The journey lasts for sixty hours, and a single ticket, including a sleeping car, costs 128 piastres.

With regard to the permanent way and buildings, the reconstruction of the track with metal sleepers and heavier rails has already been referred to.

Those sections where there is heavy traffic have been furnished with advance signals.

DEVELOPMENT.—*Administration and General Results.*—The railways of Indo-China are, as we have said, under two different managements: some (the north and south lines) are managed by the colony; the others (Haiphong-Yunnanfou lines) are let out to a company.

COLONIAL LINES.—The Colonial lines, each of which is directed by a head engineer, form together a department of development directed by an engineer-in-chief, who takes his orders from the Inspector-General of Public Works. The higher ranks of the staff are all Europeans. Most of the smaller offices (stationmasters, guards, mechanics, workmen, etc.) are filled by Indo-Chinese.

To give these railways a commercial standing, they were, in 1914, endowed, as were also the conceded lines, with special funds in addition to the budget, under three categories:

1. Reserve funds in ready money or in materials, designed for the immediate replenishment of the development service with spare parts, etc.

2. A special fund for works and accompanying equipment for new works, or equipment of exceptional importance.

3. A reserve fund to cover possible inadequacy of receipts.

THE CONCEDED LINES.—The internal organization of the Yunnan Company's lines presents no particular features. The proportion of Europeans on the staff, however, is higher than on the Colonial railways. A financial arrangement provides for a sharing of excess profits between the Colonial and the Company's railways.

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General Results

Traffic, Financial Yield, and Tariff

We will look at the following results from three points of view:

1. Traffic development.
2. Financial yield.
3. Scale of charges.

Traffic—1. *Passengers.*—The railway has had, from its beginning, the favour of the public. As a whole, the journey of the native passenger is less than 50 kilometres, because he usually avails himself of the train to take him to the neighbouring town or village.

From 1908 to 1920 passenger traffic continuously increased. From 1920 to 1925 it dropped about 30 per cent., owing to the competition of a motor service, which seemed to the natives to be more convenient and less expensive for short journeys. The lowering of fares, allowed in 1926 for the fourth class (a reduction of about one-third on short runs), produced at once an increase of traffic and profits.

2. *Goods Traffic.*—The goods traffic has grown continuously since 1915.

On the whole system of railways the number of tons per kilometre carried rose from 86 million in 1920 to 137 million in 1927, being an increase of 55 per cent. in seven years.

Among the goods which occasion this heavy traffic may be mentioned—North Line: wood for building, rice, and paddy; South Line: wood for building; Conceded Line: fabrics and textiles, rice, paddy, maize, metal goods.

3. *Percentage of Receipts on Passenger and Goods Traffic.*—Having risen in 1920 as far as 71 per cent., the percentage of passenger receipts in relation to the whole has decreased since that time to about 50 per cent.

The receipts from passenger and goods traffic are therefore, at this moment, equal on the whole system of railways in the colony.

The Financial Yield—*The Colonial Lines.*—From 1915 to 1927 the receipts and the expenditure have steadily augmented as follows: receipts from 154,000 to 4,281,000 piastres; expenditure from 1,795,000 to 3,916,000.

Taking into account the expenditure from special funds, the net proceeds in 1927 reached about 365,000 piastres ($4\frac{1}{2}$ million francs).

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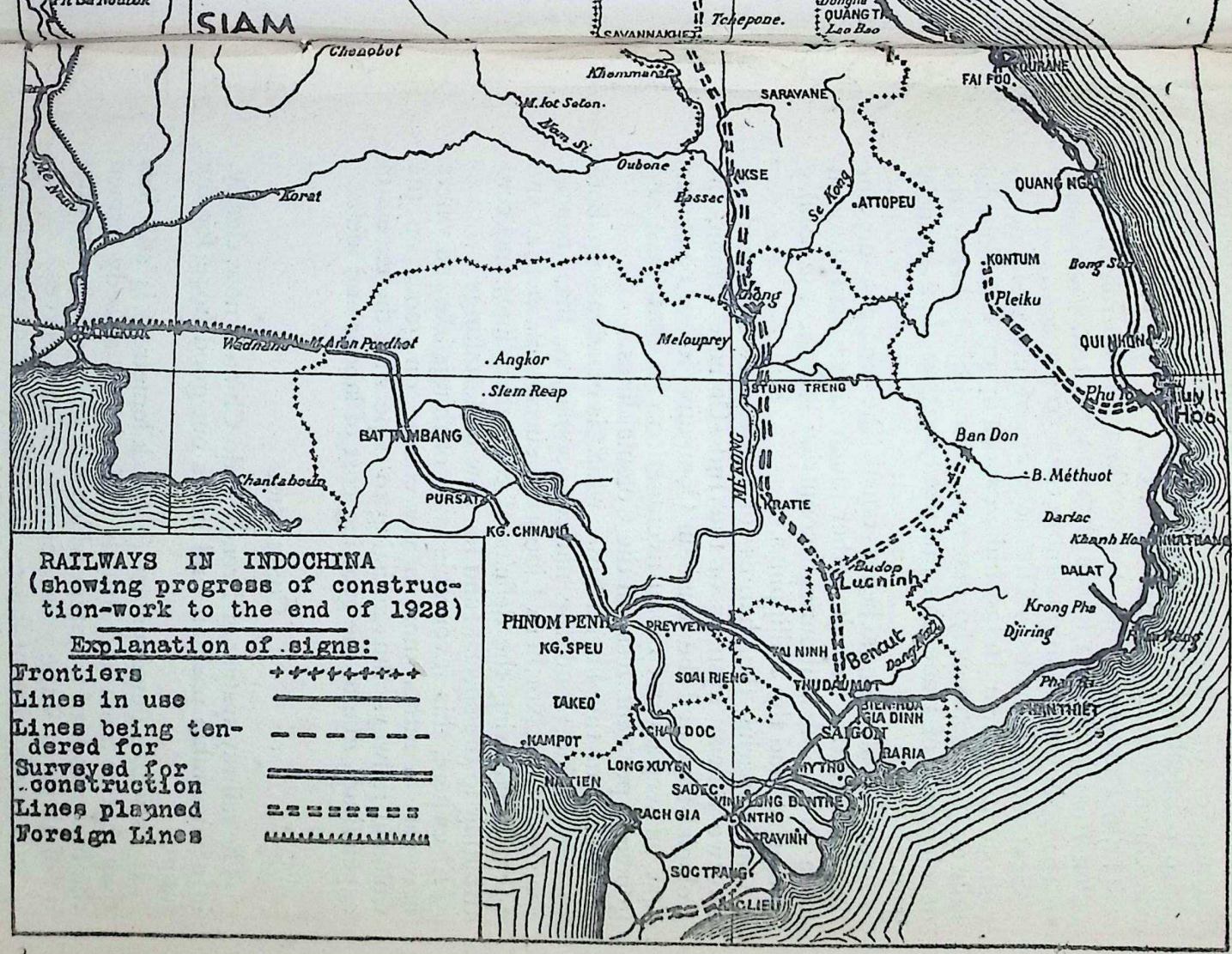

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The Conceded Line.—From 1915 to 1926 the receipts never ceased to increase, rising from 2,770,000 piastres to 4,804,000 piastres. In 1927 they fell about 400,000 piastres, because of the decrease in passenger traffic due to the sharp political upheaval which convulsed Yunnan, and the consequent insecurity which followed.

The net proceeds from the working of the railway has fallen from 9,620,000 francs in 1926 to 4,106,000 francs in 1927, showing a drop of more than 50 per cent.

Scale of Charges.—The scheme of charges on the railroad in French Indo-China, especially on the Colonial railways, is extremely generous, the object being the development of trade and prosperity rather than financial gain.

Actually, all things being equal, the charges on our Colonial railways are altogether much lower than those in force in the neighbouring countries—Siam, the Malay Peninsula, and the Philippines.

On comparing the charges for passengers and goods on the two railway systems of the Indo-Chinese Union, the Colonial Line and the Yunnam Company, it will be shown that passengers pay on an average 10 per cent. less, and goods 75 per cent. less, on the Colonial lines.

In spite of this liberal tariff, which is of advantage both to the producer and the native population, the financial receipts of the Northern Line were successful, in 1924 and 1925, in covering the deficits of the other lines, and contributing to the special fund for new undertakings.

Elsewhere, this favourable state of things allowed where necessary a rather more heavy charge on goods on the Colonial railways, thus assisting to cope with the excess of expenditure, due to the growing cost of labour and fuel.

Conclusion

The railway system of French Indo-China is now, clearly, in a favourable position, and holds out good hope for the future.

If its whole development (2,400 kilometres) is still less than that of Siam and British India, it has already formed the framework of a system which will allow of the opening up of all parts of the great country which it serves.

In a not far distant future, the rail will reach over nearly 400 kilometres; crossing Indo-China from north to south, it will unite Saigon to Hanoï, Cochin-China to the heart of Yunnan and to the frontiers of Kouangsi; it will penetrate

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to Cambodia and Laos, which have been hitherto rather isolated.

These are vast projects, but their steady and careful realization may be adapted to the progress and needs of colonization, until later the power of the railroad will be extended to the interior of the country.

A solid, well-constructed permanent way, remarkable in many places for its engineering feats, a plant which is already important and in a fair way towards growth and improvement, are assurances of sound development, offering to the traveller quickness and comfort.

Traffic is on the way to a steady increase, and, already very superior to that of other French colonies, shows, moreover, the importance of the services rendered by the railway to commerce, agriculture, and industry, to tourists and the native population.

The financial return of these railways is not, it is true, on the same level with their activity. But this state of affairs must not be attributed to the poverty of the country, insufficiency of traffic, or disproportionate expenses. It is due to the extreme moderation of the tariff, which is altogether lower than those in the neighbouring countries.

The Government has, in truth, considered that, on the one hand, the liberal scale of charges was, in many ways, necesssary to compete against motor and boat traffic; on the other hand, that the railway was not a purely financial, profit-seeking concern, but above all an organization for the general interest and intended increase of public prosperity, thus gaining indirect benefit for the colony which sets it up.

To this wise and far-seeing view of the French railways in Indo-China is due, to a great extent, their present prosperity and their good prospects for the future.

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THE MINES AND MINERALS IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES ARCHIPELAGO

By C. G. S. Sandberg, D.Sc.
(Consulting Geologist)

[The author of this article gained his first practical experience of gold-mining and gold deposits in the Transvaal as a Government Claims Inspector. After taking his degree at the Sorbonne, he returned to South Africa as a consulting geologist and issued reports on various mineral deposits. In 1909 he was commissioned to examine and report on a gold occurrence in Sumatra, and subsequently joined the Government service of the Netherlands East Indies in a semi-detached capacity. He explored and reported upon various mineral deposits and on the geology of parts of Sumatra, Java, the Little Sunda Islands, and Celebes, and was the first to cross the latter island from Paloppo to Posso along a route keeping to the west of the central range. Since 1913 he has established himself as a consulting geologist in Holland, and is now at The Hague]

Geological Summary

The Netherlands East Indies Archipelago is, geologically speaking, of recent age. Volcanic action is still very strong (more than four hundred volcanoes have been registered in the region); eighty are still—and sometimes very—active. From an ore-bearing point of view the igneous rocks of the region may roughly be classed into two groups—a Western acid and an Eastern basic group—the divisional line of which roughly corresponds with the well-known line of Wallace, drawn in a north-south direction between Borneo and Celebes. At their points of contact mutual overlapping occurs, in so far as basic ore-bearing magmas have been established in Eastern Borneo and more acid ones in Western Celebes. The Western acid group belongs to the grano-dioritic family with their more recent appanage, the andesites, the Eastern group being represented by peridotites and associated rocks.

The Grano-dioritic group is mainly interesting for its intimate relation with primary and secondary tin-ore deposits (vein-ore and alluvial), whilst its andesitic part is closely connected with the gold-silver-selenites of the primary deposits. Curiously enough, alluvial gold deposits of any importance have rarely been located as yet, and

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such occurrences as are known have not yet been exploited by methods other than native ones.

As for copper, lead, and zinc ores, which are as yet of little importance, they are found in connection with the grano-diorites of Sumatra and the andesites of Java, the occurrences on the Isle of Timor being still a subject requiring closer study with regard to their origin. Finally, it should be mentioned that the iron-ore deposits, which are often of colossal dimensions, occur equally in relation to the acid as to the basic group of igneous rocks in variously composed deposits.

General Remarks

The Netherlands East Indies (N.E.I.), justly renowned all over the world for the quality of their plantation products (sugar, rubber, coffee, tea, copra, spices, etc.), are little known for their *mineral wealth.* Of course it is generally known that it is an oil and tin producing country of considerable importance, but that the area also contains other mineral deposits in exploitable and payable quantities, such as gold and silver, iron, manganese, chromium, nickel, diamonds and other precious stones, etc., is little or not known. Yet the possibilities are considerable indeed, as may be naturally expected from a highly volcanic and mineralized area surpassing in superficies that which extends between the west coast of Spain and the Ural mountains, on the eastern boundary of Russia. It is true that the surface thus indicated comprises the sea-covered parts between the various islands. The land surface of the archipelago is about equal to that part of Europe which extends to the west of a straight line connecting Danzic, on the Baltic, to Trieste, on the Adriatic coast, and its prolongation along the longitudinal axis of the Adriatic, exclusive, however, of Scandinavia, and inclusive of the total land surface of the British Isles.

This huge area, which in general is extremely well wooded and watered, and where sufficient labour can be obtained either locally or from close distances, is relatively very little prospected owing to various causes. One of these—which may never return—was that until quite recently the fundamentally liberal mining laws were interpreted by the authorities concerned in a way which was far from being an inducement to venture capital in mining enterprises, and apart from such enterprise being naturally risky in these regions, it requires a considerable initial outlay

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for prospecting and exploring purposes. In fact, it should not be forgotten that the N.E.I. are situated in the tropics, which means, *e.g.*, that virginal forests with thick undergrowth, dense grass, or vast stretches of agricultural lands or marshes, often cover the surface, which, even where it is bare, generally constitutes the topping of a thick, decomposed, lateritic layer, often masking the outcrops of reefs or other mineral deposits. More than anywhere else serious and systematic prospecting work should only be entrusted to experienced men, well equipped for a sojourn for months and months far away sometimes from any civilization or any human habitation in a dense, maybe marshy, forest as inhospitable as it is endless. Natives, if properly trained, may often be of great value, on condition, however, that the person in charge of the expedition and his staff have succeeded in winning their confidence and attachment by quiet, just, practical, and resolute—yet never brutal—management, and a true tacit devotion to the welfare of the expedition and everyone of its members.

It is clear that under these circumstances individual prospectors working on their own account—*i.e.*, generally with restricted means—stand practically no chance of success. Researches, if not backed by financially strong companies or syndicates prepared to finance real expeditions for systematic prospecting and willing to persevere patiently should success remain lacking for some considerable time, should not be initiated, much less entered upon. On the other hand, the compensating factor is materialized by the extent of the areas which may be applied for by the successful searchers, the long duration of an eventually granted concession, and the moderate charges on its exploitation (license and taxes on gross or net returns).

We will now briefly sketch the principles governing the N.E.I. mining laws and regulations, and the way in which prospecting and mining rights may be acquired.

The main principle governing the N.E.I. mining law is that minerals and mineral deposits belong to the State and not to the owner or occupier of the surface soil, and neither prospecting for nor disposing of any mineral deposit or part of it is permitted without a previously acquired *permit*, or *concession*, respectively, of the Government.

A *permit* (called *vergunning*) *for prospecting* is practically granted for what are popularly called the "A" minerals, comprising "precious stones, graphite, platinum, iridium, gold, silver, mercury, bismuth, molybdenum, tin, wolfram, lead, copper, zinc, cadmium, nickel, cobalt, chromium, iron,

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manganese, antimony, arsenic, and strontium; their compounds and their ores and all such minerals which may occur conjointly in their deposits so that they must be exploited together; minerals which may be exploited for their tenure of sulphur or which may serve for the production of alum or vitriol; phosphates which may serve for manure; saltpetre; rock-salt and those salts occurring conjointly in the same deposit."

Although prospecting for "B" minerals is not prohibited by law—a permit for prospecting bearing a general character and consequently not excluding the search for any mineral—its practical use is restricted to that of acquiring informative evidence, as no rights whatsoever may be claimed or could legally be derived from their discovery. They comprise "anthracite, and all kinds of coal and peat, mineral oil, asphalt, ozocerite, and all other bituminous minerals solid and liquid, as also combustible gases, exclusive of geologically recent marshgas (methane); iodine and its compounds. In case of doubt whether a deposit belongs to the 'A' or to the 'B' group, the decision is left to the Governor-General in first and last instance" (*vide* Art. 1, sub. 1-3, Mining Law, 1919).

Permits must be applied for in duplicate and addressed to the head of the civil government of the region (Governor or Resident), who has both copies marked with the date and hour of their entry and who returns one of them to the applicant, the earlier application having a preferential right over those that follow.

Permits may only be issued to subjects of the Queen of the Netherlands; residents of the N.E.I. irrespective of their nationality; companies, firms, or syndicates acknowledged under the laws of the Netherlands and the N.E.I., the managers or boards of management of which are resident *in toto* or in majority within the realm, and which are represented by persons having a right of residence within the N.E.I.

The number of applications for permits (to prospect) which may be lodged by any applicant is unlimited, on condition, however, that every one of these requests apply to a continuous, uninterrupted area not exceeding 10,000 hectares (24,710 acres) which may not interfere in any way with any other area actually held under a (prospecting) permit. Needless to say, no permits can be applied for on areas situated in regions which are reserved by the Government or which are otherwise permanently or temporarily closed for prospecting or mining. If granted, the permit

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is issued for a term not exceeding three years, which may be extended twice for one year on each occasion, the authorities being free, however, to refuse any extension or to cancel an existing permit before its expiration subject to an eventual appeal on the Governor-General. Permits are not transferable without the written consent of the authorities. All applicants must give such security as shall be considered reasonable by the authorities, that due compensation shall be given for any loss or damage which may be caused by them in the exercise of their prospecting rights to the owner or lawful occupier of the grounds.

Having satisfied the authorities, a holder of a permit may apply for a *concession* any time before or at the expiration of the term for which the permit was issued, subject to having proved the occurrence of the mineral or minerals for the exploitation of which a concession is applied for, in a deposit or deposits which is or are technically exploitable. *No concessions on "B" minerals are granted.*

Applications for concessions, to be handed in in duplicate, must contain: Name and domicile of the applicant; the name of the ore or ores for the exploitation of which concession is applied for; map or maps having, in the opinion of the authorities, a sufficient degree of accuracy and which are based on unremovable corner beacons, showing the place or places where the occurrence(s) of the mineral deposit(s) has (have) been established; the name of the concession and the place chosen for its domicile. A concession is granted for a term of seventy-five years and on an area not exceeding 24,710 acres for one or more of these minerals (ores) specified in the application which are mentioned in the grant. Due securities, to the satisfaction of the authorities, must be given for defraying any damage or loss which may be suffered by the owner or lawful occupiers of the soil through the concession-holder. Sites for the erection of machinery, buildings, dams, etc., may be applied for within the boundaries of the concession, and allotted to the concession-holder against due compensation, subject to the satisfaction of the authorities, to those lawfully entitled thereto. Transfer of concession-rights is subject to the approval of the Governor-General. As in each grant the mineral or minerals which may be exploited are specified, it is possible that the same area is allotted to more than one independent applicant. Any person or company being holder of more than one prospecting permit is entitled to apply for one or more concessions on every one of the areas allotted to him (it) under the said permits.

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The dues levied on *permits* consist of: A *fixed rate* of $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents (half-penny) per hectare of allotted area ($\frac{1}{5}$ of a penny per acre) per year; an annual tax of 4 per cent. on such revenue as was derived from the year's sale of the acquired ores and minerals and which would be in excess of a tax-free amount of 5,000 guilders (£416 13s.).

The retributions levied on *concessions* consist of: A *fixed rate* of 25 cents (5 pence) per hectare annually (about 2d. per acre) of the superficies actually granted in the act of concession; an annual tax of 4 per cent. on the gross results of the exploitation or of 10 per cent. of the net results. Should, however, the concession-holder be in a position to prove—to the satisfaction of the Governor-General—that the last year's exploitation resulted in a loss or that such a loss would ensue from the payment of the said dues, then the amount owing under this head may be reduced by a sum to be fixed by the Governor-General. The minimum of the reduced tribute may, however, never be less than an amount equal to 1 per cent. of the gross results of the past year. No reduction on the *fixed rates* is admissible, or can even be considered.

In areas which are held under concession or by virtue of an exploitation contract with the Government no prospecting is allowed for minerals mentioned in the grant or contract respectively, except by those authorized to do so by the holder.

The question will probably have occurred to the reader as to what the origin and the nature of such contracts may be. The fact is that the Government having reserved the right to institute exploration (and exploitation) works of its own, directly or under contract with others, is equally entitled to exploit any mineral deposit which may have been discovered. Such exploitation may either be carried out by the Government itself or under special contract with others.

The Government employs a large staff of geologists, mining engineers, their assistants, and other scientists for the geological survey of the archipelago, as well as for kindred scientific work. Thus costly expeditions are practically always in the field gathering and fixing various data on the geological and mineralogical constitution of the country which are worked out in details in the laboratories. It is clear that under these circumstances a mineral deposit may at any time be discovered which would seem worthy of further investigation, and eventually of exploitation. Under the old law the Government was

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somewhat embarrassed to know what to do with such finds in cases when it was not prepared to carry out further exploration works or to undertake the exploitation of the deposit concerned. Who was to receive the grant for the exploration or exploitation? And how was the State Treasury to be compensated for the outlays which practically would have been made on behalf of privileged individuals who would acquire the mining rights without incurring expenses of exploration with which less privileged persons would be burdened? Further, it was rightly considered that the law should allow the possibility of the Treasury benefiting more than hitherto it had legally been able to do by the exploitation of mineral deposits, the occurrence of which was established by an organ of the Government.

These considerations induced the Government to provide for a legal basis enabling it to enter upon *contracts with private persons or concerns* for the exploration or exploitation of mineral deposits, such contracts stipulating whether the necessary works shall be carried out exclusively on behalf and for the account of the Government, or by some mode of participation with those commissioned. Every one of these contracts—*for which public tenders must be called*—has to pass through the Volksraad at Batavia (Weltevreden) and requires a final sanction by a Special Act of Parliament to make it binding. Finally, it should be noted, that the Government may reserve (close) any part of the N.E.I. on which no rights under the Mining Law have already been acquired.

With regards to the "B" minerals we may be brief, for whereas the Government is free to enter upon contracts with private concerns where "A" minerals and their deposits are concerned, *she is bound* by the law to do so when "B" minerals are in question, which she does not intend to have directly exploited (or explored for) by her own mining department. The law in its present form being of comparatively recent date, and not having retrospective effect it is clear that, *e.g.*, some areas containing mineral oil and other bituminous substances are still being exploited under the rights of concession granted under the old mining law, now repealed.

Labour.—Except for the mining concerns in Java labour has mainly to be imported from the said island. Until recent years it was abundant. The interminable Chinese civil wars are causing the supply from this source to become badly affected, both in quality and quantity, which fact is

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more particularly felt by the tin mines, which always had a special attraction for the much appreciated qualities of the Chinese miner. The shortage of Chinese labour had to be compensated by an increased appeal on the Java supply. Simultaneously the ever-increasing agricultural industry and the plantations exercised a correspondingly greater demand on this very same labour supply from Java. All these factors, together with that of a closer selection of the would-be immigrants, caused some difficulty in meeting all the demands. The character of the labour is, predominantly, that of indentured labour, the conditions of which are governed by the *Labour Law* and its regulations, which, *e.g.*, provides for a special department, the Labour Inspection Department, for its prompt execution. Under the said law no recruiting is allowed without a special permit to do so, no contract of indenture is valid unless sanctioned by the responsible authority, and all emigration of natives is prohibited which should happen to be under the suspicion of representing illicit indenture. Every would-be emigrant labourer is, therefore, led before an officer of the Labour Inspection Office previous to his (or her) embarkment, and he probes the legality of the contract, reads and explains to the person concerned the character of the indenture, the obligations it imposes and the rights it secures. The officer then enquires whether the contract was entered upon of the own free will of the person concerned, and emphasizes that he is still perfectly at liberty to disown or repeal the provisional contract entered upon, if he should regret his action. In a word, every possible precaution is taken to prevent kidnapping practices to occur, and to secure a thorough knowledge to the person concerned of the obligations imposed by the indenture previous to it being countersigned by the inspecting officer, which renders it legally binding on parties, subject, however, to a satisfactory result of the medical examination which has then to be undergone. Only after all these formalities and conditions have been complied with to the satisfaction of the authorities is a permit for embarkation issued.

In the terms of the indenture the obligations assumed by the labourer must be fairly carried out under penalty of punishment, which, however, cannot be inflicted, except after conviction by an ordinary tribunal, the execution of the penalty being also left to the official organs of justice. On the other hand, the employers are equally subject to the stipulations of the Labour Law, and it is again the labour-inspector who has to secure its loyal observance. Thus,

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good board—or the raw material for food at reasonable prices or gratis—and good lodgings must be provided, reasonable working hours must be observed, and no unreasonable tasks may be imposed; fair treatment on and off duty is, of course, secured; medical attendance and good hospital accommodation must be provided for, etc. To secure the observance of all these mutually binding obligations the labour-inspector has access to all the habitations, laboratories and hospitals, installations and works of the company at any time of the day or the night; he may question any person or persons on the premises either privately or in public, or he may summon them to his office to give such evidence or to receive such instructions as may be deemed necessary for the right observation of Labour Act. Thus the Labour Law of the N.E.I. has rightly acquired the reputation of a social enactment which is unique of its kind, and the methods employed for its observance have assured the efficiency of its operation, thereby securing the protection of a native labour population against any possible tendencies towards the abuse of power on the part of the employers whilst simultaneously protecting the employers against any unreasonable breach of a contract entered upon by the labourer of his own free will, and with full knowledge of its contents. To the lasting honour and foresight of the management of the agricultural companies, the plantations of Deli, on the east coast of Sumatra, it should be placed on record that the various measures, hygienic, social, and others, which have since been imposed on employers by the Labour Law, were already instituted and perfectioned, voluntarily, years before the Labour Act was conceived and subsequently promulgated.

Thus, *e.g.*, the establishments of the Deli Company (the well-known tobacco leaf producers of Sumatra), comprising the habitations of labourers and staff, laboratories for the study of tropical diseases, hospitals and their equipments, recreation grounds, etc., had acquired a degree of perfection in the N.E.I. which are still unsurpassed, though possibly equalled by similar institutions of other companies working in Sumatra, Billiton (tin-mines), Borneo and Java (Royal Dutch Petroleum Company), etc.

(*To be continued.*)

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INNER EAST SECTION

CONDUCTED BY W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.

[This Section is devoted to the study of the politics, history, and art of the Asiatic territories included within, or immediately adjoining, the Soviet Union. Special attention is given to Soviet sources of information, while at the same time the principle is pursued of securing the collaboration of various non-Bolshevist writers who are natives of the territories under consideration. The Section is conducted in consultation with Mr. W. E. D. Allen, M.P., the distinguished Eastern traveller and writer. For the January issue he has furnished a summary of an article on the new Turkestan-Siberian Railway, and its probable effects upon Central Asian communications. This is followed by an article on the art of Georgia.]

I

THE TURKESTAN-SIBERIAN RAILWAY

[The present extract is a brief résumé of an article contributed by Professor B. Kh. Shlegel to the *Novyi-Vostock* (1928), Nos. 23-24, pp. 218-233.]

THE decision to construct a railway line that would connect Turkestan with Siberia was arrived at by the Soviet Union Government on December 3, 1926. The new line begins at the Semipalatinsk station of the Omsk line, and cutting through the town of Semipalatinsk in a south-westerly direction crosses the Yrtysh River four miles further on; then, passing the town of Alash from the west on the River Yrtysh, turns towards Kokpekty at a distance of 100 kilometres, following the valley of the Tchar-Gurbar River. Hence it heads westward into the valley of the Djarma River. After crossing the Ashtchi-Su River the line ascends the watershed of the basins of the River Yrtysh and the Lake Balkhash, descending thence to the town of Sergiopol. Running along the north-eastern shore of Balkhash it crosses the River Karatal, and, following first the valley of the latter, and then that of the River Bizh, it winds up amid the Maly-Sary chain on the eastern side, touching the Ili settlement near which it crosses the River Ili. From here the line heads almost straight in a southern direction towards the Alma-Ata station situated on the northern side of the town. From the Alma-Ata station the line, which here is traced northward from the Frunze-Alma-Ata postal track, crosses a number of rivers—viz.: Kaskelen, Tchemolgan, Kargaly and others; through the valley of the River Kopa it crosses the Ala-Tau chain by the Tchokpar Pass. Descending from it in the direction of

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the River Tchokpar it crosses the River Tchoo not far from the Novo-Troitskoe settlement, whence, following a south-western direction, it approaches the River Kurga-Ta, and running along its valley it reaches the station of Lugovaia situated at the 424th kilometre of the Arys-Pishpek-Orenbourg branch of the Tashkent Railway.

The entire length of the line is 1,481 kilometres.

The general cost of construction based upon the final estimate sanctioned by the Council of Labour and Defence on May 25, 1928, is 203,700,000 roubles (£20,370,000).

The construction began in 1927, and is at present open to temporary traffic on a length of 157 kilometres on the north from Semipalatinsk, and 131 kilometres on the south from the Lugovaia station.

The economic importance of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway is increasing with the advance of the construction. It is intended to intensify the commercial life of the adjoining provinces and to bring them within the general commercial orbit of the Union from which they had been practically cut off. For example, notices have already been received on the northern end of the line from the institutions for transporting in this season 1,500 wagons of water melons, 75 wagons of hay, 160 wagons of meat, 20 wagons of hide and leather, etc. In the southern section of the line there is a fair quantity of "cakcayr" to be transported from the Kos-Kuduck Villa. The amount of goods to be thus transported could be raised to about 8,000 wagons.

The construction of the line in 1928 as far as Sergiopol immediately increased the Soviet turnover of goods with Western China, while its completion in this year as far as Lake Balkhash raises urgently the question of the utilization of the natural riches of this lake and of the lake itself as a waterway of access of over 500 kilometres. With the completion in this year of the southern section of the line to Alma-Ata a possibility will present itself for the effective exploitation of this richest region of the Djetysovisk Province (formerly Semirechinsk Province).

In estimating the importance of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway, not only its centre of gravity needs to be considered, but also the extent of its economic influence.

Considered from this point of view, its sphere of economic influence extends over: (1) Western Siberia comprising the districts of Slavgorod, Barnaul, Biisk, and Roobtsov; (2) the Kazatsk A.S.S.R. with the governments (provinces) of Semipalatinsk and Djetysovisk and the Aulieatinsk and Tchimkent districts of the Syr-Daria government; (3) the

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northern part of the Kirgiz A.S.S.R. The length of the line will at the same time be much shorter: 2,713 kilometres from Tashkent to Novo-Sibirsk instead of the existing circular route of 4,618 kilometres.

The population of the territory which is under its sphere of influence is 5,540,700, while the territory itself measures 124,374,345 "ga" (=ГА ?), of which 16,587,185 "ga" is arable land (13·3 per cent.), 57,277,254 "ga" excellent for pasture (46 per cent.), and 10,599,308 "ga" is covered with good forest (8·6 per cent.).

The completion of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway will, no doubt, intensify the exploitation of the natural riches of the region, the commercial possibilities of which are very vast.

The industries of Kazakstan and Kirgizia are of four kinds—viz.: (1) agricultural, cattle breeding (where both are of equal importance, with agriculture slightly predominant); (2) cattle breeding—(agricultural with cattle breeding predominating); (3) cattle breeding where agriculture is either not followed at all or is of insignificant character; and (4) purely agricultural.

The general arable area of the whole region is 4,415,419 "ga," of which Western Siberia includes 2,867,153 "ga" (65 per cent.), the Semipalatinsk government 776,003 "ga" (17·6 per cent.), Djetysovisk government 338,200 "ga" (7·6 per cent.), and the Tchimkent and Aulieatinsk districts of the Syr-Daria government 195,893 "ga" (4·4 per cent.); while the whole of Kazakstan includes 1,310,096 "ga" (29·6 per cent.), and the Northern Kirgizia 238,170 "ga" (5·4 per cent.).

The cattle in the whole region number 28,883,480 head, being thus distributed:

Western Siberia ...	...	6,541,200 (22·6 per cent.).
Semipalatinsk Government	...	8,282,000 (28·7 ,,
Djetysovisk ,,	...	5,121,900 (17·7 ,,
Tchimkent District	...	1,628,600 (5·7 ,,
Aulieatinsk ,,	...	3,123,400 (10·9 ,,
Kazakstan ...	...	18,155,900 (63·0 ,,
North Kirgizia ...	...	4,186,380 (14·4 ,,

At present only the produce of Western Siberia, Semipalatinsk government, and partly of the above-mentioned districts of the Syr-Daria government, need to be seriously considered for the trade balance of the Union.

The general produce of both the agriculture and cattle-breeding areas by the time the construction of the line is absolutely completed may be represented as follows:

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	Grain: 1,000,000 Puds.	Big Cattle: Heads.	Small Cattle: Heads.	Butter: Puds.	Wool, Hides, Casings: Puds.	Fruit: Puds.
Western Siberia ...	46	200,000	300,000	1,000,000	150,000	—
Semipalatinsk Government	18	200,000	600,000	200,000	100,000	—
Djetysovisk Government	8	100,000	500,000	150,000	100,000	500,000
North Kirgizia ...	4	50,000	500,000	80,000	50,000	50,000
Total	76	550,000	1,900,000	1,730,000	700,000	550,000

By the end of the first five years the import of flour into Central Asia, it is estimated, will amount to 60,000,000 puds, as against 26,500,000 puds in 1927.

At the present time flour is imported into Central Asia from Siberia to the extent of 40 per cent., from Northern Caucasia 33 per cent., from the Ukraine 17 per cent., and from the region of the Tashkent Railway 10 per cent. After the completion of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway the North Caucasian and Ukrainian flour could be diverted for export, and the Siberian flour to Central Asia. The direct transportation of flour from Siberia to Central Asia over the new line will, it is calculated, decrease the transport expense by 20 kopeks per pud. The saving thus effected from the transport tariff alone would amount to 12,000,000 roubles, and that without taking into account the consequent increase in the Soviet foreign trade.

For the national organization of flour trade the construction of twelve elevators and seven mills is planned in Western Siberia. The elevators will be erected one at each of the following centres: Semipalatinsk, Sergiopol, Taldy-Koorgan, Alma-Ata, and Frunze.

The meat trade equally needs to be reorganized. Refrigerators are to be erected in Kazakstan, at Semipalatinsk, Sergiopol, Alma-Ata; in Kirgizia, at Frunze or at Tokmak; while in Western Siberia the number of the existing ones after their thorough repair is to be considerably increased.

The existing hide industry in the neighbourhood of the line includes the works at Barnaul, Biisk, Semipalatinsk, Alma-Ata, Taldy-Koorgan and Tchilik. There are in Kirgizia about fifty tanneries. Additional tanneries are to be constructed at Semipalatinsk, with a yearly output of 100,000 large hides; and another at Frunze, where over 170,000 large hides will be treated yearly.

The butter industry is extensively developed in Western

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Siberia and in the Semipalatinsk government, where there are a number of big factories. New butter factories are to be built at Malovodny, in the Djetysovisk government; at Frunze and Karakol; at Slavgorod and Roobtsov.

Other industries which exist in this region and need extensive reorganization and intensification of their output are the forest and mining industries, the cement and chemical industries, the fishing industry and the sugar industry, all of which are of especial importance in the region. Meat and fruit canning also have a promising future.

The cement industry requires immediate attention.

The region is at present supplied with this commodity by works situated at a great distance, and the freight charges are unavoidably and unbearably high. The extension of the local cement industry would be therefore of great expediency. The existing cement works at Tchooisk, the output of which is about 100,000 puds per annum, is not certain of its supplies of raw material, nor is it at an economic distance from the railway (20 kilometres); its extension would be an unwise policy.

With the completion of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway the mining industry should receive much assistance, especially on the north-western shores of the Balkhash Lake. The establishment of steamship lines on that sheet of water will facilitate this exploitation. Goolshadsk and Kzyl-Espe are rich in tin, lead, and silver. The supply of cheap coal will also be facilitated. The temporary traffic on the Turkestan-Siberian Railway enables even at present the extension of the Akdjalsk gold mines. The construction in Siberia of Tebelsk metallurgical works, with an output of 660,000 tons per annum, would fully safeguard the supply of iron. The coal deposits in that region of the line would contribute considerably to the extensive development of the mining industry. Of the coal deposits the largest are the Ekibas-Tooisk, with a reserve of about 60 million tons; the Karagadinsk, with 300 million tons; the Kooldjinsk, with about 160 million tons, and a few more. At present the coal mines are worked only in the Kooznetsk region.

The timber industry of the region is closely connected with the real object of the line, which is to supply cheap timber for building purposes in Central Asia, which in its turn is connected with the more normal development of the cotton industry. The new line will cheapen the cost of timber freight by 40 per cent.

With the approach of the line to Lake Balkhash the fishing industry acquires a much greater importance, espe-

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cially so as the fishing on the River Yrtysh and on the Lakes of Zaisan, Ala-Kul, and Tsyk-Kul is only of local importance. With the proper organization of fishing on the Balkhash a considerable quantity could be exported annually. Professor Berg has been dispatched to the region to study and report upon the possibilities of the fishing industry there.

The problem of electrification of the region for the purposes of the development of local industries has not yet been fully considered. So far only the construction of one hydro-electric station has been decided upon—namely, at Ubinsk, with a power of 70,000 kilowatts. This station will, it is calculated, be able to supply a considerable industrial area of the region with power, including even Semipalatinsk, at the cost of 1·5-4 kopeks per kilowatt, which would make it possible to enlarge the plan of industrialization, especially in the sphere of the chemical and mining industries. The power resources of the region are insufficiently estimated at over 1,200,000 horse power.

The completion of the Turkestan-Siberian Railway will confront the Soviet authorities with the necessity of further extension of transport facilities, and with this end in view the construction of railways of access is being considered—namely: Kooloonda-Semipalatinsk; Ridder-Roobtsovka; Atbassar-Semipalatinsk or Sergiopol; Sergiopol-Tchoogootchak; Alma-Ata-Kouldja; Frunze-Tokmak-Rybatchie, and others. Of these, of immediate necessity are Kooloonda-Semipalatinsk and Frunze-Tokmak branches.

The water transport needs to be improved on the River Yrtysh between Zaisan-Semipalatinsk, on the River Ili, and the Lake Balkhash.

The completion of the line in 1929 to the River Ili will open a cheaper route to Kooldja Province, while the construction of the Frunze-Tokmak branch and the improvement of the Tokmak-Naryn-Tooroogart-Kashgar (500 kilometres) road will facilitate the trade with the Kashgar Province.

Simultaneously serious attention would have to be paid to the trading routes to Western China, as the contemplated completion of the line between Semipalatinsk and Sergiopol and the improvement of the Sergiopol and Tchoogootchak section (200 kilometres) should have the effect of automatically normalizing and increasing trade with Western China.

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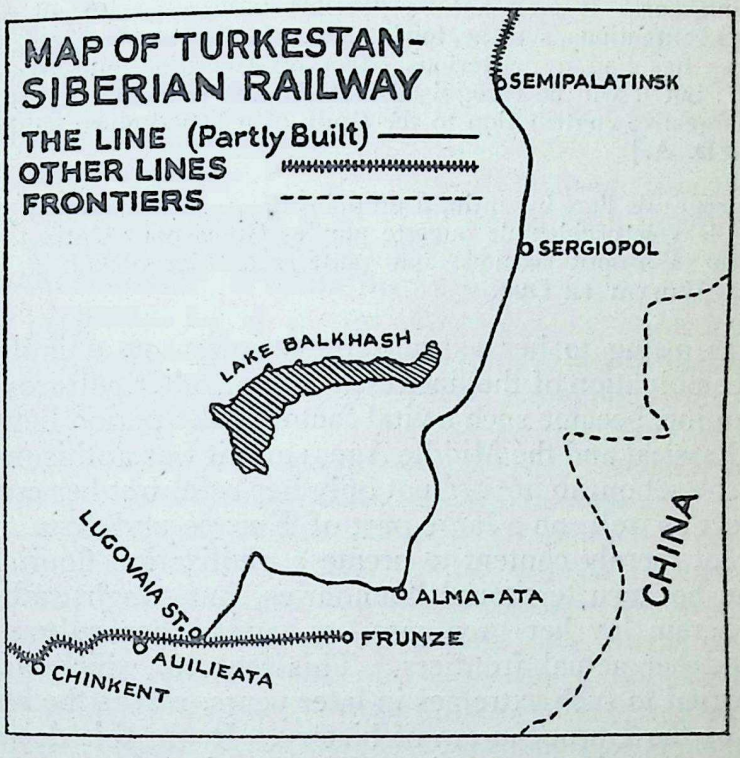

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II

THE RÔLE OF GEORGIA IN THE ART OF THE MIDDLE AGES

By T. Talbot Rice

[The author has travelled extensively in the Balkans, Russia and the Caucasus, and has made a special study of the mediæval art of those regions. It may not be possible to agree with all of the author's contentions, such as, for instance, that Italian Roman Catholic influence has had a deleterious effect on Georgian and Armenian culture; but it will be recognised that the author makes an original and suggestive contribution to the study of a little-known subject.—W. E. D. A.]

Le propre de l'art byzantin, à un point de vue philosophique est de quitter la voie occidentale ouverte par les Grecs pour s'attacher entièrement à l'esprit asiatique qui porte vers l'immobilité en toute chose.—Viollet le Duc.

It was owing to her extraordinary power of assimilation and combination of the finer elements of other cultures that Byzantium became such a vital factor in the period between the Classical and the Middle Ages; and it was at this period that she set out to impose not only her rule, but her culture and art as well, on a large part of Europe and Asia. She was not merely content to create a civilization flourishing within her own territorial boundaries, but sought rather—and herein lay her greatness—to spread her culture far beyond her actual frontiers. This feature, which was to be carried to such extremes in later years, marks the beginning of the European era of history. It was this desire to gain for herself the prestige of an Empire whose material possessions could, *à la rigueur*, be measured, but whose spiritual spheres of influence should embrace the whole world, that Byzantium set out to conquer the neighbouring lands with a vigour equalled only by that of the Roman Empire.

At this time, however, the East was still the centre of international affairs, and though the Byzantines were interested in the West they did not fail to realize that their success in that part of the world depended upon the spread of their power in the East, and especially into Armenia and Georgia. Persia, on the other hand, likewise recognized the importance of these two countries and desired to

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retain them both as territorial appendages and as spheres of intellectual influence. The inevitable war which was brought about by this state of affairs resulted in the victory of Byzantium, both on the battlefield and in the cultural sphere, and it consequently fell to Armenia and to Georgia to play the rôle of transmitters of Byzantine culture to that part of Europe which could not be influenced directly from Byzantium or via Italy. The extent of the rôle played by these two countries in this respect cannot be overemphasized, and it is especially striking with regard to Russia and the north-western corner of Europe.

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Armenia, lying as it does where the Near and Middle East converge, was naturally the first state in which the artistic fluctuations, which occurred both in Persia and in Byzantium, reverberated with greatest force. This was due to the fact that both Persia and Byzantium fought for ascendency in Armenia, and in so doing both unwittingly influenced that country's artistic development and were in turn influenced by it. This was especially true of Byzantium, probably owing to her ultimate annexation of the state, which she was able to achieve regardless of the many ties of blood existing between the Armenians and the Persians.

Justinian in the fifth century was quick to recognize both the genius and the importance of the Armenians. He immediately made use of this genius in the person of Anthemius of Thralles, the architect of St. Sophia, by birth an Anatolian, but an Armenian by education. He followed this step by proceeding to bring into force the policy of favouring the advancement of Armenians in the Empire. The emperor's first move in this direction was to open the ranks of the army to the Armenians, a measure which met with such success that they formed an important body of troops who fought for Byzantium against Persia and the Arabs in Asia, and against the Bulgarians and the Avars in Europe. In the ninth century the Armenian element came into much favour socially and gained conspicuous advancement politically; the pretender Bardanes, Leo V., Basil, who built the church of the Nea upon an Armenian plan, the clever relations of the Empress Theodora, the patriarch Photius and the grammarian John were all of Armenian stock. So likewise were many officers both in the army and the civil service as well as most of the outstanding figures of the merchant world.

Strzygowski and others have established the fact that

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Armenia contributed to the artistic greatness of Byzantium. Yet though Byzantine art may appear to be but a clever blending of many foreign elements, it must not be considered entirely as such. There is nothing of the plagiarist in the Byzantine artist. Rather is his attitude that of a cultured man who was able to appreciate all that was beautiful in the achievements of past ages. The basic ideas of these early works he moulded to suit his own taste, marking them with the stamp of his peculiar genius and giving to each article which he produced the originality and the individuality which is the essence of true art. He added to this legacy, which he received from dead civilizations, two new branches, which he developed to the full, and, as well, brought to a state of perfection a third and inherited craft. The first two of these arts are those of mosaics and of fresco painting, the third is that of enamelling. Here the Byzantine master succeeded admirably in his attempt to make a new art from old materials as a result of his conception of art in general. His aim was to combine asceticism of design with Hellenistic vitality and the restraining influence of Semitic and Egyptian severity. The first of these elements was meant to symbolize spirituality, the second was introduced to make art intelligible to the least educated and most simple of persons, whilst the third attribute was intended to render it pleasing to the most æsthetic and exacting of formalists. Thus at a time when art was considered as the prerogative of the crown, and of the wealthy nobility and clergy, the artist succeeded in giving it a wider field by making it intelligible to the mystic and the peasant. And as human taste has changed but little during the last four hundred and fifty years—regardless of the introduction of new catch-words and the vogue of new fashions—Byzantine art still appeals to many on account of its universal character.

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It is not surprising that mediæval Georgia fell under the spell of Byzantium rather than of Iran. It is even less to be wondered at when it is remembered that Georgia—Armenia's immediate neighbour and an important factor in Byzantine-Persian affairs—appeared as an attractive addition to the early Byzantine Empire-builders. Nor does it seem strange that the Georgians were quick to realize the beauty of Byzantine art, for it is probable that they were a highly cultured race long before they came under the influence of Byzantium. Indeed, it would be inconsistent to assume that the Georgians, living in a country situated

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between the Middle and the Far East, were unfamiliar with those artistic movements of the East, which they did not actually adopt. From an early date their merchants, who, like the Armenians, were wont to journey as far as China to carry on their trade, must have seen many of the strange and beautiful things with which the inland population became familiar only at a later date.* And there can be little reason to doubt that the Georgians, who had already created glorious works in the Age of Bronze, had a distinct culture of their own at the time when they became converts to Christianity.

The fact that Armenia—as distinct from Byzantium—played a very prominent part in Georgia's artistic and architectural development is perhaps most clearly seen in the decorative halos, which are so prominent a feature of Georgian icons. The halo, which was originally the emblem of royalty of Seleucid and Indo-Scythian kings, became a religious symbol in the period between the fourth and eighth centuries. It was generally blue or green-blue in colour. In early Christian times Christ's halo was always cruciform in shape whilst, until the fifth century, living personalities were sometimes honoured with a square one. Secular and church dignitaries no longer living, on the other hand, were shown with round halos. Now, in Byzantium few metal icons appear to have had ornamented halos, and it therefore seems very likely that their presence in Georgian icons is the result of Armenian and Persian non-representational influence.

The invention of the Georgian alphabet and the conversion of Georgia to Christianity did much to draw that nation further away from Persian influence, for it brought the Georgians into contact with Greek writings and ideas. These differed greatly from the Persian philosophy of the day, occupied as it was solely with the beauty of contemplation. Greek and Byzantine compositions being in essence more energetic and more concerned with matters of life and and its philosophy had a more ready appeal for the excitable Georgian, who was filled with enthusiasm for the affairs and changes of his time. Consequently, the Caucasian nobles acquired the habit of going to Constantinople to complete their education, and thus took the first step towards those royal alliances, which were to unite the two

* In "The Man in the Panther's Skin" and "Visraminiani"—Georgian poems of the twelfth century—there are frequent references to India and China and to the products of those countries.—W. E. D. A.

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countries. Already in the fifth century King Vakhtang marries the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Leo. In the eleventh century occurs the union of the Emperor Michael Ducas with the Princess Maria of Georgia and that of Bagrat IV. with Helen, daughter of the Emperor Argyros. In the twelfth century Emmanuel, heir-presumptive to the throne of Byzantium, does everything in his power to win the hand of the Georgian queen, Tamara. At the beginning of the fourteenth century the fifth daughter of Alexios III. of Trebizond marries Bagrat VI., whilst later in the same century Koulkhana, daughter of King David of Georgia, marries Manuel III. of Trebizond. Again, in the fifteenth century, the marriage of Constantine XI. to the daughter of George III. of Georgia was actually about to occur when Byzantium fell. Thus, though Russia and Germany pride themselves, the first on two and the second on one Byzantine marriages, it is only in Georgia that this union was considered as a usual one, and one which could be refused.

In the Caucasus, as in Russia, intercourse between the two countries was not only social but also religious. Thus, in the fifth century, Georgian monks go to Mount Athos to translate religious texts into their native language. The political events of the sixth century finally established the fact of Byzantine prominence in Georgia and Persian influence was forced to fall to the rear. The Emperor Heraclius even caught and beheaded the Georgian King Gvaram for holding intercourse with the Persians. He then invaded the country and gave the death-blow to the cult of Zoroaster, which was still practised there, and replaced it finally by Christianity. He proceeded to place his protégé upon the throne and invested him with the title of Couropolatès Patric. It was, however, King David III., at the end of the eleventh century, who completely established Byzantine culture in his country by founding Georgian schools based upon the Byzantine system, though he augmented their curriculum with branches of learning in which the Persians excelled. Religion, grammar, which comprised philology and philosophy, mathematics, ethics and singing were taught, and the forty pupils who finished first were despatched to Mount Athos to translate the Greek classics and holy texts into Georgian. King Bagrat sent the two best scholars of his day, the monks Eupheme and George Mtatsmindeli,* to make new translations of the Bible and the Acts of the Apostles, since the former Georgian editions

* Literally, "of Holy Mount" (*i.e.*, Mount Athos).

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of these books contained many errors. However, regardless of all this cultivation of things Byzantine, the once-so-powerful Persian and Eastern elements still subsisted in Georgia. These elements are hard to define in art, but they appear clearly in the history of Georgian literature and learning and in the domain of philology, where Persian words abound, and Sanskrit, Arab and Armenian roots are also numerous. In the twelfth century the cult of Persian prose and poetry was so great in Georgia that it produced a school of Caucasian literature of its own, and probably did much in preparing Georgian taste for the sumptuousness of Byzantine art. It is likewise due to the Persian and Arab influences that a very adequate observatory was established in Tiflis and that the study of mathematics was well developed there.

Nourished by these elements Georgia became so strong a nation that, in spite of internal strife and disorder, she was able to survive gloriously all the crumbling states which surrounded her. It was only the fall of Byzantium which finally crippled Georgia, and the fact that she was unable to withstand this disaster is proof in some degree of her dependency on the power which controlled, for so many centuries, the entry to the Black Sea. It accounts for the despair which came over Georgia, assailed by Osmanli and Persian, when she realized that even Byzantium, the strongest power of the Middle Ages, had been unable to withstand the Turk. But, although morally shattered by the conquest, Georgia might have recovered her poise had not Catholicism and the weakening power of the "quattrocento" filtered into the country to disintegrate it still more.

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Though Armenia and Georgia had come into contact with Italy, both when that country was still Roman and during the days of the Genoese colonies, it was not until the fifteenth century that the inland population of the Caucasus had become familiar with the Italians. Of course, Italy was known to many in the Near East as a reality as early as the fifth century, especially since two Armenian regiments were quartered in Ravenna when that city was besieged by Theodoric the Goth in 489-492. After Rome had separated from the Empire we know but little of the spread of Italian influence in Georgia. Enough, however, exists to sketch the history of the relationship between Armenia and Rome, and since it has been proved that all ideas and elements

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of culture which come to Armenia make their way into Georgia, it can only be concluded that the spread of Catholic doctrines in both countries was much the same in attempt if not in success also.

In Armenia, Rome's first signal victory occurred in 1289, when King Hethoum of Cilicia appealed to the Pope for assistance against Islam. Although no help was forthcoming, Leo V. (1320-1342) shared his predecessors Romish sentiments to such an extent that he contrived to marry the daughter of the King of Sicily, the widow of Henry II. of Cyprus. Being childless, on his death-bed, he bequeathed his crown to King Henry's cousin, Guy de Lusignan, son of Amaury de Lusignan. It seemed then almost as if the union of the Church of Armenia with that of Rome would occur, for the new King was desirous of it, and he was supported by the famous party called "The United Brethren." But the bishops, the provincial clergy and the people arose in opposition, and the King was assassinated. Finally, in the year 1441, the Catholicos of Echmiadzin was obliged officially to renounce the union. But the propaganda which the emissaries from Rome had been conducting in the distant Near East was never entirely fruitless. Already in the twelfth century David III. of Georgia, regardless of the local difficulties and the dangerous straits in which both he and his country lay, sent assistance to the Crusaders, who had set out to deliver the Holy Sepulchre from the hands of the infidel. Again about the year 1455 the Georgians, in answer to the appeal of Pope Pius II., prepared to join the Crusaders, who were destined never to get further than Venice in their attempt to defend Constantinople, on account of the discords which arose in that city between the various European ambassadors. And in 1459 we find Georgia providing an important section of the army placed at the disposal of Philip the Good, who proposed to organize a league against the Turks.*

With the fall of Constantinople, the head of the Orthodox body, the efforts of Italian missionaries in the Near East were redoubled, and they brought into the country elements which were uncongenial and unsympathetic to the people at the very time when, if left alone, they might have recovered from the shock of the conquest and, as their immediate neighbours, the Russians, were doing, have evolved an art of their own. The Roman Catholics, who at this time had a very powerful arm on their side, made it

* *Cf.* William Miller, *Trebizond, the Last Greek Empire,* p. 98.

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impossible for Georgia to rise from the ruin of Byzantium. This arm was the printing press, which was used by them almost from the beginning of the sixteenth century. The recent discovery of some Armenian books bearing the date 1513 and printed by a Venetian company, in conjunction with one Thomas Meghapert, proves that this form of propaganda must have been resorted to almost immediately after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople. At a slightly later date the invention came to the notice of the Armenian Michael of Sebaste (1542-1570), who sent, in 1562, one Abgar of Tokat to Venice to learn the art of printing and to establish Armenian presses at Rome, Constantinople, Amsterdam and Echmiadzin. It is therefore not surprising that bishops, as for instance Nicol of Poland, placed themselves at the head of bodies of Roman Catholic missionaries, led by such men as Clement Galani and supported by the French embassy, with the purpose of conducting Roman Catholic campaigns in Constantinople, Armenia, Mardin and Aleppo—campaigns which were to some extent successful. Nor does it seem curious that Chardin and Tournefort, travelling through Georgia in the seventeenth century, should note with interest that the Capuchin monks of Tiflis converted many women of that city, to whose presence they gained admittance through the pretence of conveying medical advice. The reason for the dearth in Georgian and Armenian art after the fall of Byzantium is not surprising when we appreciate that the people had to adopt a defensive attitude and to direct their efforts to the safeguarding of their faith rather than to the production of works of art. Nor is the decay of Georgian culture to be wondered at when it is remembered that the vitality of the country was being continually sapped in the struggle against both Roman Catholic and Muhammadan cultural influences. It was only when Georgia was dependent upon the Persian and Byzantine civilizations that the people enjoyed moral freedom and were able to develop their art.

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With the exception of a few surviving examples of the productions of the Bronze Age, we know little of the early art of Georgia or of that later art which was directly inspired by Sassanian Persia. It is only in the Byzantine branch of Georgian art that a few specimens have come down to us. But on account of this it would be unfair to consider Georgia merely as a copyist. She was, as well, to a certain extent an innovator in the domain of Byzantine art. This is shown both by her treatment of the art and the

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way in which she introduced it to other countries. In a former article attempts were made to draw attention to the individuality which the Georgians expressed in the decorations of their churches and icons. Here it seems best to lay stress upon the contribution of Georgia to design—a contribution which is sufficiently important to deserve special emphasis. It consists chiefly in the development and perfection of interlaced motifs, in which the Georgians attained to such mastery that their achievements can easily bear comparison with the most famous patterns of European production, as shown, for instance, in the tracery of the finest rose windows. In Byzantium similar patterns were frequently dull and repetitious, and it is only in Georgia that designs, formed of interlaced bands, are truly vivid and decorative, for there they appear continually in novel shapes and combinations. They are so attractive, both in form and workmanship, that they even surpass those executed by Byzantines in the capital itself as well as those inspired by that civilization in Italy, Russia and the Balkans. It is only the Irish motives that compare favourably with them, for here is to be seen again some of that charm and spontaneity which characterizes the Georgian designs. The latter are, however, more admirable than the Celtic ones, for they are more harmonious and decorative and have a definite *raison d'être*. Unlike the Irish art, which is the outcome of imagination and artistic impulse, the Georgian is based upon the architectural plan of the building and forms an essential part of it.

Though at the moment it is impossible to explain the connection between these Near Eastern designs and those in Ireland, still more so to attempt to claim that Georgia was answerable for their introduction into that country, it can justly be affirmed that the Caucasus were greatly responsible for the spread of Byzantine culture in Russia, Poland and the Balkans. Georgia's intercourse with the former country must have been constant since early date, at any rate in those districts lying round the Black Sea. The earliest definite record of official relationship between the two countries dates from the eleventh century, when Prince Isiaslav Mstislavovich married the daughter of King Dmitri I. (1025-1054), whose great-granddaughter, the mighty Tamara (1184-1212), in accordance with the advice of her bishops and princes, likewise married a Russian—George, a son of the Grand Duke Andrew Bogoliubskoi. The Mongol invasion necessitated a break in this intercourse, but as soon as Russia had regained her

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liberty the Tsar Ivan III. reopened relationships during the years 1491 and 1492. After Moscow had become the stronghold of Orthodoxy and had assumed the title and position of "the third Rome," the intimacy between the two states increased. Thus we read that in 1557 the Georgian King was asking the Russian Tsar for military aid, whilst by 1567 King Leo was admitted to the ceremony of the kissing of the hand at the Court of Ivan IV. of Russia. Scholars have found ample proof that similar intercourse between the two regions had started long before the days of Christianity. It continued throughout mediæval times until a culminating point was reached in the nineteenth century, when the Georgian and Russian crowns were united.

Rostovtseff tells us how the Bronze Age in the Caucasus —during which objects so interesting and individual were produced that Hittite influence is suggested to account for them—led to the early Iron Age civilization of the Crimea, which flourished in the third century B.C. In the stone-work of the marble tombs of South Russia he sees traces of Mesopotamian influence, of Egypto-Syrian influence in the floral compositions, whilst he attributes the garlands and crowns of vine and laurel leaves to Syro-Palestinian rather than to Byzantine inspiration. Such elements could only have made their way into Russia through Georgia, and in this connection it is interesting to note the fact established by Latischeff that it was the Bishop Ermian of Jerusalem and not the Patriarch of Constantinople who sent the first Christian missionaries to Russia. These missionaries preached Christianity in the vicinity of Cherson, but were shortly afterwards overcome by Byzantine priests, who appeared as their rivals.

Early Russian ornaments and minor objects of art show unmistakable traces of Eastern influence, and it seems exceedingly probable that this influence reached the craftsmen from the Caucasus. Had the Eastern element entered Russia from Constantinople by the great water-way connecting the Greeks with the Variags, it would be natural to expect to find some traces of Roman art in the works they inspired. As no such traces are to be found, the Georgians deserve to be credited with playing the rôle of transmitters between Asia and Russia. Other facts confirm this theory: thus, for instance, the fifth to eighth century finds discovered on the banks of the Volga and the Oka are identical to certain Georgian relics, whilst the stuffs which were found there are very like Coptic specimens. In contrast to the

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fact that Scandinavian articles were being brought to Kieff during the same period, in Perm—some thousand miles away—Caucasian arabesques and Oriental animal-designs were in vogue. They appeared there in spite of the fact that the Arab rulers of the contemporary Caucasian lands never actually came further north than the Caspian. Nevertheless, they are identical in design to the fine wood carvings of doors, chairs, chests, divans, benches, banisters, panelling and balconies of Georgia, which in their turn bear a marked resemblance to the floral patterns and geometric compositions of Arab origin, which form the architectural details of the stone buildings of Seville, Cordova and Toledo. In Perm these designs disappear as architectural features in the tenth century, but they again make their appearance in Russian plate-work produced by Arabian craftsmen. Russia had been a great market for silver bowls under the period of the Persian Sassanians, when they were exported to South Russia in considerable numbers. In the sixth to eighth century, after the fall of the Sassanians in Persia, Syrian craftsmen kept up the supply with bowls copied from Sassanian models, but in the ninth to tenth century the Arabs began to take this branch of trade into their hands. This fact probably explains the odd features of a bowl discovered in 1895, and described by Kondakoff as bearing an Arabian inscription but being similar in style and technique both to Sassanian wares and to ninth to tenth century Russian plate.

It seems very unlikely that these articles should have made their way into Russia through Constantinople, since the Byzantines, who were always anxious for trade, would certainly never have allowed the Arab merchants to transport vast numbers of bowls through their territory into a country whose trade they themselves were desirous of annexing. It seems far more probable that Arab merchants employed the same road as the Russian travellers to the Far East were wont to take as an alternative to passing through territory under Byzantine control. The Arab geographer, Ibn Khurdâdbih, in his book *Routes and Governments*, written in 864, describes it as follows: "The roads of the merchant Jews, who speak the Persian, Greek, Arab, French, Andalusian and Slav tongues, stretch from the West to the East and the East to the West, both by land and sea. With regard to the merchants of Russia—those of the Slav tribe, they trade in the fur of fox and other animals from the confines of the Slav territory to the shores of the Sea of Rum (probably here, the Black Sea) and the

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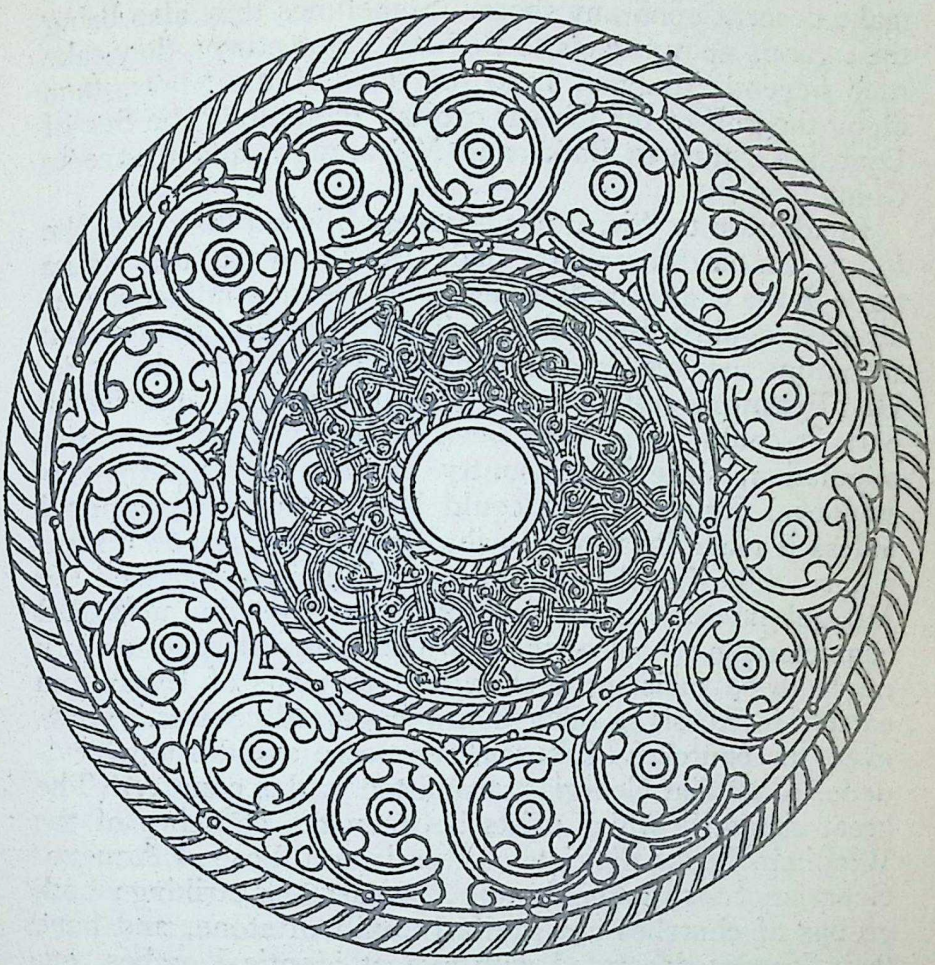

GEORGIAN INTERLAND MOTIVE

Illustration taken from "Russian Antiquities in Monuments of Art," Vol. IV., by Kondakoss and Tolstoy.

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King of Rum (Byzantium) levies a tax from them. But if they so wish they travel by ship down the Slav river (the Volga), entering the gulf on which stands the capital of the Chosars (Khazars), where the ruler makes them pay a tax. Then they cross the Sea of Djurdjana (the Caspian) and make descent upon any shore. Sometimes they also bring their goods upon camels to Bagdad. Sometimes they take road beyond Armenia, from the land of the Slavs, then along the gulf of the Chosar capital, then along the Sea of Djurdjana, then to Balkh and Mavarangar and thence to China."

In addition to this, it has been established that from the fourth century travellers made their way to the Volga through the Caucasus at a time when Persian influence was directed against Byzantium. Thus it seems certain that Byzantine articles entered Russia by this route likewise. Had Byzantine culture not filtered into Russia from diverse parts it could never have been assimilated by the entire population, since in a country as vast and primitive as mediæval Russia no art could hope to become national unless it made its way into the land from various distant points. The fact that Byzantinism in Russia survived the Mongol invasion and developed into the admirable and characteristic school of the fourteenth to sixteenth century ought to be sufficient to show that outposts of Byzantium existed in Russia in other than recognized centres. However, the churches of Russia can serve as additional evidence of all that Georgia transmitted to this country. The great similarity which exists between the churches of the Wladimir-Suzdal districts of Russia and those of Armeno-Georgian construction in the Caucasus is striking; both groups of churches are similarly built of stone, and have their façades decorated with almost identical arches, encircled in sculptured borders, as well as with blocks worked in low relief, which are inserted so as to give a *passementerie* effect. Many churches, too, have the same proportions and ground-plan as those of the cathedrals of Ani and Mtzkheta. Georgian influence is especially strong in these churches owing to the fact that its entry into Russia was rendered easy by the alliances which were formed by Russian and Georgian princes of the day. These occurred at a time when Armenia and Georgia were at the zenith of their artistic achievements—that is to say, from the tenth to thirteenth century—and the Russian princes, who perceived the value of Georgian architecture, encouraged similar artistic movements in their own states.

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In the same way, examination will show that the Serbian churches of Ravenitza and Studenitza, though purely Byzantine in construction, are Georgian as regards the plan of their decoration. So also is the church of Nicolas d'Arges in Wallachia, which has been generally classified as of Lombardian style. Jorga, describing its masonry, states that it is of a type which, though known in Greece, is neither of the Macedonian nor of the Constantinople style. This indicates influence from beyond Byzantium, but when considered together with other curious elements it is especially significant as suggesting Georgia. Apart from the fact that it has a three-fold polygonal sanctuary, with a proskomidia and diakonikon on either side and is surmounted by niches, the exterior walls are faced with partitioned decoration. These features, which are very Georgian, are found again in a less marked manner in the blind arches of Stelea and the decorations of the Metropolitan Cathedral of Bucarest.

In addition to this, Russia assimilated—both from Georgia and Byzantium—many other elements which she passed on to the West. Florian Zapletal finds traces of the style of fresco-paintings and architecture peculiar to Novgorod and Pskov in ancient Bohemia, whilst Stefanescu notes the appearance of the Rublev style of painting in Moldavia. It is possible that the monks of all nations in the various monasteries of Mount Athos did much to transmit foreign ideas to their own countries, but it seems more probable that foreign elements penetrated into neighbouring countries by the more usual routes. In Poland especially this would seem to be the case, for the monks from there did not usually find their way to the Holy Mountain.* Yet Sobolevsky notes frequent traces of the Russian in buildings and frescoes in the Poland of King Casimir—for instance, at Cracow, Sviatokreschensky monastery, Gnesdo and Lublin. Frescoes at the latter bear the date 1413 and the Russian name Andrew upon them, and since they have a marked resemblance to those of Zvenigorod it is tempting to conclude that they are the works of Rublev.

Regardless even of these facts it is evident that Georgia was largely responsible for the establishment of Byzantine

* Between the destruction of Ani by earthquake in the early thirteenth century and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453), great numbers of Armenians settled in Bulgaria, Transylvania and Poland, and the influence of these cultured folk on the art of Rumania, Poland, Bulgaria and Serbia must have been very considerable, and quite distinct from the infiltrations from Georgia through the Russian principalities.—W. E. D. A.

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culture in Russia and, further, for its spread throughout Europe. Had it not been for Georgia it is possible that this culture would have died out in Eastern Europe as a result of the Mongol invasions and the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, and then the history of Russian and of East European art would have been very different from what it is to-day.

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PITCAIRN ISLAND OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN

By C. M. Salwey

Author of "The Island Dependencies of Japan"; Hon. Member of the Asiatic Society of Tokyo, Japan.

This far away, fair little island has of late years become of great interest to England owing to the opening up of a nearer sea route thither by way of the Panama Canal. As soon as this wonderful achievement of "the marriage of the oceans" was effected, the New Zealand Shipping Co., that had amalgamated with the Federal Steamship Co. Ltd. (in 1912), facilitated a quicker passenger and cargo ship route between England and New Zealand than had hitherto been accomplished. This New Zealand Shipping Co. Ltd. was the first to adopt the Panama Canal route —burning oil fuel—a departure which proved its own value in place of sailing vessels.

Like most lonely islands, Pitcairn was in former times the scene of disorder, rapine, and murder. The story of the mutiny that occurred on board H.M.S. *Bounty*, carrying bread-fruit and other useful supplies and plants to the West Indies, is well known—namely, how the crew of the ship suddenly disagreed and wrought terrible deeds. The remaining men eventually settled on Pitcairn. The *Bounty* was burnt, and they lived as best they could in the hope of escaping justice.

Disturbance slowly subsided, and for some time very little was known about the island, but it was annexed to England in 1835. The Government having done all in its power to improve the state of affairs, permitted some of the inhabitants to repair to Norfolk Island for a time, as the population of Pitcairn was becoming overcrowded. The crew of the *Bounty* had also an opportunity to visit Tahiti and secured wives from thence, but preferring the life on Pitcairn, returned and settled down.

Meanwhile events had taken a turn for the better, and it was to the honour of England that one of the former mutineers—Alexander Smith by name, but who afterwards adopted that of John Adams—by reason (the story goes) of a dream, abandoned his former evil ways, and by the aid

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of a Bible and Prayer Book saved from the burning of the *Bounty*, brought the inhabitants, native, Tahiti, and English who had survived the mutiny, into a state of repentance and Christianity.

The New Zealand Shipping Co. Ltd. has, since adopting the Panama Canal sea route in 1914, elected to call occasionally at Pitcairn Island, and we are greatly indebted to this company for being able to communicate with the inhabitants of the island, and exchange friendly greetings by letters and gifts more often than formerly. This happens when one or other of its splendid fleet of passenger steamships has on board anyone desirous of so doing, and we have learnt that twelve travellers have recently spent a six months' holiday there.

The island is small; the actual dimensions vary a little when described by those who have visited it, but it is best to give the surface length at 2 miles long and $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $1\frac{3}{4}$ broad, which is the latest information received. It can be sighted 40 miles away on a clear day.

Like most small ocean islands, it owes its origin to volcanic action. Its huge Outlook Rock rises sheer from the water without any initial beach or strand or coral reefs. This is on the Panama side. Ships cannot approach too near, but the little boats manned by the natives are rowed out when they are visited by the large vessels, and great is the excitement over the event. If the wireless is not immediately ready to herald the news, the inhabitants, always on the look-out, shout to one another, until the whole of the community is informed and aroused. With great rapidity those who are able immediately prepare to fill their little skiffs with all the marketable produce they can muster—these consist chiefly of a great variety of fruit, flowers, roots, hand-made goods, baskets and boxes made from wood, and cocoanuts, bead and seed chains, shells strung together, or dainty pictures of the island and her floral beauty—to exchange for money, or better still, clothing, especially footwear, and dress materials, if available.

Pitcairn is described by a settler there as a "beautiful little gem of an island, beloved by all who dwell within it, without any wish to seek a more modern or conspicuous home." Besides the natives, there are permanently eight residents: these are New Zealand ladies, two Englishmen, and two Americans, and they all cling to this ocean dwelling-place. Its aspect from the water is very dignified in appearance; the highest peak is 1,008 feet, but there

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are other rocks of lower measurement. Its small area leaves but little ground for cultivation, though looking across on the Auckland (N.Z.) side, the cliffs are not so steep, and these are clothed with fine trees. It takes a whole day to climb the Outlook Rock from the base to the top and down again ; for this reason those who pass often wonder how a community of two hundred can find sufficient food in such a rugged, lonely place. But the rocks are dotted with stately trees that produce fruit, also suitable wood for furniture making and so forth.

The Isle of Pitcairn was first discovered by Philip Carteret in 1767. It was then uninhabited, but showing signs of a former life by several stone images and other relics of rude art and industry. It is situated in 25° 3′ S. latitude and 130° 8′ W. longitude. In 1790 it was taken possession of by nine mutineers of H.M.S. *Bounty* with six men and nine women. At the end of ten years John Adams was left with eight or nine women and several children.

Captain Mayhew Folger of the American sailing vessel *Topaz* did not arrive until 1814, and it was in that year that a visit to Tahiti was organized; but it was not agreeable, and the people having suffered so much for their faults, preferred to return to Pitcairn, where they decided to remain. Notwithstanding all that happened on the island, the people seem to have peacefully settled down, and imbued with all the earnest teaching of the penitent mutineer, John Adams, they have become a very happy and virtuous community.

The smallness of the island is, of course, a great drawback. The huge Outlook Rock that rises on the eastern side deprives the area of a considerable space, and the fact of this rock rising sheer from the sea without initial beach or strand is, as has already been said, a very great disadvantage. It is altogether mountainous in character, but clothed with beautiful verdure in places. Trees adorn its sloping declivities. The stately palm and the cocoanut dot the rocky ridges, and many wild flowers seek a footing in the crevices. One that is very sweet and fragrant finds its way to the hearts of all for its beauty and its perfume. Its tender blossoms enliven the waste spaces nearly all the year round. It is in the depressions of the rocks in the valleys and ravines that the fruit and anything productive of food is husbanded. Also there are gardens on the tops of the rocks and mountainous elevations. There are very few birds—only two species—that remain, but sometimes flocks of migratory feathered fowl pass across the Ocean of

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Peace, though they do not make a resting-place on the island even for a time.

There are no rivers, but there are neither wild animals or poisonous reptiles or insects. Typhoons and tornadoes will sometimes arise with their destructive force, and crops are swept away. In a recent hurricane in the early summer of last year, trees were violently uprooted, and the fruit, especially oranges, lemons, and bananas, were torn away and scattered with extreme violence.

The greatest disappointment the islanders experienced was when the rough and stormy weather prevented the mail-boats coming in to deliver letters, and only a message was transmitted across the waves that the mail-bags were carrying letters and packets for them, but the mail-boat must not stop in the storm, so that there was no chance of receiving home news for another month or more. It is on the further side of the island that the small boats put out to receive and welcome the passengers and staff of the large vessels wishful to communicate with each other. Bounty Bay is only a narrow creek, capable of sufficient width to enable one rowing boat at a time to go out, and this is dangerous when the tide is strong, and an unwelcome sea bath is often an undesired experience.

The climate is excellent, but very warm. Pitcairn is situated 1,503 miles south of the Equator, and some 1,200 miles from Tahiti. The soil is very prolific; fruit grows in abundance. There is nearly always a pleasant breeze tempering the heat over the thousands of miles of the Pacific Ocean.*

Trees that have been felled for building are ready in a very short time to supply a fresh yield of timber for other erections.

The list of various fruits consists of oranges, lemons, cocoa-nuts, bananas of twelve kinds, plantains, cherries, guavas, mangos, barbadeens, passion-fruit, bread-fruit, peaches, rose apples, pineapples, limes, tomatoes, snow-fruit, mountain apples, water-melons, rock-melons, etc. These are grown between the high ridges of rocks in the moist warm atmosphere of the valleys and ravines chiefly, though gardens for fruit culture are laid out in more conspicuous positions wherever there is more space available, not as yet confiscated by forestry.

The people also grow sugar-cane and arrowroot, but these require strenuous labour to perfect for wholesome

* Sixty-nine million of square miles.

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nourishment. The cane supplies a sufficient quantity when the harvest is good.

Drinking water is scarce, but is obtainable in small quantities from the heart of the rocks in several places. A geyser rises occasionally and spouts to a high altitude, accompanied by a terrific roaring sound like a wild animal.

Goats are plentiful, though in former times they did much damage, trampling on the newly-sown vegetation and consuming it freely. Horses were imported, but they will not live on the island. There is no room for cattle or sheep, or sufficient space to grow grass or fodder for their nourishment. Chickens are reared for food, and fish of many kinds add to the list needed to keep supplies up to the standard for the increasing population of already two hundred souls.

From amongst themselves they elect annually a magistrate and two councillors, who govern the island; and they are under the jurisdiction of the Governor of Fiji in his capacity as High Commissioner of the Western Pacific.

They are very grateful for kindness shown to them, and are eager to reciprocate in return. The religion taught to their forefathers by John Adams has borne good fruit, which is evident by the strangers that live among them in perfect harmony, ever doing good deeds for one another.

Among the recent settlers are three New Zealand ladies, who have lived there since February, 1927. They are most energetic in organizing occupations for the young people. Amongst other things they have instituted a Mutual Improvement Society, for when the girls leave school they do not have to earn their own living, so they have no ambitions of that kind, neither competitions with one another. There are no shops to get ideas from. So they meet in this society and express their own thoughts, recite poetry and dialogues, and expand their own knowledge for the edification of each other. In this manner the young members are brought together, and the teaching they have received keeps their memories keen in regard to what they have studied during their school training.

An Orchestral Society has also been formed (see Fig. A, p. 201), but it is hard to obtain instruments—only those that can be traded with from the crews of passing ships. A piano is of no use on account of the moist atmosphere, but musical instruments are greatly in request.*

Fancy needlework is taught, also knitting and em-

* One of the islanders can make violins, and a special piano has been received to suit the climate.

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broidery. When materials are obtainable it is a joy to see the young girls busy over articles of warm clothing for babies and the aged. Being so near the Tropic of Capricorn and the Equator, light garments are only required by the young girls and adults; nevertheless, the scarcity of materials for clothing for men and women is one of the drawbacks to the complete happiness of the inhabitants, as they consider themselves in every other respect self-supporting.

When it was known that the New Zealand ladies intended to remain among them, a nice new house was constructed. This took the wood of 160 trees to complete, and it is very comfortable and well arranged. Houses are to be seen here and there among the rocks and tall trees, and also near the edge of the island (Figs. B and C, p. 202), and from the house built for the New Zealand ladies many beauty spots are visible. In writing they tell us they have no time to grow melancholy; there is always something to do for the benefit of those around and the improvement of things in general. Still, the situation *is* lonely; the nearest island to Pitcairn that is inhabited is 300 miles distant, but with this they do not have any communication. Of the Paumoto Islands the nearest is Manygarioa. The nearest land is the tiny uninhabited island of O-in-ō, which is surrounded by a coral reef. It is 75 miles to the north, and it is to this one that the men go twice a year in their open boats to collect shells and corals and the tail feathers of tropical birds, also fine, beautiful wood. These are all marketable. Henderson's Island is the name of another island which is 120 miles away—too far away for open boats to reach; but as a motor engine has just been secured, a launch is being built, in order to make it another means of livelihood, that island also producing materials for barter and exchange.

(*To be continued.*)

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

INDIA AND THE UNITED STATES

By S. K. Ratcliffe

Not a great number of years ago the announcement of a title such as that adopted for this paper would have seemed far-fetched, even perhaps rather absurd. One would have been prepared for the question, What relation can there be between India and the United States? And one might well have been told that the title would not suggest to the members of the East India Association any subject-matter at all. But there is to-day no need to apologize for the headline, although it might still be news to many people in England that for a large and varied section of the American public India is an important subject, and that in the difficult period upon which the Government of India is now entering the state of public opinion throughout North America cannot be a matter of indifference to us in England, to the British in India, and to the Indian parties.

India is, indeed, a subject of constantly growing interest to the United States people, and increasingly important to them because of the expansion of American trade; the interaction between British India and the Philippines—America's leading Crown colony, as we should call it; the remarkable extension of American tourist traffic through the Middle East; the great development in Asia of modern American missions, and of those most notable products of American wealth and public service, the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations for research. To these we may add the widespread, and comparatively recent, awakening of a large portion of the American public to the political and social problems of India; the discussion, sometimes emotional or angry, of the social system of Hinduism, with its

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peculiar institutions of caste, of untouchability, of child marriage; and—most particularly—the impression made upon the common mind of the United States, during the past seven years, by the career, the personality, and the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi.

Points of Resemblance

Before I attempt, however, to deal with a few of the greater matters indicated in this opening passage, let me say a word upon a little piece of sociological observation or discovery, which I claim to be peculiarly my own. It is that India and the United States have more points of resemblance—and that not only in little ways—than any other two important countries one could name. For example: America is famous for forms of hospitality almost unknown in European countries. So is India. The American is outraged when he comes in contact with the inadequate bathing arrangements in English houses and hotels: the combined bedroom and private bath-room is for him a criterion of domestic comfort. India made it so, long before America thought of it. America prides itself upon its long-distance trains, and sleeping-cars. India worked out a comfortable system before Pullman was heard of. American trains are known by numbers: so are Indian; and in India, as in America, you can reach a traveller by telegram on the train. An American frequently has three names. In many provinces of India the rule is almost unvarying; and English people, when shortening the name, make the mistake, in India, as in America, of omitting the first instead of the second. Indians are polite, anxious to please, careful to avoid saying anything that might offend the stranger, and particularly the European. So, most emphatically, are Americans. We trust we are makng no false or arrogant claim (if I may adopt a once famous Curzonian phrase) when we say that Punctuality is an English rather than an Indian, or an American, virtue. India is a land that makes much of

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oratory; so is the United States. India is a man's country, with a marvellous social system which, to English students, appears as the extreme development of the *masculine will*, and is marked by a segregation of the serges such as we find difficult to realize. America, once producng the noble equal companionship of a pioneer farming life, has become the modern world's most astounding example of a masculine system: the empire of organized mechanical business, with its concomitant of an enlarging class of parasitic women, and a consequent separation of men and women that is unknown in England, France, or Northern Europe.

Such examples could be easily multiplied: but there is no need to continue. I may take it that I have said enough to prove my favourite thesis, that the United States is the India of the West!

The Philippines Parallel

I will ask you first to note that ever since the United States became responsible for the Philippines thirty years ago, the system of British India has had, for that relatively small but important minority of Americans connected with administration and semi-public enterprises overseas, a special appeal. It would be impossible to overstate the remoteness of Americans from all such matters before the Roosevelt epoch of expansion, with the exception of the small number of people concerned with the Oriental trade and the scattered men and women having some personal connection with the problems of missions and missionary education. The acquisition of the Philippines counts for almost nothing in American politics; they make hardly any appearance in the newspapers, are no nearer than the moon for the American multitude (save that they furnish effective pictures for the movies), but they are a reality for the Federal Government; they have created for the politicians and officials of Washington a problem analogous to that with which Whitehall and Simla have for so long been struggling —namely, the demand for Swaraj made by the political

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leaders of a people deeply divided by race, religion, and social habit.

When I began work in Calcutta a short time after the pacification of the Philippines, there was much discussion of the inevitable influence in British India of the United States enterprise—that is, of the energetic entry into the field of colonial administration of a great modern Power, built upon the basis of theoretic democracy. This expectation was not fulfilled. American and British administrators went their separate ways. It seemed to be taken for granted that what the United States did in the Philippines would not reflect to any discernible extent the experience of British India; while, if I am not mistaken, the advanced parties in India came early to the conclusion that their movement could not hope to gain much, either in stimulus or in education, from the experience of the Filipino efforts in the direction of home rule and independence.

As a consequence, during the past twenty years there has been a good deal less interaction between India and the Philippines than we expected, and I am inclined to think that the two problems will remain apart. The American administration has been modern and drastic; far less respectful towards ancient custom than that of British India has been; and latterly it has frankly and thoroughly been adjusted to the far-reaching schemes of American big business and to the prevalent conviction that the Archipelago affords a magnificent reservoir of raw material. During the eight years of the Woodrow Wilson administration the Philippines were allowed to go far towards Swaraj. With the passing of Wilson they came under the hand of a Rooseveltian dictator, the late General Leonard Wood. His methods and results did not commend themselves to Mr. Coolidge and Mr. Hoover, who made a decided move away from the Leonard Wood system by sending out Mr. Stimson, the present Secretary of State in Washington. The policy now being followed is intelligent, and it must have consequences of no little importance. The Hoover

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imperialism is compatible with large political concessions and generous expenditure upon agriculture, education, and public health, for Mr. Hoover knows that a contented population, with a field of opportunity for the intelligentsia and the new commercial and technical classes, makes a favourable condition for industrial schemes and the development of natural resources.

Here, then, in the Hooverized Philippines, is America's contribution towards the problem of colonial government, and, as you will observe, it offers little in the way of parallel for India. Nor do the Philippines make any difficulty, as we might have expected, in that wide area of inter-racial conflict which, in the American view, is appallingly fecund in problems that are incapable of tolerable solutions—Immigration. It is here that we touch the one great question that connects North America with India, and with Asia generally.

Asiatic Immigrants

In the period immediately before the War the United States became deeply concerned over the perils of immigration from the Old World. It was an epoch marked by a return of the mass movement of communities; a reception of phenomena familiar to the ancient world, with the added power of rapid transport from continent to continent. The cities and villages of Central and Eastern Europe were sending their folk in millions to the land of promise. Brown and yellow people, barred from Australasia, were persistently breaking into the States of the Pacific coast. The Chinese and Japanese had obtained a footing in California, as in British Columbia, and the citrus groves and fruit farms of that opulent land offered a marvellous field to the Japanese cultivator. He can make any desert blossom as the rose. Let him acquire a holding on Californian soil, in the glow of its marvellous climate, and in no time he is a landowner, a capitalist, with American labourers, and even farmers, in his employ.

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Twenty years ago the American States of the Pacific put up the barriers against all Asiatic peoples. They had been frightened by the increase of the Chinese and Japanese communities in California; they were resentful over the peaceful conquest by the Japanese of their own new colony, Hawaii. They checked the immigration from China to begin with by the imposition of a crushing impost upon such Chinese as could establish their right to enter the United States, while the menace of Japanese immigration was got rid of by means of a gentlemen's agreement with Tokio, under which Japanese labour was kept out altogether, while permits were granted to a small number of Japanese students and business and professional men. It remained for the United States Congress, in the time of President Coolidge and wholly against his will, to pass an Exclusion Bill, which ended the gentlemen's agreement and put an absolute ban upon Japanese immigration.

Indians in California

In the case of Indians (called East Indians in America, for an obvious reason), there has been no movement for absolute exclusion on the part of the Pacific States; but this, as we shall see in a moment, does not mean that Indians are without their specific and important grievances against American authority.

British Columbia had its own problem of Indian immigration. That far north-western province of the Commonwealth of Greater Britain enjoys a fine temperate climate, and many years ago its farm labour was recruited by some hundreds of Indian cultivators, mainly from the Punjab. The Indians of Western Canada, as we know, are part of the India-Dominion problem, though a very small part of it only; and we have no need of a reminder as to the calamitous incident of the shipload of Sikhs turned back from Vancouver in the first year of the War. The north-western regions of the United States might easily have had an identical small problem on their hands, since the

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fruit ranches of Oregon and the State of Washington are habitable by the hardier Indian races; but Indian settlers did not enter. There has (needless to say) been no indentured Indian labour in the United States.

The question of admission in California, the one State where it has assumed proportions of consequence, has been confined to cultivation, property owners, and educated Indians; and their grievance, it must be admitted, is of a very special character. They cannot acquire the status of American citizens. This privilege is refused to them under the laws of California, and the disability has been made absolute by the Supreme Court of the United States, the most powerful judicial tribunal in the world. Not a few of them are married to American wives, who retain their citizenship. The children, being born on American soil, are birthright citizens; but the Indians themselves, being Asiatics, are completely and finally barred from citizenship of the United States. Apart from the American negroes, enfranchised at the cost of civil war, all persons claiming the rights and privileges of American citizenship must belong to that branch of the human family formerly and very loosely labelled Caucasian—a pre-scientific classification made obsolete, as we had supposed, by the great modern generalization of the Aryan race. In the United States the science of anthropology has been vigorously pursued and liberally endowed; and there, even more adventurously than in Germany, the theories of Aryan origin have been worked over and extended to the uttermost.

Confiscation

And yet—so little co-ordinated are the legislative and judicial authorities with the heavily endowed departments of anthropology—the non-scientific label and definition are retained in law. The Indian is our Aryan brother, but apparently he is not of the Caucasian household. The Supreme Court in Washington has condemned him to

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exclusion as a member of a racial family which is outside the pale and by hypothesis belongs to a group which cannot be assimilated, a metal destined to resist all the fires of the American crucible.

This judgment of the Courts was followed by punitive action on the part of the State authorities in California. Many Indians had secured naturalization, or were in possession of their first papers. Of these they were deprived, and in some cases the authorities took the next step of declaring their holding of land invalid and of confiscating their property. In such cases the law as confirmed by the Supreme Court has brought hardship and manifest injustice; but the process, I understand, has now ceased. The sufferers belong chiefly to a small community of Indians engaged in fruit-growing in one Californian valley, a tract that has been enriched by many years of labour and had accordingly become a small centre of Oriental life, such as the highly self-conscious Americans of the Pacific coast found themselves impelled to break up. I know of no measures of compensation for those Indians in California who were deprived of their property, but those who had not been proceeded against are left in peaceful possession, and, although they cannot establish their status, they may look forward to staying in the country and bringing up families of (almost) 100 per cent. Americans.

There remains, for California especially, the problem of the Indian intelligentsia, which, at all events for some years, was complicated by the fact that the Pacific coast became an active centre of Indian revolutionary groups, dating from the day of Har Dayal, in 1914, and the Ghadr conspiracy.

The troubles caused by the organizations of young Indian extremists in India, of course, do not come within the range of my present subject. I pass them with only one remark. California has been a natural refuge and breeding ground for sects both religious and social, and it is not surprising

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that the American shore of the Pacific should, during the Eastern excitements of the past two decades, have provided a good deal of strange history. Some of the extremist groups have carried on activities directly related to the subversive movements in India; some behaved in such a way as to bring their members into conflict with State authorities in the Far West, and some rather sensational happenings were recorded in consequence. These have tended to find some kind of interpretation in current American fiction, as well as in periodical literature. I mention in this connection "Daughters of Earth," an autobiographic novel by Agnes Smedley, an American woman who in war-time threw herself into the cause of the young Indian revolutionaries in California. The book gives an exceedingly painful picture, unmistakably authentic, of the suffering of a radical American who became absorbed in the life of a company of *déracinés*.

In this connection I may note the fact, not unimportant in the influencing of American opinion upon Indian affairs, that for many years past a number of Indians, living permanently in America, have been engaged in continuous writing and speaking. A few have had the entrée to important newspapers with more or less regularity, and perhaps half a dozen in all have made positions for themselves on the lecture platform. Save for two or three professors, and one very accomplished Bengali writer whose books have a wide and deserved success, these have been, so far as I know, identified with the political opinion of the Left; for instance, giving support to the Non-Co-operation Movement. As, almost without exception, they are endowed with oratorical gifts, there is nothing to be surprised at in the opportunities they enjoy of addressing large audiences in colleges and clubs and in the open forums which have become regular institutions of the American Sunday.

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"Mother India"

This, perhaps, is the appropriate point for a few words upon the effect in the United States and Canada of Katherine Mayo's provocative book. "Mother India" met with a truly astonishing reception. It was not a best-seller as the term is understood in America (a country which will soon have the largest book-buying public in the world), but it was sold very widely and read enormously. The publisher told me that at the end of the first season its American sales were not less than 120,000. I can give personal testimony to the extent of the interest it aroused. In the winter after its publication I was lecturing for some two months in the territory lying between Montreal and Washington, New York and the Great Lakes, and that year I spoke at a larger number of colleges than usual. In perhaps the majority of cases I was invited to deal with Miss Mayo's theses, and as a rule I spoke under the heading of "Mother India and Modern India." The announcement of the title was sufficient to draw an overflowing audience. If it happened that in any place I gave two lectures, the one on "Mother India" brought the crowd.

The impression that had been made by the book made an interesting subject for analysis. Roughly, I should say that the audiences accustomed to free debate upon political and social questions, such as the Sunday forums, were hostile to, or suspicious of, Miss Mayo. This was due in part to her earlier books on American subjects, which were in support of influences deemed by progressive Americans to be anti-democratic. She was condemned as a strongly prejudiced observer. Secondly, in the colleges, unmistakably, the general attitude was one of curiosity. American students, lads and girls, have been excited by a long series of books treating of sex questions without reserve; and the rawness of Miss Mayo's writing in certain chapters was put by American youth in the same class with Judge Ben

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Lindsey's sensational disclosures of American juvenile immorality. Thirdly, there were the women's clubs and church-goers, who were in the main strongly for Miss Mayo, convinced that her picture of Indian domestic and social conditions was substantially accurate. They were not, I think, interested in any political moral that might be drawn from the book, but they looked upon it as useable and satisfactory, since it appeared to show the superiority of American civilization to those strange systems of the East which have a strong picturesque attraction for the Western reader and tourist, which have been praised by Tagore and many lesser Orientals, and presented to Americans as embodying certain principles and forms of social life, better and infinitely enduring than those of the dominant and abounding West.

One other question of a controversial kind, with which a large section of American opinion has been concerned, should be mentioned—opium. Whenever a Western nation is interested in missions it may be taken that the opium traffic comes under discussion and condemnation. Since the War the Government of the United States has been active, largely because of its own fears in reference to the world traffic in noxious drugs. It will be recalled that at one stage, when an American delegation was co-operating with the League of Nations Commission, a sensation was caused by the withdrawal of Mr. Stephen Porter, a member of Congress, and his colleagues, in protest against the policy of the Powers, including Great Britain. An action of this kind is in part explained by the fact that an American delegation or envoy is not as a rule free to negotiate. Positive instructions are carried from Washington, so that a point may easily be reached beyond which the American delegates are not permitted to go. With respect to opium, American opinion had been greatly influenced by the emphatic propagandist writing of Miss Ellen La Motte and others, whose sharp criticisms of British policy provided ammunition for those Oriental writers in

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America to whom attacks upon the British system came naturally.

America in this matter can speak and act with emphasis, for opium is not a cause of embarrassment to any department of Government in Washington. The question has fallen for the time somewhat to the background, and the Government of India has earned commendation on account of the recent official statement as to the approaching end of an unhappy traffic—if, that is, the efforts of the League of Nations, with which Britain and the Government of India are in accord, are backed up by the European and Asiatic Powers. Hitherto, it is well known, they have not been: European interests have been hard to control, and China in chaos is a terrible obstacle. Before leaving the subject I ought to note that we are indebted to the Foreign Policy Association of New York and to other responsible American bodies for serious study of the question, for informed criticism and constructive suggestion, which has met with appreciation in Whitehall as well as at Geneva.

Missionary Work

No one with any knowledge of modern Indian movements needs to be reminded that the influence of Christian missions extends far beyond the immediate sphere of the mission houses and schools, that, as a matter of fact, modern India with its multifarious awakening could not have come into existence without the Christian missionary and the mission schoolmaster and professor. William Carey and Alexander Duff are the inevitable forerunners of Gokhale and Tagore and of Gandhi himself. And the immense value of the American stream of influence may be judged if we go back to the wonderful record of Dr. Adoniram Judson, one of the greatest of missionaries, who went out to India from America first in 1812. It has been mainly through the missions that America has touched India and Indian problems; and an important point to note is that, while the last century was the great age of the English and Scottish

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missions, the American enterprises did not reach the epoch of expansion until the twentieth century. It is, I believe, in the Near and Far East that the American Board of Missions does the greater part of its work. Nevertheless the American societies make a list of more than two dozen.

No small portion of these, it may be remarked, would be classed in theology as Fundamentalist. As such they are decidedly outside the main stream of activity, and in years to come they will be in a position of increasing isolation, notwithstanding that the American missions will be influential in that movement towards church reunion in South India which is to-day the most lively issue of Indian Christendom. The English inquirer into the facts would probably be surprised to discover the relative smallness of the American undertakings in educational and medical, compared with evangelical, missions. The proportions will tend to change rapidly. Schools and clinics make a most important part of the institutional religion of the American people; and, as Geneva in the past ten years has shown, the one province of international effort in which the United States can co-operate, without controversy or reserve, is that of public health. The great Rockefeller Foundation was created in 1913, "to promote the well-being of mankind throughout the world." Few developments of that marvellous agency have been more significant than the recent work in India, and nothing is more certain than that in the immediate future we shall see a great expansion of that work, particularly in the campaign against tuberculosis and malaria, plague, hookworm, and diabetes.

U.S.A. Interest in India

I come now to the general question of America's interest in Indian affairs, a matter which must strike the English traveller in America as something actual and curiously widespread. I note, for instance, that when I spoke for the first time on the Pacific coast—at San Diego in Southern California—the subject asked for was "The Changing

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British Empire," and the first question of a lively half-hour after the address was, "When General Dyer was removed from the Army, was he given a pension?" From the time of my first visit to America, sixteen years ago, I have been invited to speak and write about India; but perhaps it would be accurate to say that it was the coming of the Indian contingent to the Western Front that first aroused the attention of the large public.

The importance of Asia to the United States must increase with the years. The drift of American power and interest is steadily towards the Far East: there are many commentators on public affairs in the United States preaching the doctrine that the balance of world affairs has been decisively and finally changed, and that the Pacific is destined to replace the Atlantic as the ocean around which civilization is spread. However this may be, there is between America and Asia a direct relationship of commerce and culture which is certain to be augmented. China will come more and more under American influences—industrial and commercial, educational, medical, literary. American wealth, knowledge, and experiment will play a great part in whatever political and social system is to emerge over the vast area between Manchuria and the Indian Ocean.

Likewise is it to be anticipated that, directly and indirectly, America must influence more and more the India of to-morrow. We need not be surprised if in course of time the zeal of American social reformers should be stimulated to meet the challenge offered by the multitude of India's untouchables. That immensely popular book "The Christ of the Indian Road" is the work of an American missionary, who has been familiarizing India with that method of round-table conference in which the exponents of American optimism find a seemingly inexhaustible virtue. It is a good method, and India, like most other countries, has great need of it. But Dr. Stanley Jones places in his application of it (if I may use a metaphor

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well known to him) a faith that is something more than the traffic will bear. The chief merit of his plan, many of us feel, consists in its encouragement of an attitude towards India—its social heritage, its life and thought—which is wholly and wholesomely different from that with which the older missionary efforts were so generally identified.

That agency of research and social service, the Rockefeller Foundation, is the most impressive example so far of the international use of American wealth, and it is no secret that its directors look upon India as a field having special claims to assistance—for India, after all, provides some of the great tasks for sanitary science and preventive medicine. To some of us it might seem that here, above and beyond all others, is the field for British research workers and administrators, backed by the money of Indian landlords and merchants, in the labour of liberating India from the diseases by which the people are ravaged. But the evidence implies that this mighty task may first be essayed by the great American agencies. It would be an irony indeed if in that work of redemption the records of the next ten years should prove that the major part of the credit belonged to that harsh and materialist farther West which, for Mahatma Gandhi, embodies all that the Eastern consciousness is compelled to resist and denounce.

The United States and the Reforms

The American public, as I have said, has been aroused to a keen curiosity in and varied concern for India; and as the British Government now prepares to meet the challenge of an evolving Constitution, amid circumstances never before confronting an imperial authority, we may be assured that events will be followed with critical interest, not unaided by a Press which is actually accustomed to furnish more Indian news than our papers will think fit to supply. We must, moreover, recognize this: No imperial system is tenderly treated by the people who belong to another. In the civilized world there are not many groups of people

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or organs of opinion that are given to speaking well of the British in India; and, roughly speaking, American opinion is not sympathetic; nor can we expect that, even if sympathetic, it would be adequately informed. There was a long period during which the British nation gave active sympathy to every people of whom it could be said that they were rightly struggling to be free from alien rule of any kind. That position is now occupied, in some degree, by the American nation, and therefore America will be lavish in its criticism. I do not see that we have the right to complain. And, on the other hand, I do not doubt that, when the Governments in Westminster and at Delhi address themselves to the great job that must confront them in 1930, there will be a large section of the American public able to realize the vastness of the undertaking, ready to show sympathy with a friendly Power in an unexampled difficulty, and not unmindful of the fact that at no great distance of time their own Government will be met with the necessity of finding an American solution for similar, though infinitely smaller, problems.

Mr. Gandhi and America

After the War the growth of interest was remarkable. The Punjab disturbances of 1919 and the rise of non-co-operation were featured in the American Press, and from 1922 onwards Mr. Gandhi became for the American people one of the outstanding personalities of the world. It would be difficult to make actual to an English audience the universality and directness of this interest. Several of the great American dailies sent out special correspondents to cover the Mahatma's movement, and almost every American weekly and monthly printed articles about the man himself and his gospel, emphasizing naturally his anti-Western philosophy at least as much as his political creed. The American imagination had been struck by the spectacle of this little naked elderly man, who had reduced the business of living to its barest terms, renouncing the whole of

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modernity and defying the mightiest imperial authority of the modern age.

More even than most peoples the Americans are attracted or impressed by a startling contrast; and for the denizens of New York and Chicago, Detroit and Los Angeles, there could be no imaginable contrast more startling than that provided by the apostle of non-violent non-co-operation. He embodies a complete negation of the American idea, of American history, habit, and ambition. Any simple description of Gandhi at Ahmedabad could sound like nothing but the extremest condemnation of America and Americanism; and I suppose that this was the main reason why, to adopt his own idiom, the American got so tremendous a kick out of it.

At the time of Mr. Gandhi's imprisonment, when the Government of India came in for criticism in America from many sides, it was an irresistible temptation for an Englishman to ask his audience or his friends what attitude the Government of the United States would adopt towards a disruptive thinker, with an enormous popular following, who at the crisis of his movement had dared the imperial authority to take him at his word. Would President Wilson, or any one of his successors, have allowed the Gandhist challenge to go unanswered? And was there not a very striking moral to be drawn from such a contrast as this: that a Judge in India sentenced the Ali brothers to imprisonment for two years only, while in the United States men and women had been condemned to twenty years' imprisonment for distributing a circular or for making speeches about war and peace no worse than might be heard in comfort any day on an Indian *maidan*?

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Monday, October 21, 1929, at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, when a paper was read by Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, entitled "India and the United States." Mr. H. Wickham Steed was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present:

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Patrick J. Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., C.V.O., Sir Hari Singh Gour, Sir Duncan Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., and Lady Chatterton, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Sir John Pratt, Lieut.-Colonel S. B. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Lieut.-Colonel A. J. O'Brien, C.I.E., C.B.E., Mrs. Morrison, Dr. Vangula Siva Ram, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. George Pilcher, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mrs. Waters, Mr. S. K. Dutt, Mr. R. Williams, Mrs. Martley, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. T. D. Bedi, Mr. Francis P. Marchant, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. and Mrs. H. H. Craw, Mr. John M. Pollen, Mr. Seton Karr, the Rev. H. Halliwell, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. J. Sladen, Colonel O'Dwyer, the Rev. W. Stanton, Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Mr. T. Cooke, Mr. G. T. Garratt, Miss Florence Frances Billings, Mr. F. Arnold Haight, Mr. P. G. Robertson, Mr. N. G. Thakar, Mrs. J. J. Nolan, Mrs. Dewar, Miss A. J. Wills, Mr. N. K. Ayyanagar, Dr. A. Shah, Mr. R. A. Narayan, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: In opening this afternoon's meeting I have an extremely easy task. Anyone who is interested either in India or in the United States needs no introduction to Mr. Ratcliffe, and Mr. Ratcliffe equally needs no introduction to them. As one of the foremost of living British journalists he wields an authority of his own. As a journalist of Indian experience and former editor of the *Calcutta Statesman*, he has the peculiar authority that attaches to those journalists who have experience of the subjects on which they write. As a frequent visitor and lecturer in the United States, he may claim some credence if he asserts that he knows something of the American people. Therefore without further ado, I will ask him to join together these two apparently separate and differentiated subjects of America—by which we understand, mainly, the United States—and India.

The Lecturer read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN: After so provocative a lecture as that to which we have listened, I find some difficulty in focussing my ideas or in suggesting

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the most profitable line of discussion upon the many issues that have been raised. The point that remains most prominently in my own mind is that of the relationship of the American people to Asiatic immigration. It is very difficult for those who have not been on the Pacific seaboard to understand how important that issue has been, and may conceivably again become. So little was its importance understood in London during the summer of 1921 that the powers that were in Downing Street conceived a British policy at the Washington Conference for the limitation of naval armaments which would infallibly have promoted conflict between the United States and Japan. Nothing was further from the thoughts of British Ministers than the promotion of such a conflict; yet, in their ignorance of the position that existed on the Pacific seaboard, they contemplated taking, with the best intentions in the world, a course which would have had extremely regrettable results. If their policy had been such as to inflame Japanese suspicion of the United States and American suspicion of Japan a conflict might have arisen. British Columbia would have been involved in it, and would probably have sided with the United States even against Westminster; Alberta and Saskatchewan would also have sided with British Columbia, and the Maritime Provinces of Canada would have been obliged to side with the other Provinces in order to maintain cohesion of the Dominion. It was not until this very simple position was understood that British policy at the Washington Conference underwent a beneficent change—before it was too late.

Out of the Washington Conference has come indirectly, by a very roundabout route, the present Anglo-American naval understanding which may help, also indirectly, the American people to look upon British problems in India and elsewhere with a more sympathetic or at any rate with a less critical eye. Naturally American eyes are critical. The anti-British tradition in America is strong. It is fostered and has been fostered for generations by school books. There are large elements in America that have no particular reason to look upon England with affection. Some of them are Irish, some are German, and some belong to other races, or other nationalities, and all these elements together have helped in the past to create a volume of feeling to which the late Mayor of Chicago, Mr. William Hale Thompson, thought it worth while to appeal. In fact his appeal was so strong that the severest ridicule hardly affected it. I remember the Mayor of New Haven, Connecticut, telegraphed, in response to a round robin from the Mayor of Chicago asking for general approval, a quotation from "Alice in Wonderland":

"'You are old, Father William,' the young man said,
'And your hair has become very white;
And yet you incessantly stand on your head—
Do you think, at your age, it is right?'

'In my youth,' Father William replied to his son,
'I feared it might injure the brain;
But, now that I'm perfectly sure I have none,
Why, I do it again and again.'"

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The Americans laughed at it, but Mr. William Hale Thompson continued until the citizens of Chicago "outed" him for other reasons.

I want to suggest a doubt which has perhaps occurred also to the mind of the lecturer. He says that, in future, American contact with Asia will increase. That is undoubted. I am not quite sure that one day San Francisco may not be the front door to the United States, instead of being the back door as at present. Nor am I quite certain that American ideas in their present form, or American feelings and beliefs, either in humanitarian form, or under the auspices of the missionaries, or of some aspect of business doctrine—I am not sure that all these influences will be accepted by the East exactly in their original spirit and quality. I have one illustration in my mind which may not be quite relevant. It concerns the so-called "Christian General" in China, Feng, who may to-day, or may not, be the prisoner of one of his rivals. Years ago Feng was in control of Peking. Having been in the United States, and having cultivated good relations with American missionaries in China, one of the missionaries had given him a fine brass icecream-making machine. Feng treasured it as his dearest possession, installed it on his mantelpiece as the emblem of Western civilization, and pointed it out to every American and British visitor as a proof of his firm attachment to Western culture and the Christian faith! Comical, no doubt. But one must never talk too lightly even of the comical side of Eastern conceptions of Western ideas or institutions. These may turn out to be some savour of good in the most peculiar circumstances; and we in the West have not always been so consistent in our conduct or so exhaustive in our knowledge as to be able to look with contempt upon those who are seeking their own way as we are still seeking ours. (Hear, hear.)

There is alleged to be a clash between the spirituality of India and the materialism of the average American outlook. There is certainty a clash between the really spiritual quality of a good deal of American "uplift" and the somewhat less spiritual customs which govern the conduct of many people in India and elsewhere. No one can deny the spiritual quality of the work done by the American missionaries, and by the Rockefeller and Carnegie foundations for research. Every Englishman must heave a sigh of regret that a great scientist like Sir Ronald Ross, who did so much pioneer work in the study of tropical diseases, had not the resources of these organizations to back him up. The world is not so well off that any of us can afford to show a narrow nationalism. If America can send India funds, workers, and organizations that will attempt to tackle some of the social and health problems of that vast sub-continent, they well may be allowed to do so, and we ourselves may be stimulated by their example. (Hear, hear and applause.)

Sir Albion Banerji said that having visited America, although perhaps not quite so recently as Mr. Ratcliffe had done, and coming into contact with the cultural as well as the economic activities of that country to however small a degree, he might perhaps be allowed to make a few observations. The American mentality regarding the East generally was a curiosity complex. That mentality had been created by three points of

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contact. One was the cultural, which created a tremendous curiosity for Eastern systems of thought, Eastern religion, and Eastern philosophy in general, but especially relating to India. The other was political, America being a democratic country with all those strong forces of democracy acting right through the various strata amongst the American people. The Americans generally had been studying questions connected with the relationship between Great Britain and India with the most intense interest, and that interest was characterized by two kinds of feelings, one extremely pro-British and the other extremely anti-British. The third is the commercial or the business contact. Analyzing the particular attitude of the average American mind, one was tempted to infer that there was no adequate means of information available to the American people in regard to Indian questions generally. In the first place, the Press often was very misleading. The American Press, as they all knew, when any Indian visited their country almost ran riot with imagination. No matter what community he came from, no matter what persuasion he belonged to, no matter whether he spoke of politics or religion, there was a tremendous desire and inclination to have very sensational headlines regarding the man and his personality. The result was, and this he said with a certain amount of regret, that in the case of some of their countrymen who visited America, without any sense of responsibility opened their mouths, and much wrong information regarding Indian movements, national aspirations and ideals was spread throughout America under the very influential agency of the American Press.

At the same time it could not be gainsaid that some of their best minds had made perhaps the biggest reputation in America than anywhere else in the world. Take for example the case of Swami Vivekananda. There was the great antithesis between the extreme materialism of the American outlook and the extreme mysticism of the Oriental philosophy, and between the two there was rather an unbridged gulf, with the result that the average American was most anxious to find something tangible in the great mist or chasm between the two ideals which he wanted to get hold of, not only to satisfy his curiosity, but also to satisfy the inner cravings of his heart as well as his mind. Such being the case, they would notice various big things happening in America. They found evangelists who were really American born wearing the Hindu turban and preaching the Hindu religion. They found also many Indians who could easily draw large American audiences, and who professed to be learned in their philosophies, giving addresses with regard to Indian culture. When any noted young gentleman like Mr. Krishnamurty visited America there was a leading question asked as to whether he was really a leader, or whether he had a great following, or whether he was simply put up by a philosophical society under the influence of Mrs. Annie Besant. Those were all probings of the American mind simply because they were unable to find some adequate and tangible data for understanding the Indian position in regard to cultural systems as well as to the political, social, and economic activities of the present day.

He thought that under the circumstances Indians had a duty to perform

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for the simple reason that the Americans were very sympathetic and most liberal-minded in regard to all legitimate aspirations of India as a whole. It would be a very desirable thing to organize such movements as the interchange of University professors or the interchange of well-conceived educational or cultural films by which suitable and proper knowledge regarding all matters American could be communicated to India, and similarly all matters connected with India could be communicated to America. (Applause.)

Mr. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS said that between his visits to America in 1920 and the present year he had noticed a great difference in the American attitude towards India and Indian problems. Would he be putting it too high if he said that India has now almost displaced Ireland as a bone of contention with at any rate what one might call advanced sections of the American nation? During his visit to the United States in the spring of this year he was conscious of being subjected to the same kind and the same degree of questioning about British policy with regard to India as in the year 1920 had been addressed to him in regard to Ireland. (Hear, hear.)

He thoroughly agreed with Sir Albion Banerji that there was in the United States to-day a great hungering for facts about India. In the absence of facts, people were very glad to listen to rhetoric. That was one of the reasons which made the appeal of Miss Mayo's book so vital to the uninstructed, because superficially read the book appeared to be so thoroughly documentary; and it was impossible to expect the average American to realize that no one ought to generalize, even upon the basis of fifty instances, in regard to a population of 319 millions.

He agreed with Sir Albion Banerji on the necessity for a bridge of understanding between the two countries. When he was with the Government of India a system of exchange between professors in the American Universities and professors in the Indian Universities had been arranged. The system worked well for two years, but at the end of that period came the provincialization of education, and nobody was sufficiently interested to continue it. It was one of the matters which really did require the attention of all Indians.

Then he desired to subscribe to what Mr. Ratcliffe had said as to the necessity of proper approach from the American side if America wanted to help India. We in this country were very conscious of the fact that India having attained a considerable degree of self-respect was not now willing to receive benefits handed out by anybody, so to speak. India at the present moment thought that she was entitled to look after her own interests in the way of sanitation, medical relief, and education; and while he believed that the present American efforts in this direction were fruitful in India because they were pursued with tact and with courtesy, he was perfectly sure that there was a strong body of opinion in America which desired to force upon any and every Asiatic people, Indians included, what might be called an American prescription for happiness. One of the reasons why it was necessary to bridge this gulf between America and India was the fact that America had most of the money of the world, and would be able to

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finance most of the missions of the world and most of the medical research of the world. There might be the risk lest these great benefits should be presented to India in a form which Indian self-respect would not admit of. That, he suggested, was a further reason for the necessity of enlightenment which Sir Albion Banerji had advocated. Underneath all the imperfections of existing information, there was really a genuine American interest in India and in Asia generally. Unfortunately, many Americans looked upon India as having not only a different but also an inferior kind of civilization. That was one of the things which they must arrange for America to be educated out of, by bringing Americans into contact with the best brains in India and with really representative examples of Indian culture. (Applause.)

Dr. VANGALA SIVA RAM (Lucknow University) said he desired to express his gratitude for the most interesting and lucid paper which Mr. Ratcliffe had read to them. He had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Ratcliffe, the lecturer, when he was travelling in America. There was one aspect of the matter that he desired to refer to, and that was the great hospitality and kindness shown to students in the American Universities. Although in America they had strong views in the matter of colour, they opened their scholarships to Indian students as well as to the American people. It was not so in some of the British Universities, even in the matter of football and cricket.

He thought the exchange of University professors would be a very good idea if some central agency like the American Universities Union or the Indian or British Universities Bureau could work out a system of exchange. The system which had been referred to by Mr. Rushbrook Williams did not work out very satisfactorily, partly because of the suspicion of the Legislature that the right men were not picked out for the positions. With regard to the historic relationship of India and America, in the eighteenth century, before America became independent, the New England colonies had a great and growing trade with the East Indies and India. It was a very flourishing, very profitable, and lucrative trade. All that trade unfortunately was cut off on the Americans becoming independent, though even now the United States holds a high place in India's foreign trade, especially in cinema films.

There were one or two points of resemblance between American and Indian character, such as idealism, in addition to those referred to by the lecturer. (Applause.)

Mr. YUSUF ALI said he had rather hoped that he might sit in a corner and hold his tongue because he was just about to visit America, and did not want to say anything that might be quoted against him. The paper was most interesting. He wished to touch upon two points that occurred to him as those on which he could perhaps offer a few remarks. One was the opium question. He had officially to deal with the whole of the opium question in its international aspect when President Wilson asked for a representation from the Government of India. Nothing struck those people who studied the question from the Indian point of view so forcibly as the fact that the whole American thesis on that subject was built up on

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a groundwork of historical fallacies. He was not there to defend British policy in China. Probably very little could be said to defend it in certain phases at any rate; but he would say that, as far as the hands of India were concerned and of the Indian people, of Indian sentiment and of Indian public opinion, they were perfectly clean as regards the opium question. They did not force opium on China. When through certain circumstances the Indian opium monopoly became responsible for a great deal of the bitterness that was aroused in anti-opium circles, India was the first—particularly the Indian Government, with Indian opinion at its back—to sacrifice a revenue of something like £5,000,000 a year (sometimes it even ran to as much as £9,000,000), but a steady revenue of £5,000,000 a year, for a cause which she considered right. They pointed this out, and they also pointed out that the opium question was intimately connected with another question, in which America had some responsibility herself. That was the question of the deleterious drugs—cocaine and allied drugs. Ever since then the opium question had been in the forefront of international negotiations. Unfortunately, both in the League of Nations and in newspaper discussions, they found that the two questions were treated separately, whereas in fact, as the Government of India conclusively proved, the two questions were most intimately connected. If you rooted out the opium habit and substituted for it facilities for cocaine, you were simply jumping from the frying-pan into the fire. He mentioned that question in order to show how sometimes, with the best intentions in the world, with the most philanthropic desire to help people who are supposed to be helpless, you might be pursuing a policy that really would leave the door open for other things much worse than the things you complained of. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. Ratcliffe had told them, amongst other characteristics of American life and thought, that the United States was the greatest example of masculine policy. He had been reading a good deal of American literature, and it struck him, so far as social and humanitarian questions were concerned, that America was the greatest example of the prevalence of the feminine policy.

The CHAIRMAN interposed to say that he understood Mr. Ratcliffe to have said that the United States was the greatest example of masculine industrial organization, and not of policy.

Mr. YUSUF ALI accepted the correction, but desired to point out that femininism of a particular kind, which he could not define or qualify offhand, had perhaps the greatest and most far-reaching influence in national policy in America—greater than in any other country in the world. Other countries had been femininist; American public opinion had, to his mind, a truly feminine trend. American mass education had been entirely dominated by the women. The amendment which abolished alcoholism was almost entirely due to the agitation backed by the women.

The LECTURER: No.

Mr. YUSUF ALI said that to-day, if you looked at all the American invasions that took place in this country, in Europe, and in India, the American nation was mostly represented by its women. Perhaps in that

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respect America was fortunate, because they were representative of some of the best sides of American life; and in that respect, if in India they considered the influence that was exerted by American women, they could not fail to profit by their example in social and public life. (Applause.)

Sir HARI SINGH GOUR confessed to an unwonted trepidation in rising to speak, because it was by a mere chance that he happened to be there, and he was not sufficiently primed to say what he had to say on that occasion. He would, therefore, very briefly tell them of his first impression of the very eloquent and informing lecture that Mr. Ratcliffe had delivered to them. The first half of it had his sympathy entirely, because it showed how the Americans were like the Indians. He felt that he had gained a few inches in height when he learned that he and his countrymen were in the van of material progress, as the Americans undoubtedly were. He was wondering whether he was awake or dreaming; but when he heard the latter half of the lecture, in which Mr. Ratcliffe contrasted the East with the West, he felt disillusioned, because he had pointed out to them how the Americans were so unlike Indians—namely, that one was a race of mystics and the other exponents of modern materialism. However, he agreed with the lecturer and with Sir Albion Banerji that in America there was an insatiable curiosity about India and everything Indian. It had been stimulated and awakened by a recent publication, to which Mr. Ratcliffe had made reference. It had been said that that publication had reached the uttermost corners of the American hamlets and was widely read. If that publication was read it would be found that it dealt with a very large number of social problems with which the speaker's name was associated. He had a personal grievance against the writer of that book. She quoted him very frequently because her diatribe was against the social condition of the people of India. The author of the book said in many places that he had said such and such a thing, and that was an end of it; but it was only the beginning of his speech in which he had pointed out the necessity of reform in India. If the author of the book had only gone on in fairness to himself and to the social reforms in his country she would have found that those evils were being redressed effectively by the Legislative Assembly, and with the backing that he had received from the Indian representatives in that House. That was what the lawyers called *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi*. It was that which had taken the fancy of the American people, and they said there must be something extremely rotten in the social condition of India. He was not for a moment going to deny it. He was one of those who had always struggled for the social uplift of their people. He did not deny that there were social abuses in the country. There were social evils in the country which had to be redressed; but at the same time he asserted emphatically that the intelligentsia of the country were now alive to the necessity of social progress, and were doing everything humanly possible to make up the leeway which they had to make up on account of their apathy and their neglect for generations past. With the growth of public opinion and with the impact of Western civilization and culture, of which he was an unfeigned admirer, and which he had been asking his countrymen to profit by, India was the

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gainer; and if America, whether pro-British or anti-British, took a fair view of the situation, she would be bound to admit that the British connection with India had focussed their vision to the great social problems which they were trying to solve. The very reforms, the very cry for Swaraj, was due to the Western influence in the East. Had it not been for the influence of the West on the East, he ventured to submit that they might have had something like a pinchback Swaraj, but they would not have got the real and genuine article of which the first instalment was given in 1919.

With regard to the opium problem India had sacrificed an annual income of £9,000,000, though China was none the better for it. China said: "If you will not give me your opium I will take it from Turkestan and grow it on my own soil." India had lost the money, he said, and China was still smoking opium. That was the pith and marrow of the opium problem. (Applause.)

Mr. G. T. Garratt said that as one who had written in America on Indian subjects he would like to endorse the remarks of Mr. Rushbrook Williams as to the extraordinary hunger in America for facts. From the journalist's point of view, everybody would agree that in America they would take, even in their extraordinarily widely read Press, articles which were so heavy and full of statistics, that would have no earthly chance in England at present. The moral was this, that those who wrote on Indian subjects, and he appealed particularly to Indians, ought to cater for that hunger for facts and figures. One did hope that in future this great American public would be fed not only by the very lucid articles contributed by Mr. Ratcliffe, but would also get a rather more solid type of information from Indians themselves than at present. (Applause.)

The Lecturer: The main point I should like to emphasize in the discussion is the suggestion for a resumption of the interchange between the Universities of the two countries. It was a point I had not thought of, that in the provincialization of education we have a greater difficulty in arranging the interchange of professors. It was suggested by one speaker that it might be done through the American Universities' Union, or the English Universities' Bureau. Here, perhaps, is an opportunity for some of the great scholarship foundations in the United States, about the acceptance of whose benefits a certain measure of doubt was expressed by the Chairman and by some of the speakers. With regard to the point as to the reputations made by Indians in America, it is almost impossible to speak about relations between America and India without a reference to the fame of Tagore and the apparition of Vivekananda at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893.

I must confess that I omitted altogether a point brought up by Sir Albion Banerji. He suggested that certain good things in America should be made known in India through the American films. I realized that I had left out the greatest influence upon India that comes from America. It is quite impossible to exaggerate the effect of the American films on the world and on the East. In an article in the current number of the *Yale Review* I have spoken of the extraordinary contradiction which is

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found there. Every representative American speaker, from the President downward, takes for granted that American civilization is superior to everything else in the world, and I have asked the question: What is the world to think when that civilization comes through the American news in our papers and the continuous stream of the American films? When you think of the hideous sides of American civilization represented in those films, the contradiction between the claim and the fact which the world sees will hardly go into words. One part of America's relations with the East will certainly have to be considered seriously in relation to that influence.

I knew perfectly well that my little paragraph about the identity of certain American and Indian characteristics of civilization would bring up Mr. Yusuf Ali or somebody else. His argument was irresistible that American femininism has been of enormous influence. But, after all, every American business is the great embodiment of the American will, and women are kept out of it generally. Mr. Yusuf Ali said that education was entirely the work of American women. Primary education to an overwhelming extent was a femininist creation. Higher education in America is almost entirely a masculine creation. Various speakers, beginning with Sir Albion Banerji, pointed to the important fact that there are certain analogies between what we call the spiritualism of the East and the materialism of the West. These need to be kept in mind. As to the better informing of the American public, that is exceedingly important. The larger American papers have in the past seven or eight years given a much larger amount of Indian news than our papers. When I came back from India just over twenty years ago the great English papers on the whole gave a liberal amount of Indian news. Journalists who are interested in Indian news to-day know that it is a much more difficult thing to get Indian articles into the British Press than it was before the war. English journalists know that when they write on Indian subjects they can find a more ready market and a much more lucrative market in the American Press and in the American magazines than they can in England. (Applause.)

Dr. PARANJPYE, in proposing a vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman, suggested that the Secretary might be requested to take steps with regard to the preparation of a paper to be read on "How Indians look at Americans."

Sir LOUIS DANE supported the vote of thanks to the Lecturer and Chairman, and referred the audience to an interesting article on opium in the current number of the ASIATIC REVIEW.

The vote of thanks was carried with acclamation.

The proceedings then terminated.

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THE FAUNA OF INDIA

By Waris Ameer Ali, I.C.S.

One body of God's creatures has been, doubtless unwittingly, boycotted by the Simon Commission. While all "minorities," down to those composed of human beings regarded by many of their fellow-countrymen as lower in the scale of creation than some animals they hold sacred, have had their spokesmen, none has arisen to champion the fauna of India.

It becomes necessary to draw attention to the fact that India possesses one of the most varied and interesting fauna of the world, and to the very patent danger there is of this fauna being in large measure exterminated if the position is not realized and remedial measures taken before it is too late. There is no necessity for an alarmist view, but facts are facts and cannot be glossed over.

It is only of very late years that enlightened public opinion in the Anglo-Saxon countries has awakened to the fact that wild life is an asset to the nation. Unlike the masterpieces of man, if once destroyed it can never be replaced. This has aroused a demand for measures of protection, which in some cases go far beyond anything we have in British India.

At the present moment, however, there seems to be danger of an apathetic, or even an antipathetic, attitude being displayed to the question—probably by reason of the mechanization of the age and of the upbringing of modern youth, which, unlike our generation, is taught to lisp among machinery. There is thus a tendency to question the use or necessity of permitting wild life to continue, and it is regarded by some as a possible obstacle to the Jaggannath of "progress."

Antipathy to the continued existence of wild life is dis-

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played by two types of men. The first is the person who disclaims against so-called "blood sports." Sport may be defined as the pursuit and capture of a wild animal under certain well-defined conventions to give it a reasonable chance. These are anathema to the "anti-blood sportsman," who is oblivious of the fact that the survival value of many animals would be "nil" if it were not for the sport involved in their pursuit. Nor is he aware of the incongruity of his attitude. With very rare exceptions he is by no means averse to getting his teeth into his beef and turkey at festive seasons, and thus we have no declamation on his part against the raising of live stock for slaughter.

The second type would doubtless argue that because, say, 500 people out of over 300 million are yearly slain by wild beasts in India they should all be exterminated. And yet we have no cry for the abolition of the motor vehicle, although it massacres 5,000 in the year out of the 45 million inhabitants of these islands, surely one of the most cruel of "blood sports."

The Balance of Nature

No reasonable person will argue that animals come before human beings. But there are portions of the globe unfitted for occupation by mankind for climatic or other reasons, and other parts which it is necessary to keep free for the provision of forest products for purely agricultural or industrial areas. Especially is this the case in India, where a century of the *Pax Britannica* has raised the population from 200 millions to 319 millions, with a resulting extension of cultivation absorbing the major portion of village waste lands, so that Government reserved forests are the last source of supply and of good grazing left in most parts of the country.

As for the necessity of wild life, anyone who has been brought up in the country will understand the danger of upsetting the balance of Nature—that is, of destroying certain species of birds or beasts which keep in check other

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species that are a plague to man or to his products. Again, science tells us that the study of life depends on the correlated study of all living forms. Who knows what discoveries for the alleviation of human suffering may not be in store in the future as a result of the careful and controlled study of wild life.

The retention of forest reserves is essential in India, and will continue to be more so than ever for the supply of necessary products—such as timber for building, wood for cheap fuel, and grass for thatching and fodder—to the towns and cultivated rural areas. Moreover, they are urgently needed to prevent flooding and denudation on a devastating scale, of which we have had such a terrible example this year in North-Western India, which has fewer forests than any other part.

I must here point out that the conditions which will be discussed in this lecture apply only to British India. The ruling Princes of feudatory States look after their game as a rule much as is done in the West, and comment on their feelings of sportsmanship would be rightly resented.

Any unprejudiced observer will admit that within the last decade there has been a great and increasing destruction of wild life within British India, outside Government reserved forests, caused not by bona fide sportsmen of any nationality, but by hunters for the pot and poachers, not confined to any one social class or community.

Extermination

There is also grave reason to fear the extension of this destruction in Government forests. Personal observation, as well as experiences compared with sportsmen from other neighbourhoods, convince me of this fact. The eleventh hour has sounded for the wild life of India. Unless public opinion is aroused and reasoned action is taken, it will go the way of wild life in so many countries which are now struggling to maintain or reintroduce it at great trouble and expense. For instance, the ibex was exterminated

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from the mountains of the Grisons in Switzerland in the seventeenth century, and has now been reintroduced by public subscription under measures of the strictest protection. And the great democratic United States, warned by the previous extermination of the greater part of their wild life, inaugurated a very strict system of control in many parts. In some of their States there is a daily limit to the amount of game birds which may be shot by each gun, and public opinion is strong enough to see that this is enforced.

Among the ordinary people of India those who take the trouble to think consider that the game, whether four-footed or feathered, is their own, with which to do what they like as a source of immediate food or profit. In this they are no worse than many in other parts of the world who ought to know better. The result of this spirit is the remorseless harrying of any bird or animal, in season and out of season, which is eatable or reputed to be of medicinal value according to Eastern ideas. The upshot is the extermination of most of the wild life in any area where the population is mainly given to a meat diet, while in other parts non-migratory game birds, such as the spot-bill or comb-duck, are rapidly becoming extinct.

The spirit of destruction is exemplified in the remark of a local landlord to a British official who was out shooting black partridges—"Sahib, why do you trouble to shoot them when they are flying? If you came here in the monsoon you could shoot them on their nests!" It is only fair to say that many another landlord is as good a sportsman and shot as can be found. Destruction is not confined only to the gun, although that is the most common agent. Fowlers and those who use snares are ruthless. In my neighbourhood I remarked on the great diminution of black partridges in given localities, and was told that the peasantry, having seen the Sahibs shoot them, thought they must be good to eat, and therefore exhausted them, and then ran them down with sticks when the crops had been harvested—*i.e.*, in the pairing season.

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Arms Licences

There is no doubt that the death knell of much, if not all, of the wild life of British India was sounded by the pronunciamento of a Simla committee, composed of officials and politicians, which recommended the amendment of the Arms Act Rules in 1920 to enable persons of certain property qualifications ordinarily to secure arms licences without question. These persons are now styled the "entitled class." Without going into the details of official procedure, it may be said that licensing officers (who are the district magistrates) are now very chary of refusing applications, for many reasons. Probably fear of political pressure and that bugbear of Indian provincial life, the "question in Council," has much to do with it. The net result has been the dissemination of arms into the hands of many irresponsible persons. Many of such weapons can be used with effect against troops or police from behind a mud wall or from high crops, though antiquated or even dangerous in appearance; some are breech-loaders, and some are high-velocity rifles.

When I was myself a licensing authority, I would have been the last person to deprive a true sportsman of a licence, although owing to his lack of means he might not belong to the "entitled class." But I made it a routine procedure personally to examine all applicants in the handling of arms. A part of the test was to give the applicant a gun of my own, unloaded but with the "snap caps" in it, and tell him to fire it. Anyone who was obviously "gun shy" was sent away forthwith, and the reason was recorded in a formal order on the application. If an appeal was made to the Commissioner the cat was usually let out of the bag—namely, that the applicant had a faithful servitor or relation who could use a gun with effect; but I never knew an appeal to succeed on these grounds, whatever might be the upshot now.

These faithful servitors and dependants are amongst the

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most destructive agents in the country. Not only do they keep their masters' pots filled, but they poach for themselves and for the market. Moreover, they are quite willing to turn a dishonest penny by hiring out their masters' weapons to robbers. The usual tariff now is Rs. 50 a night for a breech-loader. Nor is this confined to servitors. In a dacoity trial before me last spring, there was strong reason to believe that the gang had hired the breech-loader of a landholder from the next district. Unfortunately the confessing accused and the prosecution witnesses could not identify, or more probably were paid not to identify, the "stranger with the gun" who assisted them.

An outwardly prosperous farmer or *thekadar* of my neighbourhood is now serving a sentence of eight years' imprisonment for attempting to raid a reputedly rich village with the assistance of his own tenants. He wished to acquire a substantial dowry for his daughter, whom he had affianced to a man above him in the social scale. The temptation was a breech-loader which had been secured by him under licence. The robbery was frustrated by the vigorous counter-attack of the raided villagers, who captured the farmer *in situ* with gun complete. This rendered useless his alibi, carefully prepared beforehand, which with his social status would have rendered his acquittal highly probable.

Arms Diffusion

For one case which comes into court we may say that a dozen occur. Enough has been said to show the danger of scattering firearms promiscuously over the immense areas of rural India, popular as this may be among arms dealers or other interested persons. Confidence in the stability of the present order is not so assured as formerly, and this is another reason for the desire to acquire arms. A titular Rajah of the old school of my acquaintance has accumulated a collection of eighty weapons, mostly high-velocity rifles.

It is difficult enough to secure the continued safety of human beings from the consequences of the diffusion of

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arms, looked upon with equanimity by those at headquarters who have the framing of policy in their hands, whether from apathy or from a desire to appease the clamour of a section, or from sheer ignorance of conditions outside their ken. A very able Secretary to Government once vouchsafed the opinion to me that the spread of arms did not matter "as the people would only kill themselves with them."

In view of this it is idle to expect that the Wild Birds and Animals' Protection Act, 1912, and the rules passed thereunder, will remain anything else than the dead letter which they are and have been for a decade or more. Magistrates are drawn more and more from the town-dwelling classes both of India and Britain, subordinate officials are apathetic where their superiors are uninterested, and many of them are among the worst offenders themselves. I have known a couple of police constables wipe out during one nesting season the whole of a muster of peafowl from a wood where they swarmed, and that near a Hindu temple. These, as you know, are considered sacred by Hindus.

It is impossible to expect any reversal of the policy of permitting firearms to be held on a property qualification unless untoward events occur. Some who have long resided in India are content to shake their heads and say that matters have gone too far and that no good can now be done. This counsel is usually offered by those who have had all the sport they want, and who no longer take any active interest. It is not necessary to take up such an attitude of despair. The example of the United States shows that efficient protection of wild life can be carried out even in remote areas where the law of the land in respect of human life is not always easy to enforce. The ordinary Indian landholder is not by nature a destructive agent; he and his servitors are only doing, as I have said, what others have done who ought to know better. He will have to learn that his game is an asset to him. He makes a good thing out of his fisheries; there is no reason why he should not do so out of his game. There is no

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n why he should allow any "Khuda Baksh" or "Ram h" with a gun to slaughter at all times on his land, e British counterparts are not allowed to roam at will with ons over other people's grouse moors or deer forests.

Remedial Measures

The fee for an arms licence is extremely low in India. ere is no extra charge for a licence to shoot feathered me, as there is in these Islands, nor is there any approach the heavy fees prevailing in the African Colonies, which constitute one form of protection. But the Indian landholder or yeoman will not be taught without propaganda, and this must be done by persons or societies interested and having a knowledge of the conditions. This also will not be furthered without officials themselves taking an interest in the matter and fully realizing all its bearings. Prosecutions under the Act for first offences and harsh measures are not even necessary. A wise discrimination in the grant of licences for sport, a strict scrutiny of the actions of those who have them, and an immediate deprivation for any misuse will effect a very great deal. So will a knowledge of the Schedules under the Act, provided that it is enforced. In my own Judgeship I had copies of the schedule of protected birds and animals and close seasons translated into the vernacular at my own expense and distributed to licence holders through my colleague the district magistrate; so that at any rate there was no excuse of ignorance of the rules, which hitherto had only been printed in English.

Forest Reserves and Jungles

I now turn to what is a much more serious question, namely the threat to the large game of British India in Government reserved forests or in forest belonging to great landlords. With regard to this last, which is known as zemindari jungle, the same factors operate as in the open country. The only modification is that some of the more sporting landlords preserve with the same care as in Britain,

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arms, looked upon with equanimity by those at headquarters who have the framing of policy in their hands, whether from apathy or from a desire to appease the clamour of a section, or from sheer ignorance of conditions outside their ken. A very able Secretary to Government once vouchsafed the opinion to me that the spread of arms did not matter "as the people would only kill themselves with them."

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others are apathetic and allow servitors or strangers destroy game to their hearts' content.

The Government reserved forest is the last refuge of a much of the fauna, which could live and thrive there without let or hindrance to mankind if permitted to do so within reason. In the forests of Gonda, in North Oudh, for instance, are found tiger, bear, leopard, hyæna, wild dog, wild boar, and three kinds of deer, with two of antelope. This was varied in 1924 by the visit of a stray rhinoceros. As shown by place-names, the wild elephant has disappeared but recently. The audience must not, however, think that all these animals are to be found in every quarter of these forests, although up to a very few years ago any beat would disclose a fairly representative collection.

The Tiger

I am going to take this piece of country as an example which I have known well, and in which the last five years have shown whither the present rate of destruction will lead if not checked. Here let me correct a popular misapprehension. That magnificent but unfortunate animal the tiger is everywhere taken as a simile of all the qualities of ferocity and destruction. In fact, there is now a play on the London stage in which the bad qualities of certain disreputable human beings are said to be "the tiger in them." With all respect for the talented author, I venture to say that the average tiger would be very averse to cultivating the failings portrayed in his supposedly human counterparts. He displays ferocity only when wounded and forced to fight, or when he turns into a man-eater, which is rare. Man-eating is either the result of bad upbringing by a tigress hard put to it to provide for her cubs, or the result of the extermination of game by man, leaving no other source of food supply than cattle or their guardians.

Here we come to another "snag" which sometimes besets the headquarters official. Under a volley of "questions in Council" about a man-eater or renowned cattle-killer, he

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the ucts the local district authority to issue a number of ser ces to selected shikaris or hunters. Now most of these m are not so unwise as to face a tiger of this description ta a problematical reward to be shared with all manner of it vernment underlings, when they can make small profits m l quick returns by poaching deer, etc., for the market. ence occurs a further diminution of the tiger's natural food upply and a further driving of him to crime. In fact, I have nly known one man-eater killed by a local shikari, half of whose reward was filched from him by the Patwari of his Patti, while I have known several instances of the other sort.

The correct agency for dealing with the man-eater is the properly equipped sportsman, and if such man-eaters were advertised elsewhere than in the dry columns of a Government Gazette, there would be no difficulty in finding sportsmen to deal with them. I have known a man-eater functioning within thirty miles of a large cantonment, and not a single military officer there knew of it until I told one of them, although the area was not in my charge.

A curious anomaly is the superstitious delicacy, to put it mildly, not to say aversion, of many of the peasantry against assisting in destroying or even giving news of a man-eater. I myself met with an example of this feeling also in connection with, of all animals, a Himalayan bear which had been startled out of its sleep by a shopkeeper's wife gathering herbs, and which promptly fractured her skull. My assistance was requested, so I left my work and was on the spot within two hours, having been assured that the animal was marked down. I then met with that curious passive resistance well known in India, and typified by blank communal stupidity on the part of the village (which was not the home of the victim), headed by the thokdar or leading landholder. Eventually it was disclosed that the bear had previously been seen about in a sacred deodar grove of their temple and was therefore the incarnation of their god, who had taken for himself a human sacrifice.

In fact, both the sloth and the Himalayan bear is ordinarily

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a far more vicious animal than are any of the carnivers. The tiger is, as a rule, a good-tempered, placid creature timid of mankind to an excess that must be experienced to be believed. Under natural conditions he fulfils a useful function in keeping the *ungulata* (deer and wild boar) within reasonable limits. When his numbers have been badly thinned by continuous shooting, we have a cry from some forest officers that the *ungulata* are in excess. An excellent enactment has been put into force in the United Provinces whereby the allowance of tiger is now limited to four per gun per annum. This was called for by the destruction wrought by one or two sportsmen of the old school who had little thought for the future.

Even where the tiger is a cattle-killer, he chiefly preys on the stragglers of the herd, old worn-out cows and bullocks which religious sentiment preserves to consume the grazing of better animals. The result is that these useless creatures meet with a speedy end instead of being pecked to death by vultures when in a moribund state, as is often their lot. This is why tiger in incredible numbers still exist in many parts of Nepal, cheek by jowl with the large herds of cattle on which they prey in default of the *ungulata*, which in that country have been mercilessly slaughtered for butcher's meat.

"Bachelor" and "Percy"

Let me give the brief life history of two average tigers. "Bachelor," so called, is a heavy, shy, game-killing tiger who has roamed the ridges behind Naini Tal for many years past. His beat is well known, so are his footprints, but few human beings have ever seen him in the flesh. He has never touched cattle and will probably die of extreme old age.

When I first knew "Percy," another well-known character, he was just such a timid game-killer. His home was in the high hills about Mornaula, on the bridle road between Almora and Nepal. Six years ago I revisited the place on a holiday and found "Percy" indulging at intervals

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the sin of cow-killing. He followed a man in my employ ser was going to tie up a bait for him; the man discharged m fowling-piece in the air. "Percy" fled and temporarily ta his nerve for cattle-killing. A few nights after he i nped into the encampment of some carriers and took one m their mules. Such was their indifference to episodes of this kind that the information of it only came out as a result of my enquiries. The last news of "Percy" was that he still continued according to custom; but it was said with pride that "he never was known to harm a human being." Judging from certain symptoms betrayed by his human admirers, he was likely to undergo deification as an incarnation of Shiva, the Hindu god of destruction, in the form of Narsingh the tiger-god.

On the trip in question I found that the *ghural* or Himalayan chamois, a little beast perfectly harmless to crops or anything else, had been practically exterminated from a mountain where they had formerly been plentiful. The reason was that licences had been given out in considerable numbers owing to the depredations of a local man-eating tigress with a young family. The new licencees, after the manner of their kind, liked not her look and preferred to poach the *ghural* for meat, with the connivance of the forest guard, whose *douceur* for closing an eye was four rupees a year per "gun."

The leopard is generally a far more impertinent and self-reliant animal; he often hangs about villages, and, being more diurnal than the tiger, learns more of the domestic habits of mankind. This is why he is such a fiend when he turns to man-killing. A tiger of this kind is bad enough, but few such display the devilish audacity of the man-eating leopard.

Now let me return to the Government forests of Gonda, which march for seventy miles with Nepal. Our tigers are mainly winter visitors from that country. Sympathy need not be wasted over the sloth bear, interesting as he is, for he is dangerous to work-people in the forests and there is a substantial reward for his destruction. There are other

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parts of India where he can flourish without being aners cubus. Panther are too cunning to allow themselves tqer exterminated by sportsmen, and the local poacher lea a them alone, but they will vanish with their natural foir supply, the *ungulata*.

Deer and Wild Boar

Now within my five years at Gonda the *ungulata* hav been almost exterminated from many parts of these magnificent forests. A bare forty miles from the eastern march was born Gautama Buddha, first of humanitarians, twenty-four centuries ago. With the exception at rare intervals of a few forest bungalows, the country and its inhabitants must be exactly as he knew it; little wattle-and-daub villages in the warm, highly cultivated clearings, the dark green of the Sal forest surrounding them, the violet mountains of Nepal overtopping them. It would be tragic indeed if the wild animals which he loved, and round whom centre many Buddhistic legends, were to be exterminated in a few short years by descendants of the men for whose ideals he did so much, never to reappear before human eye.

Beats which one knew well to contain many mature sambhur-stags as well as brockets now contain not a single one, and barely a doe. Axis or spotted deer have been estimated to be 75 per cent. less than in 1912. The ingenious theory has been advanced that the *ungulata* migrate for long distances and are not where expected to be. This will not stand examination. It is a common explanation also vouchsafed in other countries where game is on the verge of extinction.

The cause of this has been the ruthless poaching both on our side and from the Nepalese side of the frontier. Large armed gangs of Gurkhas come down in broad daylight in the cold weather and shoot in line through our forests, slaying everything they see. Our forest subordinates are terrified of them. Matters improved for a time with a British forest officer (an ex-cavalryman), who exchanged

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the with one gang. The district authorities were reluctant ser approach the local government, so, acting as a private mon, I took the matter up with H.H. the Prime Minister tal Ruler of Nepal. Once convinced of the evil, he issued it stic orders to his officials to stop poachers crossing the m ntier; but the fact remains that we cannot expect his ttered outposts to protect our forests, and we cannot pect our unarmed and underpaid forest guards to face med Gurkhas, when acquiescence will bring a share of the roceeds. On our own side a certain forest ranger was dismissed after securing over Rs. 40,000 in illicit gratifications for unauthorized fellings and other "graft." It was found by me that this worthy had connived at poaching by jungle villagers in his range, on condition of receiving the reward on any bear skins they secured.

The new officers of Indian birth who are coming into the Indian Forest Service are mainly townsmen. It is welcome news, therefore, that the head of the U.P. Forest Service has circularized his officers, pointing out that game protection is part of their duties, and it is to be hoped that this will continue to be understood in all provinces. Otherwise, as a Kayasth forest officer observed to me, "It will depend on whether superior officers take interest in such matters." With the frequent changes in Indian official life we may imagine the consequences of one officer holding charge "who does not take interest" in the local fauna.

Unpalatable as the statement may be, this rate of destruction is not, alas, confined to any one area or province. It is not suggested that it is as yet universal, or that there are not areas where game is as plentiful as of old. But it is useless not to face the fact that if not checked it will rapidly become almost universal. Destruction is not caused by the bona-fide present-day sportsmen, whether British or Indian, although some Indian gentry of the old school still follow the example of an older generation of Europeans not so meticulously careful in their sporting ways, and rely on local influence to carry it off.

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In fact, the sportsman is the best remedial influence, as he can inform superior authority of any marked diminution and of possible reasons thereof. He is further obliged to send in a return of all animals shot by his party.

Sanctuaries have not proved a success in India. Be being visited by sportsmen, and being but one of many charges of the forest officer, they are a temptation to minor forest subordinates to let out "guns" therein. Bona fide sport is so carefully controlled that a shooting block used to be, and still should be, in itself as much of a sanctuary as many of the game preserves of other countries where the wardens have to keep the stock of game within bounds.

It is the control of unauthorized destruction out of sight of superiors and at unhealthy seasons of the year which must once more be effected. (1) Poaching is sometimes carried out by the friends (often unemployed) of forest subordinates. This can be stopped by superior officers. (2) It is still more the act of villagers living in villages adjacent to forests. No one questions the rustic's right to keep wild animals out of his fields.

Crop Protection

One remark I here feel obliged to make which may savour of cavilling, but which arises from personal experience. The recent report of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture suggests a more liberal issue of arms licences for crop protection "in view of the depredations of wild animals." As I have stated, in many parts crops have already been protected to the extent of almost exterminating the *ungulata*. The mobs of surplus domestic cattle, often half-wild and ownerless, the concourses of apes (also held sacred), and the numerous Brahminy bulls turned out by the pious Hindu, are a far greater burden to the agriculturist, because widespread over many parts of rural India far from forest areas. Afforested tracts are few and far compared with the acreage under cultivation.

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the cences for crop protection are now, and have been for ser e time, lavishly given out; every such village has a col- mion of long-barrelled and very effective muzzle-loaders, tal ich are illicitly used in Government forests. It is much i nsanter to shoot for a living than to protect crops, which, may be pointed out to the present day magistrate, can be well protected by a muzzle-loader with a 12-inch barrel his was the old form of crop protection gun, and even then as used for poaching to some extent. Nowadays the howls of dismay from the peasant when such a gun is conferred on him for crop protection show what it is chiefly wanted for.

There are only two armed shooting guards for the whole of our seventy miles of forest They are ordinary rustics and receive the magnificent salary of Rs. 12, or less than a pound a month. One cannot expect a man to resist temptation on such a salary, far less to be energetic and to risk life and limb. There are plenty of respectable ex-Sepoys whose services could be secured, if they were paid a reasonable salary.

Here we come to the question of lack of funds, which is always to the fore in India. The present fee for a "gun" in a block in Government forest in the United Provinces is Rs. 10 for a fortnight, an unwarrantably low charge. If this fee were raised even to thrice its present figure, it would be a mere trifle compared with the total expenses of a shoot, which involves the payment of beaters and trackers and numerous gratuities. Such an increase could be applied to the expenses of adequate protection.

Co-ordinated Effort

Any remedial measures will, however, require co-ordination, which will not easily be attained without a central direction. Burma has taken the lead in this. Thanks to the sporting spirit of her then Governor, she has got an officer of the Forest Department especially deputed as Game Warden to conserve her fine but harassed fauna. The keenness of the present holder of the office has aroused

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interest in his task not only among Europeans but amc's Burmese, and he is now about to inaugurate a game.r tection society with a mixed membership of all ra resident in the province.

In Northern Bengal, European planters and Ind landlords have combined in so-called shooting clubs protect as many areas as possible from the destructi which is rife in that province. The hardihood of poache in Bengal is shown by a pitched battle which took pla last winter in the Sundarbans, not far from Calcutta, between poachers of the "Goi Sanp" and a Bengali forest ranger and his guards. The "Goi Sanp," or monitor lizard, is protected by the Bengal Government owing to its keeping in check snakes and other reptiles. Its skin, however, commands a high price for fashionable footwear for ladies.

In other provinces there are not usually so many non-official European residents with tastes similar to their Indian neighbours to originate action; but there is no reason why they should not follow the example of Burma and appoint a Game Warden to concert protective measures.

The interests of the farmer, the sportsman, and the game have all been co-ordinated in Kenya by the sensible policy of the Game Department of that Colony. There is no reason why there should not be a similar accommodation in India. The spirit is there. The vast mass of Hindus have a real tenderness for animal life. Although this takes at times idealistic forms, it only requires right direction. To many of the Mussulman landowners and yeomen the pursuit of game is not merely inspired by a dietetic object.

The majority of Europeans who enter the Army or public services in India do so in the expectation of seeing something of its wild life.

Those who love India will, I am sure, join in hoping that all elements will exercise that foresight which the situation demands, and will work together to ensure the perpetuation in reasonable numbers of the species which comprise our fauna.

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SCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

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tak ETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster,
ir, 1, on Monday, November 11, 1929, at which Mr. Waris Ameer Ali
m a paper entitled "The Fauna of India."
The Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., was in the chair,
the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present:
Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Colonel
Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I.,
.C.I.E., Sir Richard Dane, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir
Montagu Webb, C.I.E., C.B.E., and Miss Webb, Sir Cecil Walsh, Sir
William Ovens Clark, Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick, Lady Simon, Lady
Eckstein and Miss Eckstein, Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Colonel Aubrey
O'Brien, C.I.E., C.B.E., and Mrs. O'Brien, Mr. A. Montgomerie, C.I.E.,
Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., the Hon.
Miss Gertrude Kinnaird, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. G. Scott
Bremner, Mr. G. Q. Khan, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mrs. Waris Ameer Ali, Mrs.
Latifi, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. M. Nazir,
Mr. M. Ali, Mrs. W. G. Martley, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. J. Sladen, Miss
Corfield, Mr. W. E. Bennett, the Atiya Begum Fyzee Rahamin, Mr.
Fyzee Rahamin, Mr. S. Kabadi, Mr. Altaf Husain, Dr. A. Shah, Major
Atherley, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Mr. and Mrs. Douglas Dewar, Dr. Nell,
Mr. H. C. Flinders Petrie, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: It is a particular pleasure to me to be here this afternoon, not only because of the interest of the subject to which we are to listen, but because the lecturer is the son of that very distinguished person, the late Right Honourable Ameer Ali, whom most of us in this room knew well, and with whom I personally was closely associated in very many matters of Near and Middle East policy for many years. He spent his life interpreting with great wisdom and courage the best sentiments in India towards this country and this country towards India. Therefore, to have an opportunity of meeting his son and presiding over his lecture gives me great pleasure, as well as the opportunity of paying a very humble tribute to the memory of that distinguished father of his. I introduce you to Mr. Waris Ameer Ali.

(Mr. Waris Ameer Ali read the paper.)

Sir HARCOURT BUTLER congratulated the lecturer very heartily on his interesting and excellent lecture. The subject was one of great importance. It was only of recent years that civilized countries had come to a conclusion, and had taken action upon that conclusion, that it was essential to preserve the fauna which were being fast exterminated. When the importance of the subject was fully realized in India, there would, he hoped, be no real difficulty in devising some scheme which would go a long way towards the preservation of the fauna. Some shooting rules which were passed when the speaker was Governor of the United Provinces

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did not go far enough; public opinion was not then ripe for any f advance. In Burma, with the assistance of his ministers, the speaks able to go further, and appoint a Game Warden, Mr. H. Smith, whor he heard, done wonders already in attracting public attention to this a important subject. The difficulties were great. You could not allow cultivators' crops to be destroyed. But the difficulties were not insu able, and he was quite certain that if in other provinces men of enthusiasm and tact of Mr. Smith in Burma were appointed to deal the question they would achieve a very great result. As it was two ye since he left India he did not like to generalize on present conditions, b when he left the country he had no doubt whatever in his mind, af having been head of the administration in two provinces, that too man licenses were issued, and that the issue of the unnecessarily large number c licenses had led to the destruction of fauna, and also to increase in crime. He hoped the local governments in India would turn their attention to this very important subject before it was too late to achieve the results which most of those who had thought deeply on the subject most earnestly desired.

Colonel Sir UMAR HAYAT KHAN said the subject was of such importance that he proposed to take the lecture with him and to do the best he could, when he returned to India, to put it into the papers and before the various authorities, and see if anything in that direction could be done. They all knew that one of the real causes of the diminution of the game was that so many colonies had sprung up, and the various waterways and canals, that naturally the game had to leave or be killed off. When the whole countryside came under cultivation the game had to go, unless there were some new means devised, such as large jungles, to act as preserves. It was really not so much the licenses given that had contributed to the killing of these things. A man took a license for a gun. He told his friend to fill the gun, and when he had put in sufficient charge he showed it to him. He put his finger into it, and, of course, his finger would not reach to where the powder was, and so he said, "It is empty." His friend said: "No, it is full." They had discussions, and then attempted to fire it, and, of course, it blew off. There was no danger from those men. They had shikaris, who kept a sort of screen with which they could drive hundreds of partridges into a net. That was how game was exterminated. He thought there was something in the aeroplane which was made with the eggs of duck. He did not know how far that was true, but there were certain companies on the big lakes near Tibet and Russia which collected the eggs of the duck for this purpose. The pig was the only thing which really did destroy the crops, but then they had men who, without a spear or anything at all, could knock a big boar over. The wild animals only killed to the extent of their own food, and a man did not. They ought really to learn from the beasts in that direction, not kill thousands of pheasants, as they did here and elsewhere. He thought some such thing would have to be done in British India as was done in the States, though on a milder scale. When the son of a rajah killed one of the deer in his father's domain, he was sent out of

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the place for about fifteen years. He thought if the lecturer's paper was sent to the Indian papers it might have the desired effect.

Sir RICHARD DANE was sure that every sportsman and every naturalist must feel deeply indebted to Mr. Waris Ameer Ali for the interest he had taken in this subject. As the lecturer had said, there is no more interesting and varied fauna in the world than there is in India, and certainly no more beautiful fauna. It would be a thousand pities if it were destroyed. Where there was a peasantry proprietorship and a liberal distribution of arms, such as had recently taken place, the case appeared hopeless; but he thought a great deal might be done if Mr. Waris Ameer Ali and other Indian gentlemen interested in the subject in association with him would get in touch with Lord Onslow or Sir Peter Chalmers-Mitchell, and form in India a branch of the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire. By judicious propaganda the large landowners in the United Provinces and the Central Provinces might be induced to realize that the game on their estate was a valuable asset, and that it was not to their interest to allow it to be destroyed by professional shikaris. A Society of that kind would also help to keep the various departments up to the mark and to prevent abuses in connection with the licensing and use of firearms. At the present time the Forest Department regulations for the preservation of game were excellent, but there was a danger of their being relaxed or neglected with the change in the system of recruitment for the Department which was taking place. He quite agreed with the lecturer that sanctuaries would not answer in India. There was always the danger that if any exalted personage came along the sanctuary would be disregarded. He considered the present rules with regard to block shooting, if properly worked, were quite sufficient to preserve the game in the Government forests. As the lecturer had said, the Indian Princes looked after their own game in their own territories, and if the game was preserved in the Government forests and in the Indian states, and if the large landowners in the United Provinces and the Central Provinces could be interested in the subject, a great deal could be done to save the Indian fauna from extinction.

Mr. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS said the problems which had been ventilated that afternoon had exercised some of the Indian states for a long time. In the Indian states the problem of game preservation was complicated by two factors: first of all, the obvious necessity of preventing the game doing damage to the local crops; and, secondly, what might be called the political necessity of obliging distinguished visitors. Those two factors working together had sufficed to lend urgency to a problem already sufficiently complex. In several Indian states the compromise they had arrived at had been on the line of rigidly distinguishing between an arms license and a shooting license. Arms licenses were issued for the protection of persons or of crops, and only entitled the person who obtained the license in particular cases to a revolver, and as a rule to the equivalent of the "sawed-off shot-gun," which was practically useless for poaching purposes. Arms licenses could thus be issued fairly frequently, while shooting licenses or game licenses could be controlled and limited. The result

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was a natural tendency for the animals themselves to flock into preserves scientifically arranged in such a way that one of the preserves could be shot over once every two or three years, and not more. The result was that while the hospitable obligations of the state were discharged in respect of distinguished visitors, and excellent sport was assured, at the same time there was no risk of the extermination of the larger fauna. There had been a certain amount of difficulty in the past from poaching, particularly from British India. There seemed to be a belief among tourists, and even among those resident in India long enough to know better, that every European, no matter in what locality he found himself, had a kind of prescriptive right to enjoy some of the best sport in the world simply for the price of his cartridges. Anyone who was not familiar with the local conditions would hardly believe the difficulty which some of the officers in the Indian states had in convincing, one would have thought, perfectly normal people that they really had no more right to walk over the border of a state and shoot in a game preserve than they would have, for instance, to walk into one of the Duke of Sutherland's deer forests in Scotland and shoot there without the owner's permission. That circumstance had produced one good result in that it had induced a large number of the Indian states to put in charge of their game preservation departments officers of skill and tact and courtesy, and to man these departments with a rank and file of a very superior type. In some states the rank and file of the game preservation department were more highly paid than the police or even the sepoys in the army. Experience in the states showed that the problem of securing a nice adjustment between the preservation of the *ungulata* and the interests of the cultivator was by no means insoluble. But he considered that the matter required almost daily watching, and for that reason he was very glad to notice that Mr. Waris Ameer Ali had stressed so much its importance.

Mr. Montgomerie considered that the lecturer and the previous speakers had slid rather lightly over the question of crop preservation. In Bombay there was no doubt whatever that it was a problem of the most vital importance to the agriculturalist. Those who had seen forty or fifty nilgai wandering out of the edge of the forest into a field of cotton, and doing their best to destroy a year's cultivation, realized that the problem was a real one. A herd of elephants wandering into a village could destroy the whole cultivation of the village for a year. In Bombay they had made very elaborate enquiries into the extent of damage which had been done by wild animals, and it was very large, more especially from black buck. That led to a difficulty raised by the lecturer. One had rather a vicious circle: no black buck or no pig, then no tiger, or only tiger which lived on cattle. The difficulty, then, was to preserve the tiger for shooting. The speaker was always in favour of preserving for shooting, and he realized that the preservation of the fauna added enormously to the interest of life in India. He merely wished to suggest that the lecturer had slurred a little over the actual practical difficulty which was involved; he even slurred over the danger to human life caused by tiger. It was true that motor-cars killed more human beings than tigers. But there was a certain trades-

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union spirit in the matter. If there were any killing to be done, human beings would prefer to do it themselves; and we did not wish to see any tigers "butting in." It was possible, as Mr. Rushbrook Williams had said, to regulate the thing in some of the Indian states where there were very large areas of jungle, but it required, as was mentioned, daily watching, which the staff of a British district could not give; they had not a sufficient personnel for the purpose. A further difficulty which had not been touched upon was the difficulty that in the future the matter would not be, as it had been in the past, one entirely for the decisions of sympathetic officers of the Forest Service. Forests were now, in Bombay at least, a "transferred subject." The minister in charge of the Forestry Department would be more and more subject to pressure on the part of the agricultural interests in the legislative council to carry out measures for the extirpation of things like black buck and pig, which would considerably add to the difficulties.

Sir CECIL WALSH was in entire sympathy with everything the lecturer had said. He came there to learn, and he had enjoyed the paper enormously. He agreed with what had been said, particularly by Sir Harcourt Butler, but he was going to follow Mr. Montgomerie's example and strike a somewhat discordant note. It was suggested to him by a passage in the lecture on a subject which had always been very close to his heart. His view, while he sat in the Appellate Court of Allahabad, was that the issue of gun licenses ought to be increased; he would not disagree with the lecturer, they might be restricted in a particular direction. But he could not repeat the terrible, heart-rending stories to which one had to listen in a criminal Court, hearing dacoity cases, of the sufferings of villagers. He did not doubt that a great number of dacoits, not all of them, obtained their firearms from men who had licenses. Some of their firearms might be remnants from the War, some appeared to be from Noah's Ark. But, no doubt, many of them came from men who had licenses. What happened? Having selected their village, dacoits got within earshot in the dead of night, and then fired a couple of blank shot. The effect of that upon the villagers could be appreciated. They knew what was coming; they knew they were for it. Many of them rushed out and hid outside the village; others collected on the roofs, and got together a few brickbats. That was all the resource the unfortunate people and the unfortunate women (the sufferings of Indian village women during dacoities could be imagined) had. They were at the mercy of these men who came at night, armed, many of them, with firearms. He had not discussed it, not having had an opportunity, but it struck him that a license could be issued to each village. There must be in every village somebody who, with a little training, could be trusted with a double-barrelled gun, and if, when the threat of dacoity was made, a blank charge even was fired off, it was certain the dacoits would make themselves scarce. The dacoits now, after firing off their guns and entering the village, lighted torches. They could not do that if there was somebody in the village with a gun. He would be told that the villager could not be trusted, but he did not believe it. No doubt there would be men who, having been entrusted by the Government with

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the defence of the village, would desert to the dacoits, but whoever did so would be known, while the dacoits were not. He would be a marked man, and there would be means of catching him. Dacoits, during the speaker's years of service, especially after the War, had increased by leaps and bounds; they were extremely difficult to catch; they were extremely difficult to identify. Although he did not anticipate that many in the room would agree with him, he felt that there was a means open to the Government of providing some defence to the unfortunate villages, by giving some villager a license to carry a gun.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Time is getting on, and I shall only add a few words before I ask the lecturer to reply to one or two points that have been raised. After Sir Harcourt Butler has expressed timidity in generalizing on India after an absence of two years, I am a great deal more alarmed at doing anything of the kind after an absence of over six, but it gives me an opportunity of thanking the lecturer, telling him how much we have enjoyed his lecture, and how interesting the ensuing discussion has been. We have had some useful pieces of discordancy thrown in. I can bear testimony to what Mr. Montgomerie, who was a colleague of mine in the Bombay Presidency years ago, has pointed out as to the difficulties in regard to agriculture. I think in a way he provided himself his own answer, because when he referred to the pressure that is certain to be put upon the Legislative Council by the agricultural vote, it seems abundantly clear it is time we ourselves took time by the forelock and looked into this question. In glancing through a pamphlet before I came here, in an attempt to dissipate some of my ignorance of this subject, I was surprised, although I have been in Africa now for the last four or five years, at the pace at which the destruction of wild life could be accomplished. There is a quotation from Cherry Kearton's book in this pamphlet: "I have travelled from Cape Colony to the Congo, and although I was on the lookout all the way, I did not see half a dozen animals during a journey of hundreds of miles. Even in Kenya, the last stronghold of mammals, life is rapidly disappearing, and the lover of wild creatures living and loving and roaming among their natural surroundings has only a sense of loneliness in place of former joy." It is useful for us to remember, even if the destruction of fauna in India is not very grave yet, that unless proper measures are taken, it may be accomplished very rapidly. In the Soudan, it may interest you to know, we have a Wild Animals Ordinance, which we passed two or three years ago, and which, I think, is going to be very effective. We entirely prohibit the capture and killing of a large category of animals. We have three or four very large reserves, and we prohibit certain types of firearms. It is certain there are plenty of wild animals there at present, because last year, when I was doing a tour, and was motoring down from the mountains to catch my steamer, I ran into a lion, and caught him on the off hind with the mudguard of my motor-car. When the lecturer mentioned the extraordinary mild temper of the tiger, I can only say I was very glad my car was fast, and that the lion was somewhat frightened himself; he made off very rapidly. I hope the lecturer will give us a reply at any rate on one or

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two of the points raised. I conclude in thanking him very sincerely for a very entertaining and interesting afternoon.

The LECTURER: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—One or two points have been raised, perfectly legitimate and reasonable points. There was one by Mr. Montgomerie about the destruction caused to cultivation by pig, black buck, and nilgai. Nobody for one instant would claim that game should have preference over crops. But what I particularly wanted to point out in this paper was that the war against the game has been carried even into Government Reserved Forests. That is what I am trying to get at. With regard to black buck and pig, it is easy to keep them down to a proper level. In many localities they have been almost, if not quite, wiped out. After all, there are now lots of Indian gentlemen who would be only too willing to have a week or a fortnight in a locality where they require thinning out, and there are lots of British officers in cantonments and tent clubs who would do the same if requested.

As regards nilgai, we have the added complication of the fact that it is regarded as a sacred animal by Hindus. I do not like emphasizing personal experiences, but on one occasion there was a loud wail from a village about the damage done by nilgai about five miles from my house. I was persuaded to go out in the hot weather. It was a Brahmin village. I shot one nilgai, to the great joy at the time of the villagers. One of them came up and offered to take it home in his bullock-cart. He drove it to my house, and was unmercifully chaffed on the road that he, a Brahmin, was carrying this sinfully slaughtered animal home to the murderer. They got me out there again three or four times afterwards. I paid the Brahmins for every beat, and they let the herd through each time. I was only put wise to it by an untouchable, who came up and said: "These Brahmins are having a game with you, they are pulling your leg. If you take us low-caste folk (*sudd qaum*) to beat we will get the nilgai up to the gun all right." I said: "If that is their attitude, you will probably do the same; no, if you want your crops eaten by nilgai, you can have the nilgai." The pig in this village had all been wiped out years before by an excise inspector with a taste for pork.

With regard to wild elephants, there was an elephant-catching department of the Government of India, which provided a useful income to the Government. The sale of the right of capture of elephants in Assam and Burma still brings in a handsome sum.

With regard to what Sir Cecil Walsh very rightly pointed out, the problem of the dacoit, it is very serious, and one feels very much for the "defenceless villager," but I ventured to point out in the one instance I gave that the "defenceless villagers" routed a gang sixty strong with at least one breechloader. If I may venture to say so, the remedy for dacoity that I found best is to hit the dacoit very hard and make the industry unprofitable; also, at the same time, to ginger up the police inspectors, sub-inspectors, and all concerned. Dacoity comes to a very rapid stop if that is done. Speaking from memory, in the first year in my late judgeship I tried persons for twenty-six separate dacoitic robberies; the second year I think I tried four, the third three, and so on about the same, but these latter

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were mild gangs which came in from outside the judgeship where they had not yet learned that if captured they would suffer condign punishment.

At this point someone in the audience said, They went and stole outside the district.

The LECTURER replied : No, the majority of professional dacoits were in prison for long periods as involuntary guests of the Crown. Others were absconding for fear of arrest. The upshot is that dacoity and all other serious crime can be controlled where the Sessions Courts and the police authorities do their duty with efficiency and common sense, and High Courts do not interfere unreasonably in appeal. The wholesale issue of firearms only gives greater temptation to commit crimes.

Sir LOUIS DANE : Before I discharge the pleasant duty which I have to perform of proposing a vote of thanks to the chairman and lecturer, may I point out that in this matter of the preservation of wild fauna as in most others it is impossible to ignore the ladies. The lecturer has told you how the fashion for lizard skin shoes led to fights between the forest guards in the far-off Sundarbans of Bengal and poachers who were killing the hideous but harmless monitor lizards who are useful there for killing off snakes.

The chinchilla is another animal which has been almost exterminated for its skin. So valuable has this become that an American lady hoped to cover a loss of £10,000 in the recent Wall Street slump by the sale of her chinchilla coat.

Some forty-five years ago the feathers of the beautiful monal pheasant were the craze, and the birds were hunted down in and out of season by day and by night. When a European organized the trade they were nearly exterminated in the Kulu Himalaya. As the price of a skin was some Rs.30, or five months' wage of a Kulu peasant, this is not surprising. The cry was for more guns, and, of course, the usual excuse of crop preservation was put forward. An old American missionary, with the eye of faith, saw flocks of bears ravaging the maize fields of the peasants. The Panjab Government demanded an explanation. Inquiry showed that there were some 1,200 guns in the subdivision (in which the force for maintenance of law and order consisted of a dozen constables), but very few bears or leopards were killed as they were employed mainly for monal. The matter dropped. Fortunately, the fashion changed and monal feathers were not worn, and when I visited the tract in later years I found that natural reproduction had made good the losses. Perhaps, then, the guns were used for crop protection.

I am sure you will all wish me to tender our hearty thanks to our chairman, Lord Lloyd, for kindly sparing us some of his time and for the valuable practical suggestions which his experience enabled him to make. It is gratifying to find that the lecturer takes the same interest in sport and sportsmanship as his British predecessors in the I.C.S. As long as this holds good in this and other means of benefiting the people and country, we need not despair of India.

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WOMEN AND NEW MOVEMENTS IN INDIA

By Mrs. L. A. Underhill [Mrs. Starr, of Peshawar]

May I first express my thanks to the East India Association for the honour done me in asking me to address this meeting? The subject chosen is one of vital importance, and for three reasons: (1) because social influences affect *every* aspect of life; (2) because women are chiefly affected by the new movements, and *are* the movers; (3) because of what the Hartog Report says it means to India. It is condensed into one sentence: "The education of women will make available to the country a wealth of capacity which is now wasted."

But it is not female education we think of today. That has recently been dealt with before your Association by an expert on the subject. It is rather the movements for social reform and how they affect the different types of women in India. Since India is so vast it is necessary to generalize, and I would speak of three types of women, each with a vastly different outlook from the others.

Firstly, there are the very small percentage of women, highly educated, cultured, and influential, whom we have the pleasure of meeting in the West.

Secondly, there are more than 90 per cent., some with slight learning, but the vast bulk lacking education, simple, virile country people, ignorant but among whom I have often found India's nobility—the vast majority of ordinary folk who are inarticulate. But, in common with the educated and cultured, there is among them, too, a great spirit of desire, of enquiry—one feels it everywhere in India today—a spirit which may so easily become chaotic, or may be productive of untold benefits.

Thirdly, there are the British women in India today.

I propose to limit my remarks to the last two of these types—the vast bulk of the Indian women, and the British women in India.

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In a little under twenty years in India, I have been among the people in the north, both the Pathan women of the frontier and trans-border tribes, women of the martial classes, among whom circumstances in recent years have placed me, and just the simple village and townswomen in the Punjab who come to the hospitals because they want healing, and because they trust us to give them of our best. It will, I think, be readily acknowledged that those who are in one way or another engaged in medical work, though they come as foreigners, yet have the greatest opportunity of seeing things as they are, and of getting really to know the women of India.

These new movements among women today may be for better or for worse; it is so easy to be destructive, so hard to be truly constructive, and to replace wisely and adequately old customs which are passing.

The Practice of Seclusion

Take Purdah. An honourable member in the Assembly referred to it as "the pernicious purdah system or the very good purdah system," according to the point of view. It is hard to realize the intellectual stagnation of the women who live in purdah until you have talked with them, and tried to describe some circumstance outside their life. One small instance: I was staying with a friend in Amritsar, and went with her to call on a wealthy purdah lady of the old régime. She asked about my journey from England, and about the voyage. I tried to think of the impression what I said would make on her mind, but when I found that she had not seen a river, a lake, a canal, or even a village tank—and that the largest piece of water she had seen was contained in a tub—I had perforce to describe the sea as "like tubs and tubs of water as far as she could see, and the ship as a movable house going over it." That may seem an extreme case; but in all we hear of the spread of the new movement for freedom, let us not forget that thousands of women do exist today, living

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in complete seclusion, with little or no knowledge of the outer world. Their minds are not dulled, but only undeveloped; their progress is rapid, given the opportunities, and their eagerness for those opportunities is often pathetic. It is hard, as I said, to realize the intellectual stagnation of the women who live in purdah, but harder still to visualize the havoc played on the physical side by tuberculosis, anæmia, and osteomalacia, which are rampant. Tuberculosis is ten times more common in India amongst women than men, and develops in purdah, because women are starved, not for want of food, but for want of light and air. Again, as regards osteomalacia, it is an extraordinary fact that no man has yet been known to have the disease, and that even among women only those kept in purdah suffer from it. Purdah is the enemy of health, and we shall indeed be glad to see it go, but in Northern India, neither men nor women are ready for it to be swept away. They must be educated up to this, and everything depends on the sort of education that is given. It is religion, East or West, that ultimately governs the outlook on woman, not in theory, but in actual practice; and the spectacle of the freedom enjoyed by the women of European and American countries has fired the interest and desire of all classes of women in India.

Today extremes meet in India. Indian ladies are to be seen driving their own motor-cars, wearing burkhas, but thrown back from the face. Numbers of purdah ladies attend the All-India Women's Conference, which in itself is a young movement (the fourth annual Conference is, I believe, to be held in February) to work for a freedom which shall alter the whole position of womanhood; for still in the north woman is to a great extent regarded as a piece of property, with a certain set value in money or kind.

But I also think of a girls' high school—a mission one, the only one of its standard on the frontier—where moral teaching and self-development are given first place. So great is the appeal that this school makes locally that whereas till a year ago one Englishwoman was able with

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her staff of Indian teachers to cope with the work, now three Englishwomen are fully occupied in superintending it, and Government, appreciating the situation, has doubled its grant. I think of another girls' school where purdah girls, both Hindu and Mussalman, who had never left their city, have recently been taken out to camp for three weeks in the forest. There in the uniform of Guides, led by two English girls, who shared their life and their food by day, and their tents by night, they learned and practised the rules of Guiding, the first of which is that every Guide is a sister to every other Guide. Could there be a better way to teach courage and self-development to the Indian purdah girl than by Guiding under such conditions and wise leadership? If "education is the knowledge of how to make the best of life" (one dictionary definition), should not Guiding be an integral part of girls' education in India? It is a new movement in India, but one that is wholly constructive.

Early Marriage.

Take child marriage, the custom still so prevalent, which effectually hampers all social reform. The Bill to raise the marriage age of girls to fourteen has become law (though, alas! it does not come into force till April), and we rejoice, indeed, it is law; but we have to remind ourselves that thirty-four years ago the age was raised to twelve, and four years ago to thirteen; and yet I suppose there are few if any of us in medical work who have not seen in recent years some more some less of the misery and agony of motherhood—not marriage—at the age of twelve in spite of these laws. The chief necessity now therefore is to enforce the new law, and for this, effective propaganda —both courageous and persistent, by Indians in India —is the essential. Because many Indian leaders have taken such a strong stand for the abolition of child marriage, it is hard in England to realize that orthodoxy in India, like a solid wall, is against the change. Both Hindus and Mussulmans are alike in complaining

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against the Government's interference with their respective religions; and deputations by both communities have approached the Viceroy, representing that Government has broken its own promise of religious neutrality by supporting the Bill to raise the age of marriage. This clearly shows that to pass the law and to enforce it are two very different matters. If the Hindu leaders who advocated the passing of the Act can get to work in real earnest and explain to the rural masses all that is involved, so that Indian public opinion may vitalize the measure, we shall see great things. Public opinion on problems considered, whether rightly or not, to pertain to religion is the hardest thing of all to change.

Much could be done in the schools—boys' as well as girls'—to create a public opinion against child marriage. I think of a school of 1,000 boys in an Indian State. There the headmaster, a Brahman, deliberately put into practice what he had learned, and did not allow his daughter to be married until she was eighteen; but she had to marry some four castes down the social scale, and he, her father, had to face the orthodox opinion of the city, which regarded him as worse than a fool. In that same school, among masters and older boys, there are White Knights—boys and men pledged to bring to notice cases which they hear of where girls are married under age. One of the rules of the school is that any boy under eighteen who is married shall pay double fees. Twenty years ago most of the boys were married. I have a photograph which I took there in 1905 of a group of small boys of under nine years of age, and all married. Today, out of the 1,000 boys, not a dozen are married. This shows what can be done by persevering teaching combined with the force of example, and by continued effort. Here, too, good marks are given, not for book learning, but for service rendered, and extra marks if the service has been to help women. It is an unusual sight elsewhere in India, but a common sight in that

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city to see boys go out of their way to lift a heavy water-pot or load of wood for a woman; and last winter I heard, among many instances of chivalry, of a boy who lent his shoes to a very poor woman trudging through the snow, though it meant he had to go barefoot through the snow himself as far as her house to get back his property.

An education that produces actions such as this rather than mere examination successes is developing character, and is the truest preparation for public service. Young India urgently needs this type of education, which puts deeds before words, even more, I venture to say, that none but men so trained will be brave enough to undertake the spadework necessary for the abolition of child marriage.

Widowhood

Take the movement to remove the ban and the curse on widowhood. Probably many of those here will have seen the *Widows' Cause*, a monthly pamphlet printed in Lahore, the organ of a remarkable movement among Hindus to further the remarriage of widows. Our opinions may vary on this organization, but it is certainly part of the new movement for the freedom of women. In this paper are lists of names of men brave enough to marry widows, and of widows of all castes—quite a few are Brahmans—who desire remarriage. It is stated that through this organization an average of 500 widows are being remarried each month. There are also accounts of *ashrams*, where widows may live, and the trades which they can learn by which to earn their living. In the same Indian State to which I referred came the dawn of a new era when the first two widows were remarried a year or so ago. There was tremendous opposition, the whole city being placarded with notices putting forth the evil of it. Yet since then several other widows have been remarried. There is an agency established in the city to give employment to young widows; by sewing and embroidery they earn their own living and become independent. When I visited it, I found the wise

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plan in force, that the widows were paid in kind, in so many handfuls of rice, which they carried away to add to the family supply wherever they lived. This freedom for widows is one of the new movements, indeed, and it affects all parts of India. But such results are not easily accomplished.

Welfare Work

The last movement which I shall mention is *welfare work*—one that is new and wholly constructive. Government has now a large number of village centres in the Punjab and elsewhere. The Army has forty centres for the families of the Indian soldier, and only one of these is four years old. It is work which has boundless influence. In the hospitals we meet only those who come to us, but in welfare work, because the workers, Indian or British, live in the villages and towns, and enter the homes of the people, they reach the heart of India. They have endless scope for teaching the women health and hygiene, the prevention of disease, the evils of child marriage.

The chief obstacle to the rapid progress of this movement is the difficulty in getting a sufficient supply of trained Indian welfare workers, women willing and brave enough to face the isolated and independent life still so foreign to Indian womanhood. Several training centres now exist to supply this demand; and the head of the Government welfare school at Lahore recently wrote to me saying: "We are always being asked for Christian welfare workers, and certainly we get by far the best results from them."

I wish to speak of two reports which have reached me in the last week only because they illustrate what I feel strongly—that in welfare work we have the most effective instrument for the practical abolition of child-marriage. I have used the somewhat vague term "propaganda" as being essential to this end. Welfare is organized constructive propaganda.

This work in and around Hyderabad, Sind, was started by two Englishwomen who realized that most of India's

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population live in villages, and that though much is being done in the great cities in the way of medical alleviation, the rural population are to a great extent unaided. They organized a travelling welfare scheme. From their centre qualified travelling Indian teachers visit the large villages, staying two to six months at a time. Boys' and girls' schools are visited by the welfare teachers, and open-air meetings are arranged for the men, sometimes with the helpful support of the Collector or Deputy Commissioner. Lectures with lantern slides are arranged for purdah women. They found pictures were the best teachers, for of the first thousand village women who attended only two could read. "We cannot," they said, "do without the indigenous *dais*" (the Indian untrained maternity attendants), "so let us take the material we have and improve it." *Dais*, therefore, are invited, and given elementary practical knowledge of their work.

A leading doctor in India recently stated: "If I were asked to name the most essential national service in the country, I should without doubt say the maternity service. The country's well-being depends as much on the members of its midwifery service as it does on any other section of the community."

The practical result of this welfare scheme, under the mission but financially assisted by Government, is that where in that area five years ago the maternal mortality was one mother in eight, it is now reduced to one in eighty-eight. The further result is that the men are aroused from their apathy, the women begin to realize that most of the mortality and half the suffering which has in the past been considered inevitable is entirely unnecessary; and the *dais*, realizing that their livelihood is not to be taken away from them, are becoming friendly and desirous of better results in their work. They receive elementary training, and they and the women they attend together learn to desire health and cleanliness, the right care of their children, and to see the folly and bad results of child-marriage.

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That leads on to the next step, when the villages ask for trained *dais*, and the *dais* themselves are willing to come in to the centre and take a fuller course of training. Sixty were improved last year, and have returned to their village areas, while ninety-two are now under the dais improvement scheme in training.

This work is far less expensive to run than are hospitals, and welfare workers to support than doctors: therefore it can be done on a far larger scale and its results are equally far-reaching, for as the old adage truly says, "Prevention is better than cure."

The other report tells of a *health campaign*, sent out as constructive propaganda from another welfare centre. The workers, among them the staff of a boys' school, realized the thing was to do the job as well as try to educate the villagers by leaflets and lantern lectures. Some formed an anti-malarial society, and they cut jungle and sprayed stagnant pools with oil, and did real hard work in the mornings for one week. Each afternoon a procession was formed, carrying posters, to parade the village. This collected the people, and then in the evening the boys performed a play, including songs on mosquito killing, the mosquito being the demon that ravished the poor. This spectacular effort, and the lectures to the women on motherhood, led to the desire for a permament welfare centre to be opened in that district, the villages offering to raise the salary for a trained woman.

Is it too much to hope that through this valuable new movement known as welfare work our poor, insanitary, ignorant villages shall become transformed into hamlets of light, and knowledge, and health?

One illustration I would mention from my own experience. In the small cantonment of Jhelum maternal mortality was heavy before the establishment of a welfare centre, owing to the total lack of training of the *dais* from the city, the only women ever called in to attend cases in the regimental lines. After opening our welfare centre, a year and a half ago, with

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an excellent trained Indian nurse in charge, we had in the next nine months thirty-five maternity cases without losing a mother or a child. "They care for our women," say the rank and file. Welfare work in India is still in its infancy; but if organized and developed, is full of untold possibilities, and affords unique opportunities for educating the 90 per cent. of the women of India.

It is on such constructive movements for the advancement, both social and moral, of the women that the new national life of India must be built.

The Part of British Women

What of British women resident in India? How do these changes affect them? I do not mean those professional women who have gone to India in the educational or medical services, Government or mission. They presumably have gone to India because they want to serve India. I am thinking of the wives and relations of official and non-official Europeans, who form by far the larger proportion of Western women in India. Many are upholding the traditions of the Empire, and, perhaps especially those in the Indian Civil Service, are facing difficulties which changing India brings.

I am convinced, however, that the women of Northern India were never so open to friendship as they are today, and at the same time that we British women are hardly touching the opportunities thus offered. Though closely connected with the Indian Army myself, perhaps because of that, I fear I must own that British women in the Army especially do not learn the language or care to go among the people; and yet they could do Empire service, for India wants the simple, genuine, unassuming friendship of the women of the West. The opportunities of British women in India today are boundless if they would but use them. The lack of intercourse among women is most apparent among the martial classes.

So strongly do I feel this, that I want to speak of it very

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seriously. A British officer may and does know his men thoroughly, but he cannot know or gauge the influences brought to bear upon them from behind the purdah. Here is the sphere of the British officer's wife, if only she would enter it. Acting on a suggestion of mine, a colonel's wife, tired of India after many years of it, set to work with a *munshi* to study not merely Urdu but Punjabi, so that she could make acquaintance with the wives of the Indian officers and sepoys of her husband's regiment. Two years later, when we again met, she said : "India has become a different place to me."

Means of Contact

How can the British woman express her friendship in a practical way? In five ways in particular : through purdah parties, clubs, women's institutes, tours in the villages, and welfare work. Such institutions are easy to start now, because the women want them. A few years ago purdah parties were organized in Peshawar, at which Indian and British women of the Army met. So great was the keenness to get invitations to these parties that Indian officers would write to me from stations miles away promising to hire motors to send their wives in if only they might be invited. Purdah parties can easily be utilized for spreading useful knowledge as well as for recreation, since the women are full of questions about and interest in everything they see. Another very real advantage is that such parties bring together women of different religious communities who would not otherwise mix. For instance, when I started these gatherings in Peshawar, I found the Hindu, Mussulman, and Sikh Indian officers' wives, though of the same regiment, did not know each other. It was at first an experiment to invite them all together, but it proved a most successful one. At first they sat apart in groups—and of course I had all their food and refreshments arranged separately. Later they met and mixed ; and before I left India, at a farewell party

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given by a Sikh Indian officer's wife, the Mussulman and Hindu Indian officers' wives were all present at her house by her own invitation. I felt in this way a real, though a small, advance had been made towards national unity.

This also applies to big ceremonial parades, gymkhanas, hockey tournaments, and other festivities, from which the purdah women of the Army, though they live in the lines close by, are completely debarred. This seemed to me unfair, so in Jhelum, with the brigadier's permission, purdah tents have been arranged on the parade ground during the last two years, so that the women should see and, as far as possible, share in various celebrations. Over 200 women and another 100 girls and children came on January 1 this year to watch the big Proclamation Parade. This was a very large number for such a small station, and until this scheme was organized, not one of those women whose husbands were in the army had ever before seen a parade. Their interest, excitement, and delight showed appreciation, and—and this is important—their men were equally pleased and enthusiastic for them.

Tours also may do much. Five years ago, when visiting villages in the Punjab, it was realized that whatever the political atmosphere, almost invariably marked friendliness was shown towards individuals by the people they visited. I had a very warm welcome from every house I was able to visit, chiefly through a sufficient knowledge of the language. My medicine chest was also in great demand. I think of a village where on arrival we knew no one, but where an Indian officer came out and asked if I would go and see his young wife who was ill. Having been able to do something for her, I was then taken to six other houses to see different sick folk; and though I could do little for the chronic cases, such small efforts won the friendship of the village—in fact, the entire village sat around our tents till dark.

These gratifying experiences were in villages far from the beaten track, but I found the same desire for friendship

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in the regimental lines of cantonments. When I went to say goodbye to the women of the ranks in Jhelum, they poured out of their little purdah houses in the lines, begging me to find them a friend before I left—some *memsahib* who would visit them and take an interest in them. But this was hard to find: indeed, I have discovered even Indian officers' wives, living within a stone's-throw of the bungalows of British officers' wives of the same regiment, who had never been visited, and in some cases had never seen a white woman.

Welfare work, such as I have already mentioned, furnishes a vast field of activity for British women, and one which is, perhaps, more needed than any other, and more influential. "We do not want more Services in India," said an Indian lady in London recently. But surely we do want more service. Any period of change is marked by two outstanding characteristics. Firstly, it is full of dangerous possibilities; and secondly, of unique opportunities. Since we women of the West owe our freedom and all that makes life worth while, not to civilization (for India has an older civilization than ours) but to a religion which came to us from the East, let us pay our debt to the East in service, remembering, as the Toc H ceremonial words it: "What is service? The rent that we pay for our room on the earth."

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, December 9, 1929, at which a paper was read by Mrs. L. A. Underhill (formerly Mrs. Starr of Peshawar) on "Women and New Movements in India." Dr. Drummond Shiels, M.C., M.P., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present: The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., The Right Hon. the Earl of Mayo, and the Countess of Mayo, Sir William Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, Sir William and Lady Ovens Clark, Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick, General Sir George Barrow, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., and Lady MacKenna, Lady Chatterjee, Lady Barrow, Lady Jacob, Lady Blackett, Lady Eckstein, Lady Chatterton, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Lady Procter, Lady Hartog, Lady French, Mrs. Drummond Shiels, Mrs. Mrinalini Sen, Mrs. Rama Rau, Mrs. Chakravarti, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Nolan, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. Sunder Kabadi, Mrs. T. Bhada, Mr. Fyzee Rahamin and the Atiya Begum Fyzee Rahamin, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Major and Mrs. Gilbertson, Miss Gilbertson, Mrs. Harris, Mrs. Byramji, Dr. A. Shah, Mrs. and Miss Donning, Mrs. Humbert Wolfe and Miss Wolfe, Miss Corfield, Mr. and Mrs. Montgomerie, Mr. J. C. Witherby, Mr. V. S. Ram, Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. Scott Bremner, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Mr. R. D. Pringle, the Rev. George Hicks, Mr. Qadir Khan, Professor G. C. Bhate, Miss Curteis, Mrs. Nolan, Mrs. Martley, Mr. and Mrs. J. H. Lindsay, Mr. George Pilcher, Mr. Harihar Das, Mrs. Webster, Mrs. H. M. Gibbs, Mrs. Daly, Miss Beck, Miss Rudd, Mr. and Mrs. Dent, Mrs. Donald, Mrs. Kitchin, Mrs. C. H. Bompas, C.S.I., Dr. Gilbert Slater, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I take it that I was asked to preside at this meeting because of the position which I occupied as Under-Secretary of State for India, and, although I have not now the privilege of occupying that position, your Association has been good enough to allow the arrangement made to stand. They realize, I think, that when one has become interested in India and has come to love her people no change of location or of occupation can affect the bond thus established. (Applause.) I am happy to be here this afternoon to identify myself once more with India and her problems and to show my appreciation of the efforts of the East India Association to maintain an important link between Great Britain and India. If anything more was wanted to make me happy to be here, it is to be found in the person of the lecturer and in her subject. Mrs. Underhill, then Mrs. Starr of the Peshawar Medical Mission, thrilled the world in April, 1923, with a great feat of bravery and diplomacy. (Applause.) Miss Ellis, aged seventeen, was carried off into the wild

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borderland territory of the Tirah by a gang of tribesmen who had previously killed her mother. Knowing the tribesmen and their language, and having given medical help to some of them, Mrs. Underhill was asked by the Chief Commissioner to go thirty miles into that dangerous country to intercede for the return of this girl who had been carried off. She succeeded in her quest and restored Miss Ellis to her distracted father. Probably no one else could have done this without bloodshed. Mrs. Underhill had earned the respect of the tribesmen both by reason of her obvious courage and through the practice of her mission of healing. For her services she was awarded the Kaiser-i-Hind Gold Medal and Their Majesties the King and Queen sent her a special personal message. Like all heroines, Mrs. Underhill is modest, and I will spare her blushes by refraining from further comment on her action, which in any case needs no embellishment. Not only is she of great interest to us for herself, but she is going to speak to us about one of the important subjects in connection with India. In her nearly twenty years in that great country she has seen and helped all sections of the people in different parts of the country. She has special knowledge of what the women of India are thinking of and hoping for today, and she has that sympathy and psychological insight which give understanding. I will defer any remarks which I have to make on the subject proper until after the lecture.

The lecturer then read her paper.

Mrs. Mrinalini Sen: I must thank Mrs. Underhill for her interesting paper on "Women and New Movements in India." I feel it has been written from an excellent motive. During the last two years we have been constantly hearing discussions and criticisms about us by some people in this country. The educated Indian women—not only the few who are in temporary residence here, but every one of the great number in different parts of India as well—think they have had enough of these discussions. Our uneducated sisters are, however, blissfully ignorant of the indignities often cast upon them by the outside world. Had they known it, I am sure they would not have been pleased about it either.

But we are all very grateful to the British men and women who work for our real welfare as Mrs. Underhill has done in the part of India she has spoken of. I am sorry she does not know the provinces where Indian women are doing social welfare works. The Punjab and the Frontier provinces do not make the whole of India. Even in the Punjab the number of educated women is increasing every year. I have known some quite highly educated women from the Punjab who have public interests at heart.

In Bengal, Bombay, Madras, and some other provinces, many Indian women's institutions for various social and educational works have been in existence for some years. In Bengal, Maharani Sunity Devi of Cooch Behar and Maharani Sucharu Devi of Maurbhanj, both of them daughters of Keshub Chandra Sen, the great reformer, and Mrs. P. K. Roy and her sister, Lady Jagadis Bose (the wife of the eminent scientist), are amongst the prominent workers, and their work of thirty years or more is bearing

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golden fruits for our young women, and has made their field of work much easier to work in than it would have been otherwise.

Hindu widow marriage was not illegal in the olden time. Some fifty years ago this was proved by a great Brahmin pundit in Bengal, and through his efforts such unions were validated. We have had many widows remarried since then. I myself was a Hindu widow once upon a time and observed a strict purdah. And although I am now married to a Brahmo, I am not looked down upon by my Hindu relations.

The purdah is not essential for Hindu women. In Bombay and Madras there never has been any purdah. As regards tuberculosis, I myself think it is not really due to purdah, but certainly to bad housing and overcrowding. One can observe purdah and yet can live in healthy houses. In Calcutta in recent years there has been a great increase of tuberculosis cases; but it is mainly amongst the poorer classes living in bad localities and crowded areas. The women of these classes do not observe purdah and work for their own living.

In England also tuberculosis is prevalent more in crowded towns than in villages. I am not a doctor, so I do not want to pass a definite opinion on the cause of it. But I hope with the spread of education people in time will learn how to live healthy lives.

I am glad child marriage has been made illegal now. Some time ago a Bill for its abolition was thrown out by the votes of the Government party. It was a great evil, but in ancient books we never read about this custom. Women used to choose their own husbands when they were grown up. You can find this in some Sanskrit dramas and epic poems.

Amongst some high caste Hindus women always married late. And the members of Brahmo Somaj, Prarthana Somaj, Ariya Somaj, and Shikh communities do not marry their daughters young.

The Brahmo Somaj abolished caste, purdah, and child marriage some seventy or eighty years ago. Its founder, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, introduced many social reforms over a century ago. My father-in-law, Keshub Chunder Sen, followed in his footsteps and added new impetus to the cause. In "The Heart of Aryavarta," written by the present Lord Zetland when he was Lord Ronaldshay, many pages have been written on the admirable work and the great personality of my father-in-law.

We have many bands of men and women working now in our province. I was quite struck with their activities when I recently visited India. I was very kindly asked to be the Indian vice-president of the Bengal Presidency Council of Women. Lady Jackson was the president. Many Indian and English women were on the committee, and took much interest in various welfare works done by the several organizations affiliated to this Council.

We have a number of women doctors and teachers doing hard work there; but we have by no means enough women workers yet. It will take many years to balance the supply and demand. Even in this country, during my sixteen years' stay here, I have noticed there are not enough helpers. You still have here a colossal amount of work to tackle.

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Look at your unemployment problem; look at the housing question; look at the struggling of the working-class women for better pay and more privileges; and look at the unmarried mothers' problem.

We all have our own problems, and I think they can be solved better by ourselves than by other people. But if some of you who are in India give us a helping hand with a spirit of fellow feeling, we shall always accept it with much appreciation. After all, one always is bound to take a little interest in the country one lives in for a length of time, as it almost becomes like a second home to one. But very few British women know India or Indians well, even when they spend the best part of their lives there.

As regards the ignorance of the uneducated women of India regarding their ideas about the lands and seas they have not visited, I can only say that some Englishwomen are just as ignorant about us and India. I was once asked by one of them if I was a Red Indian, and another time if the Himalayas were as big as the Scottish mountains. It is very difficult to visualize a thing one has not seen. To those who cannot travel, the vastness of the sea and the grandeur of the Himalayas must remain unknown.

We often suffer from many ignorances, and the worst of it is when we do not realize that there is really and truly one God and we are all one in Him.

Mrs. RAMA RAU said she had listened with great interest to Mrs. Underhill's address. She felt very encouraged to hear that Mrs. Underhill had detected a spirit of enquiry and desire amongst the uneducated women in India. This was what all those who were helping with the women's movement in India earnestly wished to see. Nothing could be more disheartening than apathy and a spirit of indifference amongst them. The object of the women's movement was to wake them up, and if Mrs. Underhill, an outsider, felt that they were awakening, it certainly was a sign of success. With regard to purdah, the wealthy lady of whom the lecturer had spoken was surely an exception. Behind the purdah amongst the wealthy they would certainly find a large amount of culture and civilization; in fact, a wealthy purdah lady could even give one a very correct appreciation of the fashions of women's clothes in England from season to season, and she could easily tell one the difference between georgette and crêpe-de-chine. (Laughter and cheers.) The trouble was not that there was no culture and civilization behind the purdah, but that there was no sense of civic responsibility, and it was the desire of all connected with the women's movement to awaken that sense of responsibility.

With regard to the question of child marriages, she wished to correct one statement which had been made by the lecturer. Up to the present there was no law at all with regard to the age of marriage in India. The lecturer was evidently referring to the age of consent law, which had been raised to thirteen four years ago. When carrying out their propaganda work with regard to the fixing of the age for marriage, it had been pointed

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out that, though the age of consent had been fixed by law, yet if there was no age fixed for marriage it was the easiest thing in the world for the age of consent law to be broken every day and cases not to be reported, as they should be.

With regard to child motherhood, she was aware there had been such cases, but there had not been so many as was popularly supposed. A very well-known doctor, Miss MacPhail, who had served in the Province of Madras for forty years, had stated that in her experience of maternity work in the Presidency she had only had to deal with four cases of maternity at the age of twelve years. Personally she maintained that those doctors who had attended maternity cases under twelve years of age had failed in their duty if they had not brought those cases to the notice of the police, because when there was a law in the country, it was the duty of those doctors to bring to the notice of the proper authorities cases of offence. Social reform work was being carried out with great intensity, and she thought there was no reason to be pessimistic about the matter. If only the Government would work in co-operation with the different schemes which had been proposed in the Age of Consent Committee's Report, she had no doubt that the matter could be successfully dealt with.

With regard to the question of widows, the accounts of the institutions for widows were very encouraging. The fact that 500 widows were being remarried every month showed that social reformers were tackling the widow problem with great success.

In conclusion, she thought that the past tense should be used when talking about the greatness of India's civilization. Since then, changing conditions had caused considerable deterioration, but it was the ambition of all educated India to build up once more and achieve something of the greatness of the past in the near future.

Lady HARTOG said she had listened with very great interest to Mrs. Underhill's paper and to the remarks of Mrs. Sen and Mrs. Rama Rau. She fully agreed with Mrs. Underhill that there never was a time when there was a greater opportunity for service for British women in India than the present. The Indian women's movement had developed in a wonderful way during the past few years, but those working in connection with the movement realized how great were the problems that lay in front of them, and would welcome all the help and co-operation which their Western sisters were willing and able to give them.

She also agreed with Mrs. Underhill that British women were not doing their share, apart from professional women and missionaries. On the other hand, it was only fair to point out some of the reasons for the lack of response to the call for service on the part of the wives of British officials and Army officers. In the first place, there was the constant possibility of transfer. A woman felt that it was hardly worth while getting interested in a particular piece of work when probably she might not be staying in the place where she was for more than a few months. Further, many British women went to the hills in the hot weather, which would mean a very serious break in their work. Then there was the language diffi-

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culty. It required a good deal of hard work and enthusiasm to tackle a new language seriously, and in India it was fatally easy to get along quite well for years knowing but a few words of the vernacular. There was also ignorance of the help that was wanted, and there was the feeling of diffidence owing to lack of training. However, she felt that all the difficulties she had mentioned could be readily overcome by goodwill, and that it was specially important at the present time to impress upon British women going to India for the first time how much real help they could give, and try to make them realize the call for service.

In 1921-22 in Dacca, when, largely through the efforts of Mr. Lindsay, a maternity and infant welfare centre was established, they had an arrangement that voluntary helpers should go out in pairs health visiting, an Indian and an Englishwoman going together. That overcame the difficulty of the language for the Englishwoman, and there were many Indian women who did not care to go alone, so that they found it a very satisfactory arrangement. If an Englishwoman really desired to tackle the language she would experience no difficulty in finding an Indian friend who would give her the necessary instruction. As for the kind of work required, there had grown up with the development of the women's movement large organizations from which one could obtain information and advice. There was the Women's Indian Association, which had been started in Madras, but which now had branches in many parts of the country; there was the National Council of Women of India, which had local councils in Bombay, Bengal, Behar, Burma, and Delhi. There was also the All-India Women's Conference, which had stirred the imagination and had roused the enthusiasm of women of all classes all over India, and had members of its standing committees in many centres.

The lecturer had the advantage of trained and professional knowledge, but even the ordinary woman with no special training could undertake many kinds of voluntary work, some of which had been mentioned—namely, work in connection with maternity and infant welfare centres and girl guides. She would have added also work for adult women. It mattered not what kind of association they worked for, whether it was of the women's institute type or a purdah club, whether it was for women of some education or for illiterate women: there was room for every kind of effort. There was also the visiting of schools, especially in the smaller towns, where there was very little outside interest, and trying to cultivate some tradition of social service, if it were only by suggesting that the girls should get up some sort of entertainment or collect gifts for poorer children. Anything of that kind would be a great help. There was also the visiting of orphanages, of widows' homes and hospitals, and in the case of widows' homes urging that if there was no training available it should be provided, because there was such a great demand for trained workers of every sort, as teachers, nurses, and midwives.

Many of her happiest recollections of India were of the hours she had spent in doing social work in collaboration with Indian friends, and she would never forget the extraordinary kindness and generous friendship she

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had always received, which was in no way exceptional, but was the experience of every British woman who took up social work in India with sympathy and understanding.

ATIYA BEGUM said she disagreed with many of Mrs. Underhill's remarks. In describing the wealthy purdah lady whom she had visited, she represented Indian women in a caricaturist form. If she had discussed with that lady any question on metaphysical matters and things which occurred in this life and the life beyond, she would have been staggered probably by the wealth of knowledge possessed by that lady. It was too much the practice of Westerners to state things superficially and only to look at things in a very narrow way. In her opinion, Mrs. Underhill did not understand the psychology of India in any way. Lady Hartog had referred to the language difficulty, but that was a lame excuse for not undertaking the work, as also was the practice of going up to the hills. Going to the hills or to England did not prevent Indian women from doing good, solid work.

Although the thing which was going to be of most help to India was education, if one went to the Education Department one was told that it was a transferred subject; if one went to the City Corporation officials one was told it was a Government matter. But the time was coming when those difficulties would have to be remedied. If the British did not help Indian women, they would help themselves. They wanted status and position in order that they might work for the education and reforms of the women of India. She had come to this country to complain bitterly of our defective system of education, and the Government said: "We cannot do anything for you. You must go to your Legislatures." When she went to the Legislatures she was told: "We want to get the English out of India, and when we have done that we will attend to these matters!" One was thrown like a cricket-ball from one place to another, and conditions remained the same. There could not possibly be any reforms, religious, national, or social, until the "source of evils" was removed by the appointment of responsible, honest, and capable lady educationists to control female education in its foundation. Sound cultural, industrial, and vocational training institutions should be founded in the whole length and breadth of the country. Delay was not due to lack of funds, for much money was wasted. A drastic reorganization and remodelling was strongly needed. No social reform would be effective until and unless the system of education was changed.

Mrs. WEBSTER said when it was remembered that 90 per cent. of the Indian women could neither read nor write it would be realized that there was room for British and Indian women alike to show their goodwill in every way in their power with regard to every form of service, and to co-operate together for the good of India. Her reason for addressing the meeting was that she was the daughter of that distinguished woman of letters, Flora Annie Steel. Her mother was the wife of a British official who went to India fifty years ago. If anyone asked her mother what gave her her astonishingly intimate knowledge of Indian life, she always replied in one word, "Kasur." Kasur was a small subdivision near Lahore.

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Three and a half years after her mother went to India her father, who was in the Indian Civil Service, was appointed to that place, and, there being no European people in the district, she had set herself to make friends with the people there. Almost every branch of social service that has been since carried on—medical work among both village women and purdah ladies, infant welfare, female schools—was instituted by Mrs. Steel in Kasur fifty years ago. In return she gained the trust, gratitude, and affection of all classes of the people. And the way was the same now as it was then. As Mrs. Underhill had said in her address, first of all came the study of the language, next came service, then the great reward of friendship.

Mrs. CHAKRAVARTI said they had heard much about what British women were doing in India, and she would like to mention what Indian women were doing in India in the way of social and educational reform. The causes of women's awakening and rapid progress in social reform within the past ten or twelve years had been, in the first place, Western influence, especially the suffrage movement, which was an inspiration to women in India. Secondly, there was the Reform Act of 1919, which had left the question of the giving of votes to Indian women in the hands of men, but one by one every Provincial Legislature had conferred the vote on women on the same basis as on men, the qualification for both men and women being education, tax, and property. There had been very little opposition on the part of the men in that matter.

With regard to the work of the various women's organizations throughout India on the question of educational reform, first of all there was the Woman's Indian Association, with its eighty branches, which was formed in 1917 for the purpose of carrying on propaganda in various directions, such as the prevention of child marriage and child maternity, teaching women civic responsibilities, and securing votes for women in both the municipal and the legislative councils, and the right to enter those councils as members. Then there was the All-India Women's Educational Conference, with its thirty-two constituent Provincial Conferences, based on linguistic discussions. Some of those constituent Conferences were held also in capitals of Indian States. There was the All-India Social Conference for both men and women, at which one day was reserved for purely women's problems, appertaining to the purdah system, widows' homes, or Seva Sadan. There was also the Servants of India Society, which was a missionary society which was working towards religious reform as well as the doing away with caste and meaningless superstitions. The result of all that work had been an increase in widows' marriages. There had been an Act some years ago legalizing the re-marriage of widows. The Age of Marriage Bill, which had been passed a few months ago, made the lowest marriage ages fourteen for girls and eighteen for boys. Indian women now had the power to vote, and also the right to sit on the various legislative and municipal bodies. They had now women magistrates, barristers, doctors, nurses and teachers, and women sat on four different legislatures—namely, Madras, the Central Provinces, and the Punjab. Their latest triumph was the appointment of Miss Sirajudin in the Punjab

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Government as Deputy Director of Industries, and she was doing a great deal to improve the conditions of the women in the villages.

Mrs. UNDERHILL writes in amplification of her oral reply: I spoke almost entirely of Northern India for two reasons:

(1) I know the North, and I believe in speaking of what one knows only. There is little fear we shall be tempted to think the North is the whole of India, but rather we have to realize that the expression of the mind of Madras or Bengal is not necessarily representative of the mind of the Punjab or of India generally. Because we of the West hear so much of and from Madras, Bombay and Bengal, it is well the north should sometimes be represented.

(2) Because I was speaking of the North I had to speak of purdah. We are all aware it is not a practice of the South. I in no way suggested that behind the purdah there was not "culture and civilization." Such a thought never occurred to me. But there is little knowledge of the world outside with its thousand interests, no interests outside the home and the neighbours, no possibility of rejoicing in nature and science and travel, but a very limited opportunity to form friendships at will, and no real freedom of mind and body which is life to the woman of the West. I only wish the case of the wealthy purdah lady I mentioned was as exceptional as it seems.

One speaker referred to "an undercurrent of feeling in India of which we Westerners had no idea." Was it not that very thing of which I spoke, but I called it "a spirit of desire which could be felt throughout India." I still prefer the latter term. It is because I realize our responsibility towards India, and for that very reason, that I spoke as I did of the work British women in India might do, and appealed to them to learn to know and serve India.

Another speaker refers to a doctor in India who in her forty years' service has had to deal with but four cases of motherhood at twelve. That may be so. Examples may be found to uphold almost any statement. I have known and worked with women doctors of very diverse opinions. Let me quote only the statement of Mrs. S. Muthulakshmi Reddi, an Indian lady and a doctor, herself on the Age of Consent Committee and well known for her social service. She speaks of having herself taken more than a thousand confinements in which the mothers were immature. The allegation is frequently urged upon us of the West that "the Hindu child marriage is a betrothal ceremony only; consummation is deferred until a safe age"; and yet another Indian doctor, Dr. N. S. Phadke, tells us, "Premature consummation follows early marriage with an inevitable sequence, and conception follows with equally inevitable sequence."

We who know India are tired of statements to the effect that these evils hardly exist, for we have seen child-motherhood, and know that it is far too common. It is not a question of age alone; the fact remains that early marriage generally means too early motherhood.

Would it not be better, instead of understating *facts*, to face them and together to seek ways to enforce the Bill now passed, until child-marriage

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becomes an impossibility? Throughout the debate it was to be regretted that there was not a single constructive suggestion on a point on which I had hoped for the opinions of the Indian ladies present—namely, the enforcing of the new law raising the marriage age. We were told of the apathy of the uneducated women. We would like to know how those who have worked so keenly and devotedly for the passing of the Bill now intend to carry it into effect.

The conditions of life of the women of the villages of India are what need to be taken in hand urgently.

While heartily congratulating the speakers on the work—welfare and other—being done by Indian ladies in Madras, Bengal, etc., and realizing the extended need for it here in England, let us remind ourselves again of facts: That there are just under 40,000 welfare workers alone in this little country for a female population of approximately 25,000,000, while in India there are some hundreds—nowhere near a thousand—trained and in training, welfare workers for a female population of approximately 150,000,000. It is because we are finding welfare so satisfactory in Britain that we long to see such a service amplified in India to meet that country's infinitely greater needs.

Do not think we have any intention of belittling all that Indian women are doing. Rather the bare fact is that, compared with the size, the numbers, the means, and the needs of your great Hindu India, such efforts are still so few, so slight, so small in scope and effect, that we must keep before our vision the vastness of the task and all that remains to be done.

We share in the wish of the Chairman that the dynamic force and influence let loose in political matters, and in comparisons and criticisms that lead nowhere, might be put into social and healthy service, not from England, but by our Indian friends in the teeming villages of their own land. Let me beg you to believe that we women who know and love India desire most truly to share your plans and endeavours to adjust the social problems confronting us and you in India.

Sir BASANTA K. MULLICK proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the lecturer and the Chairman, which was carried by acclamation.

The CHAIRMAN: I should like to say how pleased I am that we have had such a splendid audience here today for the discussion of this subject. I noticed, in the speeches of some of the Indian ladies, a certain sensitiveness about having these things discussed here, and I can quite sympathize with feeling. At the same time, I believe from my own experience that, if help and encouragement are offered in the right spirit, and without any element of patronage, they are very gratefully accepted by our Indian friends. I was rather amused at Mrs. Sen's *tu quoque!* in her reference to our unemployment problem and other difficulties. It is quite true that we have a great many problems here, and if our Indian friends can help us to solve one of the most urgent, I think I may say, on behalf of my colleague Mr. J. H. Thomas, that we shall be very glad to have their help. There are difficulties and problems in every country in the

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world, so that there is no need for anybody to be sensitive, or for any people to be self-righteous.

India being a great country, containing several hundred millions of people, the problems which obtain there are necessarily correspondingly great, and no possible help can or should be despised. The work of the welfare staffs in educating Indian midwives by giving them a few simple lessons in hygiene will make a tremendous difference in the maternal mortality rates. I think that is the better way to deal with this problem, rather than to attempt to drive these women out of employment. Mrs. Rama Rau spoke about the apathy of Indian women, and I was interested to hear that she considered them conservative. It is true, I think, and may be an unfortunate thing, in some ways, that women—of all races—are more conservative than men, but it is a good thing in other ways, because women are the conservers of the traditions of the race and hand on much that makes for permanence and stability. So long as they only hold fast to that which is good and help us to clear away what is bad we cannot object, because that is a good kind of conservatism. In this country the women are not so conservative as they were, and I hope it will soon be true to say of India that her women are wisely progressive.

The general optimism of Mrs. Rama Rau gave me great pleasure. There are many problems in India, and the people who are pessimistic are not the people who will be helpful in solving them. There is every reason for optimism! I should like, in conclusion, to emphasize the importance of the medical and health work in India. It is not for me to say a word against politics or politicians. They are necessary and, I hope, useful people, but one does feel that if some of the dynamic force which is exerted on political work in India could also influence the social and health sphere it would make a tremendous difference to many who are not so happy as they should and might be. It is possible for political development to go on *pari passu* with enthusiasm and interest in social service, and I hope this will be realized. In conclusion, I should like to express my own gratitude to Mrs. Underhill for her address this afternoon. (Cheers.)

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THE ASIAN CIRCLE

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THE GEORGIAN EPISODE IN INTERNATIONAL POLITICS

BY W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.

AN earlier article published in this section attempted to analyze existing political and psychological conditions in Georgia and the other Caucasian States.* The general conclusion reached was that there is little prospect of the national revindications of the Caucasian peoples receiving satisfaction within the present generation, or of these countries becoming the centre once more of that international sympathy which has afflicted more often than assisted the objects of its interests.

The position of Georgia is, however, in many respects distinct from that of Armenia and Azerbaijan, for more than one reason. First, the Georgians are a national group, more coherent than the Armenians, and more developed than the Tatars. Secondly, their situation along the Black Sea coast and their common frontier with Turkey means that they are more accessible, and therefore more susceptible to influences without the orbit of the U.S.S.R. Thirdly, Georgia is an economic unit, which is not, like Armenia, landlocked, nor, like Azerbaijan, dependent on Russia proper for a market for principal industrial products. Lastly, from a juridical point of view, Georgia

* "Nationality and Communism in Transcaucasia," January, 1927.

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is the only one of the three Caucasian Republics which has received *de jure* recognition both from the Soviet Government and from a number of European and American sovereign states; so that, after having been attacked and conquered without a declaration of war by the Soviet Republics, the position of Georgia in International Law is that of a sovereign independent state, whose territory can be described as being in the illegal occupation of the troops of a foreign Power.*

It is not the intention here to examine the moral position created by the occupation of Georgia—a position which has been exhaustively discussed by Georgian, French, German, and Swedish writers, and which has been admirably summarized in the reports of the congresses of the Labour and Socialist International (L.S.I.) between the years 1923 and 1928. Nor is it reasonable to advocate any diplomatic protests on a subject which has already received ventilation during specific meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

In view, however, of the claims of the Soviets to Bessarabia, claims which it may be argued have some juridical value, in view of the action of the Soviets in overthrowing the autonomous Government of Mongolia, and supplementing it by an organism of their own creation, and in view of their recent invasion of Manchuria, neither of which can be shown to have a juridical basis, it is useful to examine their action in their first successful attempt in Georgia to satisfy their particular pretensions without any regard for International Law.

It is worth while also to place on record the exact position of Georgia in International Law, in view of the fact that a change of régime in Russia, even after another generation, may produce an occasion on which the Georgians may secure the opportunity of resuming their place among the free and independent nations.

And, lastly, in view of the right to intervene in or pronounce upon international affairs assumed by the British T.U.C. during the Soviet-Polish War of 1920, and by the Labour and Socialist (Second) International on various occasions, it is useful to recall here the international Socialist attitude towards the Soviet-Georgian Question during the years 1921-1929.

* Comparable with the aggression of Bulgaria on Greece, of Austria on Albania, and of Turkey on Persia during the Great War, only in these cases none of the belligerents ever made any claims to permanent sovereignty.

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Following the assumption of power by the Bolsheviks in Russia in November, 1917, an independent Trans-Caucasian Republic was proclaimed. In the spring of 1918, the Trans-Caucasian Republic dissolved into its component parts, and separate governments were established in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan.

At the end of 1918, a General Election was held in Georgia on the basis of manhood suffrage, as a result of which a Socialist Government was returned to power, supported by 81 per cent. of the votes cast.

The *de jure* independence of the Georgian Republic was recognized by the Argentine Republic in September, 1919, and shortly afterwards by the Governments of Germany and Turkey. All three Trans-Caucasian Republics received *de facto* recognition from the Supreme Council in Paris in January, 1920. Further on May 7, 1920, the Soviet Government gave *de jure* recognition to Georgia, and on November 14, 1920, a treaty was signed at Moscow by Russian and Georgian plenipotentiaries, by which the Soviets renounced all interest in the internal affairs of Georgia.

On January 27, 1921, the Supreme Council in Paris, representing Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, and Japan, granted *de jure* recognition to the Georgian Government. This recognition by the Supreme Council was followed by recognition on the part of Poland, Roumania, and other States. In December, 1920, a demand for admission to the League of Nations made by the Governments of Georgia, Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania was presented at the First Assembly. Consideration of this question was postponed in regard to all these States until the Assembly of the following year.

In the meantime, in the summer of 1921, the territory of the Georgian Republic was suddenly invaded by Soviet troops without a declaration of war. The thirteenth Soviet army advanced from Azerbaijan up the valley of the Kura, and the eleventh army advanced from Erivan. At the same time detachments of the eighth army advanced from Vladikavkaz through the Daryal Pass, and detachments of the ninth army advanced along the Black Sea coast. The Georgian Government was taken completely by surprise and had no time to mobilize. After battles fought outside Tiflis and along the Trans-Caucasian Railway, the country finally succumbed to this sudden attack and the members of the Socialist Government fled the country.

The unprecedented position created by this illegal attack

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did not pass without considerable notice in European political circles. In 1922 and 1924, at the Third and Fifth Assemblies of the League of Nations, there were lengthy discussions of the Georgian question and resolutions were passed at which the Council was instructed to follow with attention every development in Georgia.

At the International Economic Conference in Genoa in April, 1922, Mr. Chicherin, Chief of the Soviet Delegation, demanded recognition as the representative of Georgia, but was refused. Again in 1922-1923, at the Lausanne Conference, Mr. Chicherin made the same demand, but received another refusal. At the same time by the Straits Convention signed at Lausanne a seat was reserved for Georgia on the Commission of Control, as a Black Sea riverain state. Thus, with the exception of Great Britain, whose policy under the Socialist Governments of 1923 and 1929 has in this matter been somewhat inconsistent, the position of Georgia as an independent sovereign state continues to be recognized by the principal European Governments, and a Georgian Minister is still officially received at the Quai d'Orsay as the representative of a sovereign state.

The attitude of national and international Socialist bodies to the Georgian question is also of interest.

Between the years 1922 and 1928, at various Trade Union Congresses in this country and at different meetings of the Labour and Socialist International, resolutions of sympathy for Georgia were passed.

The general attitude of the British Socialist Party, including prominent members of His Majesty's present Government, is indicated in the report of the Second Congress of the Labour and Socialist International held at Marseilles between August 22 and 27, 1925.

At this Congress the delegates included the present Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Arthur Henderson, the present Secretary of State for War, Mr. Tom Shaw, and nearly a dozen other well-known members of the present Socialist Party in the House of Commons.*

The report first of all endorses a previous resolution passed at Hamburg in the following terms, which were :

> "The Congress approves the resolution of the Second Internationale and the Vienna Union on the question of Georgia, and demands the evacuation of Georgia by the Soviet troops and the re-establishment of the sovereignty of the Georgian people."

* See report, p. 79, for list of British delegates.

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At the Congress in 1925 the decisions of previous Congresses were emphasized, and a resolution was passed to this effect:

> "In view of the *de jure* recognition of the Soviet Government being under the consideration of every European Government, the Executive Committee reminds the affiliated parties that, in conformity with the decisions of the Hamburg Congress, Socialist Parties, whilst demanding from the Governments of their respective countries the recognition of the Soviet Government, should see to it that this act does not prevent negotiations with a view to the withdrawal of the military occupation of Georgia.
>
> "The Executive Committee invites the affiliated parties to spread propaganda in favour of the evacuation of Georgia by the Soviet troops now in occupation, in conformity with the resolutions passed at Hamburg."*

Meanwhile, in the House of Commons, Mr. Philip Snowden raised the question of Georgia in very definite terms. On July 18, 1923, he put a question to the Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. R. McNeil.†

The Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs pointed out that His Majesty's Government were only too well aware of the uselessness of attempting to influence the Soviet Government by diplomatic methods when unaccompanied by pressure.

Mr. Snowden then pressed the subject in a supplementary question, and asked:

> "Should the question of the recognition of the Soviet Government arise, will the British Government, in considering that matter, insist in the conditions of recognition that the independence of these States should be recognized."

We thus see that the Georgians as late as 1925 enjoyed the full support of the L.S.I., and in 1923 their case was being pressed in the House of Commons by Mr. Philip Snowden. Yet when the Socialist Government came into power in 1924, we witness a remarkable change on the part of Mr. Ramsay Macdonald, who had always identified himself as closely as Mr. Snowden with the Georgian question. In July, 1923, Mr. Snowden invited the Govern-

* For full details see pp. 34-37.
† See Hansard of that date.

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ment of the day to insist that Soviet evacuation of Georgia should precede British recognition of Russia. But on February 18, 1924, the Prime Minister, in answer to a question from Major Sir Archibald Sinclair as to whether the *de jure* recognition extended by His Majesty's Government to the Republic of Georgia on January 27, 1921, had been withdrawn, replied:

> "The answer is in the affirmative, inasmuch as the territories mentioned are understood to acknowledge the authority of the Union Government. Official recognition of Governments, which no longer exist *de facto*, naturally lapses when they cease to function."

That statement contrasts oddly with the Prime Minister's written and spoken sympathy for Georgia, and with the question addressed by the Prime Minister's distinguished colleague only six months previously. It contrasts even more strangely with the propaganda which was still being carried on by the L.S.I., to which members of the 1923 Socialist Cabinet went as delegates two years later at Marseilles in 1925.

The Prime Minister had proclaimed, in fact, that Georgia was an integral part of the Socialist Soviet Republics, for this point had not been agreed by previous Governments. The Georgian question, as has been indicated above, had been raised at the Lausanne Conference in 1922, when the Powers, with Lord Curzon representing Great Britain, refused to accept Mr. Chicherin's credentials as representing Georgia. It had been raised, also, at various meetings of the Assembly of the League of Nations. Even at the Fifth Assembly of the League of Nations, which was held during the tenure of power of the Socialist Government in 1924, Professor Gilbert Murray, the British representative, attempted to define the proper attitude of Great Britain towards the question of the juridical independence of Georgia. He said:

> "On January 27, 1921, Great Britain recognized Georgia *de jure* as an independent state, and this year the British Government has recognized the Soviet Government, but the words of the recognition were very carefully and I think correctly chosen.
>
> "I venture to suggest that it would not have been proper for His Majesty's Government to interfere in the burning question then at issue between the Soviet Government and that of Georgia. At any rate the

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recognition was expressed in very careful and correct language. His Majesty's Government recognized the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics as being the *de jure* Government of those territories of the former Russian Empire which recognized its authority. It went no further."

In the late summer of 1924, a serious insurrection broke out in Georgia, for which the L.S.I. with their "propaganda in favour of the evacuation of Georgia" cannot be held to have been without a serious degree of moral responsibility. The Georgians still had a pathetic faith in their Socialist friends in Western Europe. Members of the exiled Georgian Government, such as Mr. Jordania and Mr. Tsereteli, were themselves prominent members of the L.S.I. They had before them the sympathetic declarations of their friends, made before those friends were in power in their respective countries. In the summer of 1924, a Socialist Government was in power in England and the Cartel Government of M. Herriot came into power in France. During the late summer the insurrection broke out. It was in part a spontaneous peasant rising, which had been simmering through the previous year. Two of the leaders of this insurrection were, however, sent direct from Paris by the Georgian Socialists in exile there. One of these leaders, Khomeriki, had actually been a Minister of the Socialist Government in Georgia.

The emotionally self-centred psychology of political leaders in the smaller States of the Near and Middle East is familiar to any one who has studied politics in those regions. Each man thinks that his own country is the centre of the earth. These Georgian Socialists had had plenty of sympathy and indications of support from their friends of the Second International and they not unnaturally thought that their friends, when they had the power, would take practical steps to show their sympathy.

The aftermath of the insurrection affords further examples of the irresponsibility of those who take part in international politics, when they express themselves through national and international organs of Socialist propaganda.

In England an attempt was made, both in the Socialist Press and by Socialist members in the House of Commons, to minimize the significance of the insurrection and the severity of the Bolshevik reprisals. It was left to the annual reports of the L.S.I. to vindicate the position both in international Socialist circles and in the eyes of their unfortunate friends among the Georgian Socialist exiles.

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The report of the Marseilles Congress of the L.S.I. (1925) reads (see page 35):

> "The news which appeared in the Press was highly contradictory; and even considerably later while in the French Press between the Communists and our French and Georgian comrades, a violent controversy was being carried on as to the origins of the insurrection, the British Party Press still published accounts which pictured the insurrection as a mere episode of no significance. Only when the Georgian Communist papers themselves issued the full list of those who had been executed *en masse* and news of the shooting of innocent hostages, which were accompanied by the cynical taunt from the Communist leader, Kakhiani, that the Mensheviks 'have organized a democratic rebellion on democratic lines, and have not managed to execute a single one of our comrades, although we shot hundreds . . .' only then were the occurrences grasped in the full scope of their horror, and the Secretariat of the L.S.I. has done its utmost to spread through the whole world an acquaintance with the actual facts."

Such is the lamentable history of the Georgian question. The well-merited sympathy of International Socialism for Georgia is creditable, and contrasts favourably with the attitude adopted towards Poland and other border states. The contrast, in fact, indicates that the sympathy is a class sympathy, or rather a sectional sympathy—a sympathy of Socialists for Socialists, rather than a reasoned and sensitive sympathy for a small nationality oppressed by a mighty foreign Power.

With regard to British Socialism, it is out of place to criticize here the present rational desire to arrive at some kind of *modus vivendi* with Russia. But that which excites criticism is the irresponsibility of the active sympathy extended by the L.S.I. to the Georgian Socialists, combined with the apparent indifference of Socialists in power towards the aggressions of the Bolsheviks in Georgia and elsewhere.

The L.S.I. and individual Socialist statesmen certainly appreciate the formidable dangers with which the declared policy of Soviet leaders threatens all regions adjacent to Russia. While Socialists in power have of necessity to face the realities of international politics, and to recognize a power which—menacing as in many respects it is—must remain a force in international politics, it is incumbent upon them that they should take to heart the bitter fate of the

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Georgian Socialist Government, and that they should not turn away from the grim reality with wordy platitudes and negative action. In fact, to quote again the report of the L.S.I. :

> "Whereas previously the question was to win recognition for Russia, and guard it from an intervention by capitalist forces, today there is not less a concern to guard Russia's neighbours from the *Russian imperialist policy of interference.* The policy which the L.S.I. and the Socialist parties have pursued towards Russia since Hamburg must be supplemented today by an earnest warning that any attempt by the Russian Government to extend the frontiers of Russia [westwards] under the cloak of revolutionary action threatens to bring about the most serious dangers."*

* "L.S.I. Report, 1925," p. 34. The italics are in the original ; the brackets are the author's.

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ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN GWALIOR STATE

By Colonel Kailas Narain Haksar, C.I.E.

[It is admitted on all sides that the Indian States constitute a weighty factor in the problem of India's position in the British Commonwealth. Their political importance is very generally realized; indeed, many people are beginning to believe that their influence may in certain directions prove decisive in shaping the final settlement of India's future. But it is less generally realized that the States have an economic, as well as a political, side; and in response to several requests, we have arranged a series of articles to illustrate this less-familiar aspect of their importance. We are fortunate in obtaining the first article of the series, dealing with the great and wealthy state of Gwalior, from the pen of Colonel Haksar. Colonel Haksar possesses, in addition to great administrative experience, a detailed knowledge of the industrial and commercial resources of the State of Gwalior. He was private secretary to the late Maharaja Scindia from 1903 to 1912, and intimately associated with him in the conception and execution of many of the development-schemes briefly outlined below. Colonel Haksar also held the position of Senior Member of the Board of Revenue before attaining his present rank of Political Member of Council.]

It is impossible to say anything about Gwalior of the twentieth century without a respectful mention of His late Highness Maharaja Madho Rao Scindia, whose dynamic personality dominated every branch of activity throughout his vast possessions in Northern India, for three decades and more. This versatile Prince, who was at once a soldier, sportsman, administrator, builder and industrialist, worked unceasingly with almost superhuman energy to ensure the prosperity of his people and renown of his State. Absolute master of three and a quarter million people, mostly agriculturists of a primitive type, inhabiting an area of land about the size of Scotland, though not so compact, he was constantly engaged during his annual visits to Bombay and Calcutta in discussing schemes of development of his untapped mineral and forest resources, of improving communications and irrigation, with leading industrialists, commercial magnates, experts and engineers. Fired with a genuine enthusiasm to promote the well-being of his subjects, he left no stone unturned to convert his dream into a reality. With literacy as low as 4 per cent. and the figure for literacy in English—the lingua franca of all trade—as low as ½ per cent., and lower still in the moneyed classes, and Indian capital not being forthcoming, private enterprise in industrial matters has been hitherto insignifi-

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cant. There are in the State at present two hundred factories and industrial concerns worked by electrical energy or mechanical power, comprised mainly of cotton ginning and pressing factories, spinning and weaving mills, pottery works, tanneries, railway and motor workshops, oil and bone mills, cement, soap, essential oil and small chemical industries.

Mineral Resources: Iron.—The Gwalior State consists of two main blocks of territory, the northern being a compact geographical entity, while the southern—the Malwa plateau—comprises four separate tracts. The former has an extremely trying climate during the hot months and a healthy dry one during the four winter months, while Malwa, "Scindia's fat province to the south, with its renowned black cotton soil and practical immunity from famine or pinching scarcity, approaches the ideal of a land where it is always afternoon." The northern block has a few mineral deposits, not very rich and not all workable. Iron ore, in thin hæmatite shales assaying up to 55-65 per cent. iron, abounds within a radius of ten miles of the capital city, (Santow-Par area), and beds of massive limonite and nodules, working up to 50 per cent. and 32 per cent. respectively, are to be found in the Malwa plateau (Jat-Ratangarh, and Bagh), where the remains of about fifty indigenous furnaces manufacturing about 20,000 maunds of iron annually by crude methods can still be seen today. The industry died a natural death owing to the competition of cheap imported iron manufactured by modern methods, and now the high percentage of silica combined with the inaccessibility of these deposits militates against its utilization for smelting by modern methods. A languishing industry is still carried on around Gwalior, where the iron ore from the Santow-Par area, being in thin flakes, is easy to work, and has a reasonable chance of coming into use in future, although the absence of coal or cheap hydro-electric power in the State is a serious handicap.

Pottery Clays.—Next in importance to iron are the clays of Gwalior, which were experimented upon—about two decades ago—for the manufacture of pottery wares. None of the clays could on analysis be classed as china clay, but they were mostly siliceous buff—clays resembling those of Dorset and Devonshire, where they are largely used for deep cream-coloured and light buff glazed tiles.

In view of the fact that good quality pink felspar and 99 per cent. quartz is available in abundance for body and glaze, a small experimental scheme was immediately

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sanctioned by His Highness which, as a result of its successful working, was expanded into the present Gwalior Potteries, Ltd., with an authorized capital of 10 lakhs, an enterprise which offers much promise for the future. A clay deposit which is found to be that of kaolin, near the historic Kutab Minar at Delhi, has also been purchased, and a branch pottery works established there also. Both these potteries are manufacturing acid-proof jars, flooring tiles, electric insulators, hospital requisites and household crockery.

Building Materials.—By far the most numerous and extensive deposits in the State consist of building materials (Vindhyan sandstones and limestones), which are of the highest class and which are to be found in almost every district. The ancient buildings and temples in the Gwalior Fort, the historic palaces, the tomb of Muhammad Ghau, and other old buildings scattered throughout the territories of the State testify to the lasting quality of this material. It is soft and easy to work for carvings, and it withstands the ravages of time and weather exceedingly well. Dr. E. W. Vredenburg of the Geological Survey of India remarks that "The Gwalior sandstones are remarkable for their fineness and evenness of grain. They are of very pleasing colour, white or pale buff, acquiring with age a beautiful warm gold tint. Some varieties are pink. One particular kind of pale greenish-grey stone is of such extremely fine grain that unless examined with a lens the component parts are scarcely visible; it is suitable for the most delicately carved ornaments. For the ornamental parts of the building nothing could be more suitable than these beautiful materials, especially with the additional charm of the exquisite decoration which the accomplished stone carvers of Gwalior supply at such moderate terms."

A peculiar band of variegated marble of conglomeratic nature, 3 to 4 feet in thickness, also occurs at Gohara, near Sabalgarh. It is reported that "the marble would be suitable for monolithic columns, large bold mouldings, plinths, dados, margins for panels, flooring tiles, etc."

A cement works with an authorized capital of 40 lakhs is utilizing the extensive limestone deposits, which are of very good quality, for the manufacture of Portland cement. The works are equipped with the most modern cement manufacturing machinery, the whole process being continuous, and all machinery is electrically driven from power generated on the spot.

Of the other mineral deposits, ochres, mica, bauxite,

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garnets and galena may be mentioned to be of any importance.

Forest Produce.—The Gwalior State has 1,800,000 acres of land, about 11 per cent. of its total area, under forest reserves. *Boswellia serrata*, which exudes an important oleo-resin, occupies the bulk of the Gwalior forests, about 800 square miles, and is still awaiting commercial exploitation. Much preliminary chemical work in the Imperial Institute, London, the Forest Research Institute, Dehra Dun, and the local Scindia Chemical Laboratory, has been done on this oleo-resin, which yields 8 per cent. of pure pinene oil (turpentine equal in quality to American and French oils), about 55 per cent. of resin and 33 per cent. gum. There is much potential wealth in this substance, and the Boswellia forests, like the pine, may become one day the centres of an industry not only in Gwalior but for the whole of Central India and the Bombay Presidency. The industry would require the most suitable commercial plant for preparing the products under local conditions, together with tapping operations extended over large areas.

Of timber there is none except a little teak of inferior quality, but whole forests abound in trees suitable as wood fuel, and samples of three kinds of woods sent to Germany and Glasgow for experiments in destructive distillation gave the following results. This is another forest industry which is awaiting exploitation :

Name of Wood.	Contents of Water per Cent.	Field in Pounds per Ton.				
		Charcoal.	Acetate of Lime.	Crude Wood Spirit.	Tar Oil.	Tar.
Acacia catechu	13	821	56	19·5	11·2	74
Boswellia serrata	23	670	33	30·0	10·7	87
Anogeissus pendula ...	14	758	101	32·5	14·6	130
Above three woods together	18	806	51·3	3 galls.	—	112

Woods suitable for match manufacture, host trees for lac propagation, tannin-yielding plants and oil-yielding materials also exist, most of which are utilized. There are also trees and shrubs that yield valuable fibre, grasses that have been very favourably reported upon as suitable material for paper pulp. An important grass, *Cymbopogan Martini*, that yields the palmrosa oil of commerce, also grows in one district. Its plantation over an area of 500 acres was tried by the local State Laboratory, and good distillation results having been obtained, it was handed over to a private concern

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known as the Gaekwar Oil and Chemical Co., who are now distilling about 2,500 lbs. of palmrosa oil annually. This firm, incorporated in Baroda with an authorized capital of 50 lakhs, also crushes about 200 maunds of edible oil seeds per day, and further manufactures disinfecting fluids and varnishes, the total annual output of which is 20,000 and 8,000 gallons respectively.

The Gwalior Engineering Works.—The State maintains an up-to-date workshop, the biggest in Central India, known as the Gwalior Engineering Works. It has five main sections. The foundry department can undertake plain or intricate castings, such as ornamental gates, railings, cylinder heads, road roller wheels, etc. There is a machine and erecting shop, loco and carriage and wood work and furniture shops, and silver and gold sections, which turn out every sort of European and Indian articles both for domestic and presentation purposes, either of sterling silver or in the best electro-plate. The shops are fitted with modern lathes, drilling, planing, shaping machines, and line shafts for turning out all sorts of iron and metal ware. The entire workshops are run by electricity.

Leather Factory.—The Gwalior Leather Factory, Tannery and Tent Factory is a prosperous concern which was started in the year 1898 and is well equipped with up-to-date machinery. It manufactures saddlery and harness of all kinds, including plain, military and police saddles, single and pair harness of the best English patent or tanned leather, or locally tanned leather portmanteaus, handbags, dressing bags and cases, holdalls, ladies' and gentlemen's boots and shoes, and military boots, etc., are manufactured in large quantities. During the Great War the services of the factory were offered to the British Government, and fully taken advantage of by the Indian Munitions Board. It has to its credit the supply of more than 20 lakhs' worth of harness and saddlery and other leather goods. The tent factory makes tents of various descriptions, and the entire factory supplies all the needs of the Gwalior Government, Army and the Police, and is patronized by most of the important Indian States.

Textiles.—The hand weaving industries, here as everywhere, have suffered serious set-backs owing to the competition of mill-manufactured material, and only those handloom working families now exist which by virtue of their exquisite workmanship have failed to be beaten by the power of the machine. Chanderi, a town about 150 miles south of the capital city, enjoys a well-deserved reputation

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for its fine muslins, which are renowned on account of their exquisite fineness of texture and excellence of manufacture, as well as the blending of gold and silver designs in the body of the weave. They are manufactured both in silk and cotton, and in a variety of delicate shades of colour. A common saying refers to this industry :

Shahar Chanderi Mominwara,
Tiria Raj, Khasam Panihara,

(In Chanderi town, in the weavers' quarter,
The wives rule, and husbands draw water.)

The origin of this saying is said to be the fact that weavers must keep their hands soft, and women's hands, which are naturally so, must be preserved from becoming hard through household drudgery. All the manufactured goods are still stamped with the crest of the former Bundhela chiefs of that part of the country, a lion rampant.

A mill known as the Jayaji Rao Cotton Mill was started at Gwalior in the year 1923 with a capital of 35 lakhs under the managing agency of Messrs. Birla Brothers, Ltd., Calcutta. The Maharaja gave 18 lakhs of rupees as loan in debentures. It is now the biggest and best managed mill in Central India. There are about 30,000 spindles and 800 looms, with a complete mechanic shop and arrangement for dyeing and bleaching cloth. About 5,000 hands are employed. The mills are working double shifts and produce about 30,000 lbs. of cloth per day of 20 hours (2 shifts). The total amount of cotton consumed during the year is valued at about 50 lakhs of rupees, most of which (15's and 20's count) comes from Ujjain (Malwa) and Rutlam State, and some (10's and 12's count) from districts around Agra and Delhi. Long cloths, sheeting and dyed goods are among the chief products. Recently the manufacture of hosiery has also been started on a large scale, and is making satisfactory progress. Half the manufactured cloth is consumed in the State, and the remainder is exported to Amritsar, Cawnpore, and Delhi.

The mill has provided well-built quarters for more than 1,500 families, with excellent arrangements for the supply of water, electric light in compound, and sanitation. It maintains a free hospital and school for boys and girls. A big hospital and maternity ward, crêche, market, and school are under construction, which, when ready, will give the mills the aspect of a small but complete industrial settlement.

Great credit is due to the mechanical workshop of this mill for its remarkable achievement in the construction of

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an entire motor-car exclusively from Indian material with the exception of the magneto, carburetter, the tyres and tubes. With the exception of these four things, every part of this car was cast and moulded and fitted up by them. The makers claim that this is the first car ever made in India. It is a four-cylinder, 14·75 h.p. machine, and can travel at a speed of 45 miles per hour.

Besides this mill there are three more cotton spinning and weaving mills in Ujjain, the former capital of the State in Malwa. The Binod Mills has a paid-up capital of 21 lakhs, and has about 16,000 spindles and 540 looms. The other, the Nazar Ali Mills, which is entirely a private concern, has 15,000 spindles and 264 looms. A third one, the Sipra Cotton Spinning and Weaving Mills, Ltd., has a capital of 25 lakhs. Sir Hukumchand Kt. of Indore, has of late secured permission for the construction of a big cotton mill at Madhonagar, Ujjain, and the construction work has already been taken in hand.

Irrigation Works and Communications.—The Gwalior State is not a level piece of country with flat surface slopes, as in the Punjab or the United Provinces, traversed by large rivers. It consists of high sloping uplands studded with numerous hillocks, and of small pieces of flat land in the valleys. The rainfall being very precarious and the nature of the soil porous, a considerable need for irrigation exists, especially in the northern tract of the State. From time immemorial the agricultural classes in the State recognized the value of storage reservoirs. Some of the large old tanks are still extant, but a great many of them became damaged during the stormy periods of Indian history in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Some effort to restore them and construct new ones was made before the time of the late Maharaja, but it was left to His late Highness to organize a regular Department for Irrigation Works, and utilize the services of eminent engineers, as a result of which there are now 723 minor tanks, 141 major works, and four very big schemes in the charge of the Department. The Department has spent about 93 lakhs in the constructed works, and about 21 lakhs' worth of important works are in progress.

The Gwalior State has 2,000 miles of fine metalled road, and is traversed by the Great Indian Peninsula and the Bombay, Baroda and Central India Railways over a total distance of 265 and 180 miles respectively. The Gwalior Light Railway—a 2-foot gauge line—covers a total distance of 250 miles, and yields a fair dividend on the capital

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invested, and has in famine time proved of incalculable benefit in carrying supplies of food to the more remote tracts in Northern Gwalior. That the gauge of this State Railway is only 2 feet instead of the more economic 2 feet 6 inches is due to the fact that the line had its birthplace in the Maharaja's Palace Grounds, where the late Maharaja, when in his teens, his interest centred in locomotives, toyed with a 2-foot engine and seven miles of track which ended in a favourite shooting box. Later, when he began to administer his State, he thought fit to utilize the already constructed portion in building a commercial light railway.

From these brief notes it will be apparent that the industrial and commercial possibilities of Gwalior State are very considerable. Along several lines, promising developments have been initiated. The State is at present administered by a Council of Regency: and the young Maharaja, when he succeeds to the throne of his ancestors, will doubtless throw himself as keenly into the task of forwarding the interests of the State and the prosperity of her people as did his illustrious father, the late Maharaja.

EXPORTS AND IMPORTS OF THE GWALIOR STATE, 1925-1926

	IMPORTS (VALUE IN RS).	EXPORTS (VALUE IN RS).
Grains	38,81,263	1,45,24,236
Sugar, etc.	92,33,583	67,700
Oilseeds, ghee, and kerosene ...	31,27,312	80,80,328
Grocery	35,45,195	27,34,382
Metals	22,60,769	1,48,106
Fibres (cotton, silk, and wool) ...	1,39,47,104	3,16,299
Intoxicating drugs (excluding opium)	4,20,033	77,196
Fireworks and explosives	80,047	1,462
Dyes	1,35,166	842
Wood and fodder	17,51,419	7,73,356
Stones and clay	1,86,606	2,63,922
Haberdashery	24,04,846	93,154
Cattle and leather	8,57,054	43,17,368
Miscellaneous	20,94,428	2,53,16,401
Grand total	4,39,24,824	5,67,16,752

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THE ROAD TO ISFAHAN

By Sir Arnold Wilson

It seems probable that railway construction, and the increasing use of aeroplanes, will, within the next ten years, deprive almost all Europeans, and most Persians, of what may not unfairly be described as the most pleasurable, the most sociable, and perhaps the most manly aspect of Persian national life—namely, long caravan journeys across the great mountain ranges which lie between the torrid plains of Khuzistan and the cooler expanses of the Persian plateau. But the road from Ahwaz to Isfahan offers such difficult problems alike to railway and road engineers, and is of such intrinsic commercial importance, that it will perhaps be longer in use exclusively as a mule track than any other main road in Persia, and on this ground alone deserves a fuller account than the exigencies of space will allow to other routes which traverse the area dealt with in this volume.

The first duty that an historian owes is a tribute of acknowledgment to his predecessors; in the case of the country traversed by this route, such a tribute is as gratefully rendered as it is deserved. Among those who have previously visited Bakhtiari territory and written about the Ahwaz-Isfahan road occur the famous names of Layard and Curzon, whose names are respectively a guarantee for adventurous research and painstaking observation. I append a list of travellers who have described in print their experiences in this region, and it is principally from an attentive perusal of their writings and those of their predecessors, as well as from the personal experiences of several years, that I have attempted to consolidate, within the limits of a single article, a description of the road itself and of the principal objects of interest which an energetic and observant traveller may hope to see in the course of his journey from the plains of Elam to the ancient capital of the Safavi monarchs.

1. *Wais*, 16/16, $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours;* 2. *Salmieh*, 24/40, $7\frac{1}{4}$ hours.

The first two stages of 16 miles and 24 miles respectively, from Ahwaz to Wais and Salmieh or Raghaiwah, lie along the motor road from Ahwaz to Ram Hormuz; they lie over

* The "hours" quoted are in every case from actual experience of an ordinary mule caravan and are taken from the late Lieutenant Ranking's record.

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flat alluvial soil, seamed with ancient canals, green with grass and young corn in spring, yellow by mid-April with the ripening harvest, which by mid-May has been reaped and gathered into great heaps in readiness for threshing, winnowing, and garnering. Some travellers may be tempted to accept the proffered car and to join their caravan at the foot of the hills at Raghaiwah, but unless the weather be uncomfortably hot, they will be well advised to resist the temptation and to accompany their men and beasts, for it is during these two marches that the caravan, like Kipling's ship, will find its soul, and become, ere it enters the hills, a harmonious entity. Wais is an Arab village, on the bank of the Karun; its inhabitants, like all who live on main roads, view travellers with somewhat unfriendly eyes, and who will blame them? So often do mendicants claim hospitality, and the servants of the great demand, none too politely, attention and service, that the milk of human kindness has turned a little sour. But if, among the traveller's bodyguard, there be one who has a friend in the village, chickens and eggs will be readily forthcoming, and fodder for the animals; bread alone will be a difficulty, for to sell bread is *'aib*—a breach of time-honoured convention* —and to give it away is hard; moreover, bread is baked once a day only, and immediately eaten, and to bake bread for a dozen hungry men is hard work for the women. To the right of the road runs the pipeline, with a gauge-house every five or six miles; motors speed past on their way to Shushtar, Ram Hormuz, or the oilfields; to the left, in the distance, will be seen the masts and funnels of river-craft on their way up the Karun to Dar-i-Khazineh or Shalili. The soil is, in autumn, as hard as iron, but through it, in the centre of the road, will sprout the purple crocus to waste for a brief moment its sweetness on the desert air, and to herald the coming respite from the heat of summer—*auspicium melioris ævi.* Next day brings us to Umm-ul Gharaibeh at 6 miles, to Nihairieh 12 miles, and to Salmieh, in the Raghaiwah plain, at 24 miles; in spring, and we will imagine for the rest of the journey that it is springtime, the green plains at the foot of the red and white hills of sandstone and gypsum will be alive with flocks of sheep and goats, horses, cattle,

* *Cf.* Layard, "Nineveh and Babylon," 1853, p. 567. "To say of an Arab 'that he has sold bread,' is to offer him the greatest of insults. To part with a loaf for money is accounted an act bringing disgrace not only upon the perpetrator, but upon his whole family. . . . Even its sale in the public market was forbidden. . . . The same scruples do not exist with regard to other articles of food."

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and mules, cropping the fine grass, dependent for water on pools left here and there by winter rains.

Their owners, generally Arabs but sometimes Lurs, live in black tents dotted here and there. Raghaiwah and Salmieh have seen cruel fighting between Lur and Arab tribesmen, intent on securing for their own flocks, in a bad year, the precious grazing of this favoured tract; in 1905 or so feeling ran so high that not even the women were immune from harm at the hands of the other side; today the feud is dormant, but it is not forgotten. The tract is claimed by the Bakhtiari Khans as personal property. Through Raghaiwah runs the motor road from Shushtar and the oilfields to Ram Hormuz and the new oilfield at Haft Kel; crossing it the traveller bids farewell to wheels and relies henceforward on the older and more respectable means of movement—stout-hearted mules and sure-footed ponies.

4. *Jaru*, 18/58, 1,500 feet, 8 hours.

Leaving the plains the road soon rises steeply from the 'Alwanieh tract of Raghaiwah, and tops the first ridge at 450 feet; at 8½ miles is an Arab settlement called Gazin. The Anglo-Persian Oil Co. in 1922 unsuccessfully bored for oil near here on the banks of the Khundaq stream. At 18 miles Jaru is reached, a permanent village of 120 houses of Makwandi tribesmen, who claim to have emigrated from Mecca; from this point to the Pul-i-Shalu the road runs through territory which formerly belonged to the Chahar Lang branch of the Bahktiari tribes, or Janiki Garmsir,* a race ethnologically as well as tribally distinct from the Haft Lang, with whom relations are generally more or less strained.

5. *Chashmeh-i-Raughani on the Taulah Plain*, 11/69, 2,100 feet, 4¾ hours.

This is a short but wearying stage over rough ground, waterless till the springs from which the stage derives its name are reached, and they are brackish. But the traveller's eyes are already gladdened by fresh sights; to the north-west by night the pillar of fire and by day the cloud of smoke of the oil-fields of Masjid Sulaiman, and to the north the great limestone hog's-back of Asmari, and beyond it the snow-covered heights of the Zagros range from the Charri pass to the Kuh-i-Zard and the Mungasht. If he

* Janiki is a corruption for Juwaniki, the name of the tribe that originally inhabited this area.

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is wise and starts early he will see little foxes disporting themselves on the hillsides, and perhaps a jackal or two, though these are seldom found far from villages; a mountain sheep, chinkara, or ibex may well be seen, and in the half light of early dawn porcupines shuffle down the mule tracks, dropping quills as they go. Great lizards and jerboa, too, are there to entertain us, whilst in every hollow stand little groups of black tents, and on a thousand hills the cattle are grazing. Buttermilk can be had for the asking everywhere, and the traveller will soon discover that the Bakhtiari is a more forthcoming and genial creature than his cousin Ishmael of the plain, though he, too, in his native haunts, has his own virtues. The regular inhabitants of the Taulah plain are Makwandi and Mumbeni tribesmen.

6. *Kaleh Tul*, 21/90, 2,750 feet, 7½ hours.

For the first 10 miles the road runs east, crossing a series of torrents and ravines, some of which immediately after rain are formidable streams, as the writer discovered to his cost in 1908, when he pitched his camp on high ground between two dry ravines, which joined at the foot of the Asmari range to form the Ab-i-Lashkar. After a night's rain they became swift torrents, 5 feet deep, and impassable by man or beast. One of these ravines, the Darreh-i-Pul-i-Burida (5 miles), must once have been bridged; the footings are to be seen on the eastern side, made of large undressed stones, cemented with gypsum. At 7 miles the road crosses the Dam-i-Dalli pass, or the Imamzadeh-i-Kallah Dud as it is sometimes called. At 10 miles the road turns north along the Bulawas (*sc.*, Abu'l 'Abbas) river; at 14 miles the Rud-i-Zard (a tributary of the Jarrahi) is crossed, and at 15 miles are reached the villages of Aala Khurshid, Bagh Malik, Khamisi, and Shang. The district is known as Manjanik, and is famous for its ruins, which, according to Rawlinson,* consist of two distinct classes—the huge Babylonian mound and traces of buildings formed of hewn blocks of stone. There are many ruins of the latter class and of later periods, which suggest that the place was inhabited in the days of the Atabegs. The mound itself is probably the site of a fire temple; it is believed by Lurs to represent the spot where Nimrod cast the patriarch Abraham into the fire with the famous Manjanik or Mangonel (the *manganicon* of

* Rawlinson, "Journey from Zohab to Khuzistan," *J.R.G.S.*, IX., 1839, p. 81.

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the Greeks); there can be little doubt that excavations here would be amply rewarded. Some 10 miles south, on the old route from Manjanik to Behbehan, lies an interesting ruin, the "Darwazeh-i-gach," an old building, made almost wholly of blocks of gypsum, with three round arches, in the Sasanian style and probably of that date; the road passes through the central gate. At the sides are vaulted apartments, probably for toll collectors; it is pictured by De Bode (p. 391), who passed it in 1841, and was in much the same condition when seen by the writer just seventy years later.

From the Manjanik valley to Kaleh Tul is 7 miles, easy going, the last 3½ miles being along the plain, which is cultivated in places, in full view of the fort of Tul, which stands on a natural elevation in the midst of the plain. The district of Janiki was named in the last century Tulghar, apparently from the title of this fort, which has been immortalized by Sir Henry Layard in his "Early Adventures." The traveller will here, for the first time since he left Ahwaz, find shelter and hospitality, if he cares to claim it, and he can enjoy for the first time the pleasures of clear water and the best of victuals.

Kaleh Tul, as is explained elsewhere, is the seat of the chiefs of the Chahar Lang clan, and when Layard visited them in 1840 the power of their chief embraced the greater portion of the country. It consists of a large stone and mud-brick fort, built upon a *tepé*, or artificial mound, probably of Babylonian date, about 100 feet high. The fort is a square with five towers, and is built in two tiers. In the interior it contains two courts. A village of mud huts clusters at the foot of the mound, and in the cold season black tents are pitched in the vicinity.

Towering above Kaleh Tul, which De Bode writes as Qarah Tul, stands the mountain mass of Mungasht, or as it should be properly written Mankhisht *; the upper slopes are wholly barren of vegetation, the peaks (9,600 feet) within the range of perpetual snow; on the very summit is a perfectly flat plain, more than half a mile in each direction, on which an aeroplane could land with perfect safety. Water and fuel are abundant, and the climate in summer superb; it may be a summer resort ere the youngest of us has been gathered to his fathers. Natural caverns exist near the summit capable of holding a thousand men, and the place has been of great celebrity in the Persian wars. It formed the stronghold of the Atabegs, who reigned in

* *Cf.* Nuzhat ul Qulub and Sharaf-nameh.

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Lur-i-Buzurg in the twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth centuries, and one of these princes, named Takallah, successfully defended it against the armies of Hulaku during a siege of nine months' duration.* It has been often, indeed, attacked, but has the reputation amongst Lurs of being a maiden fortress, and its present occupants, the Bahmai, have maintained the tradition on more than one occasion in the past twenty years by force of arms. The writer has ascended it from the north-west and south on three different occasions, finding on each route fresh beauties and fresh points of interest; no district south of the Karun is better worth a visit. There can be little doubt that it was used by the notables of Manjanik and Idej (Malamir) as a summer resort; an ancient paved road of Sasanian type can be seen zigzagging up a spur of the southern slope, and could have served no other purpose. Ibex and mountain sheep are very common on the screes below the summit, but water is scarce, and a local guide is indispensable; of all the springs along the slopes the most attractive is that known as Sarvistan (about 7,000 feet), being planted with cypresses, a few of which are of considerable size. The view from the summit is as fine as any in Persia, and is alone worth the journey.

At Khadda Sur, about 7 miles north-west of Kaleh Tul, an interesting bone deposit of Pliocene age has been found, containing teeth of the three-toed horse, *Hipparion gracile*. The bones occur in a conglomerate, which has been cemented by bitumen, showing the great antiquity of the oil seepages in this part of Persia.

7. *Malamir*, 16/108, 3,000 feet, 5½ hours.

From Kaleh Tul the traveller has the choice of two tracks to Malamir. One keeps to the west of the pass past the hamlet of Shahruzan and over a low plain, past the Chashmeh-i-Atabegi to Halagun,† a

* The Atabeg, relying on the signet ring of Hulaku, which was sent him in token of pardon, came down from his stronghold; he was immediately seized, sent to Tabriz, and executed (*Sharaf-nameh*, quoted by Rawlinson, *op. cit.*).

† Of this village Layard writes (VIII. 166): "We arrived in the afternoon at a village named Aburgon, surrounded by pomegranate and fig-trees in full fruit and rice fields. Near it were the ruins of a castle. It had formerly belonged to Hasan Khan, a powerful chief of the Chahar Lang tribe, who, as I have mentioned, with his brother, Feth Ali Khan, and one of his sons, had been slain by Muhammad Taqi Khan, in revenge for their treachery in delivering into the hands of Feth Ali Shah, his

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prosperous village in a well-watered plain, and thus through a narrow gorge, at the entrance of which are two ruined towers, apparently of Sasanian age, to Malamir—a total distance of some 20 miles. At this point the track oins the main route from Shushtar over the Kuh-i-Murdafil.* The other route, 4 miles shorter, strikes north for 4 miles across the plain, and enters a deep, narrow, and well-wooded defile, the Tang-i-Nashalil, 8 miles long, whence the traveller emerges, into the upper reaches of the Halagun stream, and thus enters the Malamir plain, the hamlet and caravanserai of that name being attained at 16 miles.

This plain was the headquarters in the fourteenth century of the powerful Atabegs of the Fazluyah dynasty and the site of their capital the ancient town of Idhaj,† of which scarcely a trace now remains. It played, however, so important a part in local history that no apology is needed for referring the reader to Ibn Batutah's account of his visit in 1330.

Here is said to have been located the magnificent bridge of Jirzad, a work of the age of Ardeshir Babakan, described by early writers‡ as one of the wonders of the world; Rawlinson (*J.R.G.S.* IX., p. 82) states that "the imperfect remains of the buttresses of the bridge are said even to be still visible," but the present writer failed to identify them.

Not far from the caravanserai, in a narrow gorge, is a large cavern, called the Shikaft-i-Salman, containing a

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father, Ali Khan. . . . The elders of the village came to me in the evening and sitting round the fire related to me the story of the Hasan Khan's death—how Muhammad Taqi Khan fought with him hand to hand, and how he had slain Fath Ali Khan, pointing out the spot where he fell." Ibn Batutah says that at this place, which he calls Halafíhán, the Kings of Idhaj were buried: he spent several days here *en route* to Isfahan, and mentions "a big college, which the stream traverses, which encloses a mosque where Friday prayers are said. Outside is a bath, and a big orchard surrounds this madraseh."

* Thus Ibn Batutah: "We left Toster (Shushtar) and we travelled for three days in high mountains. At each stage we found a hermitage (madraseh) as already mentioned." The remains of one such hermitage are to be seen at the south foot of Kuh-i-Murdafil: it is known as Kaleh Madraseh. Jaihani's Ashkalu-ul Alam says it is four stages from Askar Mukram. The Nuzhat ul Qulub of Hamdullah Mustawp (1340) refers to Idhaj as "a small town," gives the distance from Isfahan as forty-five farsahks, adding that its climate is unhealthy, but the water wholesome and good.

† Zaqariyah Ibn Muhammad al Qazwini, in the Asar ul Bilad (A.D. 1283) and Abul Fida (1338) in Marasid al Ittila 'ala asma 'al amkina wal biga'.

‡ *Ibid.*

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natural recess, on either side of which are figures much larger than life, sculptured in the rock.*

In another ravine, the Kul Faraun, are a further very remarkable series of rock sculptures and inscriptions Layard describes (X. 220) as containing 341 figures in five tablets, accompanied by a perfectly preserved inscription of twenty-four lines in the Sasanian cuneiform character.

The Malamir plain is fertile, and large crops of barley and some wheat are grown by tribesmen; drought is rare, locusts are unfortunately common. But there is plenty of room for cattle, and from November to May the edges of the plain are dotted with black tents, and the traveller's ears are rejoiced with the most grateful of sounds—the bleating of sheep and goats, and the cheerful sound of the shepherd-boys' pipes on the hillsides.

Of the half a dozen or more routes converged here, the most important are those from Ahwaz and Shushtar, to which we have already referred, and from Isfahan, which we shall shortly follow. But two others deserve mention—namely, the roads to Shushtar via Gotwand and Lali and Andaka, crossing the Karun at Bardiqamchi, and the road to Susan in the Karun valley, north-west of Malamir via the Kuh-i-Gugird.

Of the road to Susan, Layard (VIII. 171) writes:

"I soon reached the foot of the mountains which divide the plain of Malamir from the valley of Susan. Through a gap in this lofty serrated ridge passed the track which I was to follow. I began the ascent to it by a gentle but very stony path. After about an hour I found myself in a narrow gorge, in the bed of a torrent then dry. . . . The mountains, which had hitherto been bare and treeless, were on the opposite side thickly wooded with . . . From the summit of the pass I looked into a valley down which ran the river Karun. The tents and huts of the tribe encamped at Susan were visible to the north in the distance. Entering a dense forest, I descended rapidly by a very steep and difficult pass, leading my horse after me. . . . We descended to the river and rode along its banks. I could trace here and there the remains of an ancient paved road and the ruins of buildings and foundations of walls. The

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* They are described by Layard (VIII. 167) as follows: "The one to the right, with a long curled beard, appeared . . . from the cap fitting close to the head, with a double fold over the forehead, to be that of a Mobed, or priest of the fire-worshippers. His robe reached to his feet and his arms were folded on his breast. The other figure had a similar headdress, but more character. A short tunic, and his hands were joined in an attitude of prayer. . . . To the left of the figure first described was an inscription consisting of thirty-six lines in the cuneiform character. This inscription, which has been published by the British Museum, relates to the restoration of certain temples, and the coming of sculptures and inscriptions by a King whose name Professor Sayce gives as Takhi-hi-Kutur."

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valley was in places very narrow, with precipitous rocks overhanging the river, and we had some difficulty in making our way along it.

"The ruins of Susan, of which I was in search, were on the opposite bank of the Karun. . . . I succeeded in gaining the opposite bank without accident. I rode through extensive ricefields, crossed an ancient bed of the river now dry, and came to a number of natural mounds, one of which had been scarped, and had apparently at some former period been surrounded by a ditch. . . . On the summit there were some remains of buildings. The so-called tomb of Daniel was not far distant, at the foot of the mountains which bound the valley of Susan to the north. I found it to be a modern building. . . . I was greatly disappointed. . . . However, the tradition that Daniel is buried there may be of very ancient origin. There is no doubt that throughout the mountains of Luristan the tomb of the Prophet is believed to be covered by the shrine I have described. That the place and valley should be known as Su-san or Shushan may add some weight to the tradition. . . . But I was still resolved, now that I had reached Susan, to examine the remains which were reported to exist there. . . . After crossing the numerous swampy ricefields we came to the Karun, and continued along its banks until we reached a narrow gorge in the mountains, through which the river issues into the valley of Susan. About a mile within this gorge, in a small open space, I found the ruins of what was called the masjid, or temple. There was nothing above ground to show that an edifice of any importance had ever stood there—no columns or dressed stones; not even a mound; only some rough masonry, apparently the foundations of a building of the Sasanian period. These remains were, however, known to the Lars as the Masjid-i-Suleiman—the temple of Solomon. At a short distance beyond them were the ruins of a bridge, of which four massive buttresses still resisted the force of the torrent. The river must have been crossed at a considerable height above the level of the stream by a single arch of great span, which was connected with the sides of the ravine by two smaller arches. I could trace on both banks an ancient paved causeway, a continuation, no doubt, of the road that I had seen in the valley of Susan. It was known as Ja-dah-i-Atabeg, or Road of the Atabegs, to whom its construction was attributed by the Lars, but it was evidently a much more ancient work, possibly of the time of the Kayanian Kings, and the remains of one of the great highways, which in the time of Darius led from the plains of Susiana to the highlands of Persia and to Persiopolis. I traced it subsequently in many places between Malamir and Shushtar.

"The bridge had been partly built of large roughly hewn stones, and partly of kiln-burnt bricks, united by tenacious cement. . . . It was evident that it was a very ancient structure, not later than the Sasanian period, and probably very much earlier. . . . The place was called by the Bakhtiari 'Pa-i-Rah'—*i.e.*, foot of the road. . . . It was only on the following morning . . . that I heard for the first time that there was an inscription carved on the rocks near the Pa-i-Rah. I was told that it was in the writing of the Farargi, and only three or four lines in length. He was not able to visit it. On his return journey he passed, near the river-bank, foundations of buildings, remains of ancient walls and other ruins, which were known to the Bakhtiari as Mal-i-Wairan (the ruined abode). . . . The masonry of these was of rounded stones from the river, characteristic of the Sasanian period."

To this vivid narrative the present writer need only add that he followed Layard's route to Susan in 1908, passing just south of and below the Kaleh Gazhdimak, crossing the Kuh-

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i-Gulgird at 5,500 feet—7½ miles from Malamir, by a road which showed traces of having been carefully constructed in former—probably Sasanian—times, halting at Sar Chashmeh-i-Talao (2,500 feet), 14 miles, and reaching Susan through the Patoi valley at 22 miles, but failed to visit Pa-i-Rah. From Susan roads lead west to Chila over the hill of that name (3 farsakhs) and by the same route to Ira (6 farsakhs); a footpath to Chila runs through the gorge to the Karun past the ruined bridge. North of the river roads lead to Kaleh Ba-zuft from Susan and from the old bridge-head. The latter route is known as Ab-bid, and is popular with tribes on their annual migrations from Malamir northwards; Susan, like Malamir, is the hereditary property of the Dinaruni (Duraki) branch of the Haftlang Bakhtiari.

There can be little doubt that the tradition of Daniel's tomb at Susan is based solely on the accidental similarity of the name of the place with that of Susa. Neither the location of the ruins nor their extent justifies the belief that it was ever a place of more than local importance.

(*To be concluded.*)

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LITERARY SECTION

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF INDIA. By Vera Anstey, B.SC. (*Longmans.*) 25s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR ALFRED CHATTERTON.)

A characteristic feature of the present age is the growing recognition of the importance of economic studies due to a widespread appreciation of the necessity for accurate information regarding the complex forces, the combined action of which has produced our modern civilization. The science of Political Economy was built up during the period of the industrial revolution in England and was based largely upon the dominance of the economic motive. The French physiocrats first enunciated the doctrine of freedom of trade, which was developed by Adam Smith and accepted by English manufacturers as the gospel of efficiency of production. In less progressive countries its effects were minutely analyzed, and List in Germany showed that its universal operation would relegate backward communities to perpetual economic dependence, and would deprive them of opportunities to create a diversity of occupations essential to healthy national development. His arguments were accepted in the United States, and were influential in determining the strongly protective attitude there adopted. Sheltered by adequate tariff walls, the Americans have utilized their vast natural resources to transform a nation almost entirely dependent on agriculture into the foremost manufacturing country of the world. Similarly in Europe an almost equally imposing industrialization has been brought about, and the unquestioned industrial supremacy which we enjoyed during the Victorian era has ceased to exist. British administration in India was naturally governed by the prevailing ideas of free trade and *laissez-faire*, and they were entirely accepted by the earlier generation of Indians, who had received a Western education and had studied political economy from the works of Adam Smith, Mill, and others. The first dissentient note was struck by Mr. Justice Ranade in Bombay, and from his time onwards there has grown up a school of political thought favourable to the imposition of tariffs both for revenue and the protection of local industrial efforts. The Swadeshi movement excited interest in economic inquiries, and the special problems of India have been investigated with ever-increasing acumen and knowledge. A very extensive literature on the subject has been produced both from the British and the Indian point of view. Currency questions, industries, agriculture, tariffs, and taxation have all been examined by Royal or Indian Commissions and voluminous reports issued. Innumerable monographs and reports on special subjects have been prepared by committees and individuals, so that it is now a serious matter for the administrative officer or the politician to keep in touch with the progress of thought and action in these matters.

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"The Economic Development of India," by Mrs. Anstey, who is a lecturer on Indian Economics at the London School of Economics and Political Science, is therefore to be welcomed as presenting, within the compass of a single volume, a well-balanced and lucid survey of the present position. Mrs. Anstey worked for seven years in Bombay with her husband, who was Principal of the Sydenham College of Commerce, and has therefore been able to bring to her self-appointed task an intimate acquaintance with Indian life and a judicious sympathy with Indian aspirations. The book is admirably documented and authorities given for almost every statement of fact, whilst its value to the student is enhanced by the selected statistical tables and the very complete bibliography. Dealing with problems the subject of much, and sometimes bitter, controversy, Mrs. Anstey has succeeded in presenting a very fair and impartial account of British control of economic developments during a period when its own statesmen had but a very imperfect conception of the potential resources of India, and, biassed by the obvious advantages of "free trade" in their own country, could not divest themselves of the idea that it was equally suited to conditions diametrically different. The famine commissions of the latter part of the nineteenth century first drew attention to the too great preponderance of agriculture in the economic structure, and recommended that measures should be inaugurated to promote a diversity of industries. But it was only slowly that the official attitude changed, influenced largely by the evidence of growing private enterprise on the part of the people of the country. Behind the feeble efforts of Swadeshi there was a sound natural instinct which unfortunately evoked ridicule rather than sympathy and assistance, and thus engendered bitterness of feeling that has increased rather than diminished with lapse of time. Nevertheless from Lord Curzon's viceroyalty onwards the Government of India and the Provincial Governments have displayed increasing interest in the promotion of industries which is generally, but very grudgingly, acknowledged by Indian leaders. Every important phase of the various movements and enterprises started during the last quarter of a century is succinctly described and commented upon by Mrs. Anstey, and generally with a clearness of vision and grasp of essentials that renders her conclusions of great value. Writing of the present position, she says: "What is needed is a really comprehensive policy, co-ordinated with the policy adopted in other economic spheres. The Government should take a long view and prepare far-reaching schemes—for instance, for the provision of motive power, the training of technical labour, the utilization of by-products, and for the filling in of industrial gaps. Such work should be centrally controlled. . . . A great increase in expenditure upon industrial stimulation would, like expenditure on agriculture and on public health, in the end prove extremely productive. In particular, financial aid is necessary for investigations on a scale which no private individual could undertake." The Government of India, since 1919, when industries became a transferred subject, has, however, very restricted powers and is without the organization to enable it to frame a broad and effective industrial policy

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which will take full cognizance of world movements and of the conflicting claims of widely divergent interests. The whole situation needs examining with expert knowledge to ascertain what measures are feasible to promote new industries based upon the still unutilized natural resources. Faced with the highly organized giant industries of the West, and open, through its ports and the railways diverging from them, to sea-borne penetration, the economic weakness of India is strikingly apparent. In regard to protection, Mrs. Anstey comes to the conclusion "that India has not yet attained a stage of development at which she can benefit from any extensive application of protection, except at a very heavy cost to consumers in general," and adds "that India's tariff system should aim primarily at revenue (and only in specific and extremely limited cases at protection), and that industrialization (and greater self-sufficiency) can best be promoted by increased expenditure upon research, industrial and technical training, the collection and distribution of information, the promotion of improved methods of marketing, and upon the improvement of transport and communications." A relentless economic struggle between the leading nations of the world is in progress, and it will develop in intensity in the immediate future; yet India, still practising a medieval system of agriculture and with an extremely inadequate industrial equipment, is totally unprovided with a central staff to study the situation and formulate plans.

Perhaps of greatest interest is the final chapter, in which Mrs. Anstey formulates the conclusions she has arrived at regarding the economic outlook. In her opinion, there is no reason why, from considerations purely material and technical, a rapid advance should not be made, but that in the absence of fundamental social reorganization it will not occur. Admitting that in recent years the condition of the labouring classes has undoubtedly improved, although the poverty of the masses is still a byword throughout the world, she states "that the general prosperity in India can never be rapidly or substantially increased so long as any increase in the income of individuals is absorbed, not by a rise in the standard of life, but by an increase in the population." The social customs and religious obligations tend towards over-population, improvidence, lack of enterprise, and a poor standard of mental and physical development, particularly in the case of women; and till the people can be induced to accept fundamental changes in their outlook on life, there is no possibility of any marked improvement in their physical well-being. A second obstacle to progress is the uneconomic outlook of the people, which is probably due to the prevalence of static social ideals, reinforced by the apathy consequent upon belief in the doctrine of *Karma*. Labour in general certainly does not respond to higher wages for increased output, but that is entirely due to lack of education and consequent inability to incur extra mental effort. Lastly, Mrs. Anstey considers that the absence of co-operation between the Government and the governed is a third obstacle to economic progress, and there is much force in her contention that "many of India's most pressing present-day economic problems are due to this political connection (with the British Empire),

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and the Government ought therefore to assume at least part responsibility for finding a solution."

From time immemorial the people of India have always looked to the State for guidance and help, and the experience of nearly a century of free scope for private enterprise has by no means altered their outlook. The Provincial Departments of Industries are a popular concession to the almost universal opinion that it is incumbent upon the Government to formulate a policy and provide means whereby it may be carried out. The vacillation and feeble enterprise which has characterized the working of these Departments during the post-war period is due less to financial stringency than to inexperience on the part of the controlling authorities, who have been changed with disastrous frequency to suit the exigencies of provincial administration. In this connection it may be pointed out that the recommendations of the Industrial Commission in regard to the qualifications of the superior staff and the field from which they should be recruited have been neglected.

The only great mass movement initiated by Government for the amelioration of the condition of the people is the attempt to deal with rural indebtedness by the establishment of co-operative credit societies. It is twenty-five years since the first Act was passed in the Imperial Legislature, and Mrs. Anstey may be congratulated on her excellent summary of the work which has been done. In her own words: "In certain respects the movement has achieved much. It has instilled a new spirit of hope, thrift, and mutual help into the minds of members, and ardent and regular honorary workers for co-operative principles have been recruited from among all classes of society." And again: "Nevertheless, it is true that expansion has been slow and that it is likely to remain slow for many years to come. Indeed, it can be said that the achievements of co-operation so far, though qualitatively great, have been qualitatively very small in reference to potentialities"; finally, her conclusion is that "further progress depends not so much on official efforts as on non-official support, general economic progress, and the spread and improvement of general education." Closer contact with actualities would probably suggest a slightly less roseate view of the situation, especially in relation to the working of non-credit societies, whilst drastic action is necessary in some areas to prevent discredit of the principles on which the whole movement is based.

In the chapter on "industrial and commercial organization" the system of managing agencies comes in for some severe criticism, and whilst its advantages are fairly stated it seems unwise to discredit a peculiarly Indian institution which has, by a gradual process of evolution, grown up to meet the glaring scarcity of trained and experienced business men. That it is open to abuse and in some instances has been abused is not to be denied. Moreover, there is a tendency to overgrowth which must inevitably end in inefficiency, but meanwhile there is little hope that unassociated companies working on a comparatively small scale will be able to command the whole-time services of a competent managing staff. Experience of the working of the Tata Industrial Bank on its

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industrial side clearly indicated the strength of the managing agents and their ability and willingness to finance approved industrial ventures. Still, there is no doubt they are somewhat conservative in their industrial policy and display a less enterprising spirit than is desirable, considering the extent to which they have mobilized the business resources of the country. The time may come when the system will be no longer needed, and it may be presumed that it will then disappear.

To conclude, this book may be recommended to all students of Indian economics who want to obtain a concise account, free from racial bias, of the complex problems which must be solved if India is ever to take its place in the comity of nations on equal terms with the great nations of the West. Its vast area, its immense population, and its unique social system are elements of weakness which no magic formula, such as Dominion Status, will transform into sources of strength. Only by a necessarily slow process of education and social reconstruction will the desired end be reached, and that will only be possible by patient and steady co-operation of East and West.

THE WHITE MUTINY. By Sir Alexander Cardew, K.C.S.I. (*Constable.*) 12s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR GEORGE MACMUNN.)

It is to be doubted if any book dealing with any phase of the Indian Army has greater interest than this extremely live account of the extraordinary happenings in the Madras Army in the first decade of the last century. Then practically the whole of the officer cadre of the Army of Fort St. George—in other words, the Coast or Madras Army, including the Company's Europeans—joined in a definite plot to compel the Honourable Company to relieve them of certain disabilities and grievances, and actually suborned their men to follow them. Not only that, they actually marched brigades from their stations in pursuit of their scheme, and in one case brought their sepoys into collision with a party of H.M. 25th Light Dragoons and Mysore Horse, in which two of the mutinous white officers lost their lives and a good many of their men. The rank and file of the Company's Europeans also sided boisterously with their officers. Sir Alexander Cardew has told the story as it has never been told before, with a charm and an interest that makes the book an addition to the table of certainly every officer of the Army and every student of the Indian Empire in the making. Nor is it without value to treasury and finance officials and to administrators who would realize that armies in peace time are very live concerns that react to any unjust and thoughtless act. There is more than one Adjutant-General of the Army in India in recent times who could tell stories of measures of retrenchment proposed void of justice and common sense that if accepted and promulgated might have tried loyalty very highly.

Yet the story of the "White Mutiny"—a name applied in more recent days to the mutiny of the European forces of the Company immediately after the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857, on their thoughtless

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transfer to the Crown without bounty—was not based on any definite act that could rightly be considered as any sort of justification for the outbreak and the cabal. A concatenation of circumstances that gave rise to the trouble are clearly described. Sir George Barlow was Governor of Madras, the same who had been the "golden-haired boy" to the Marquis Wellesley, and an intimate sharer in his plans and visions of a British India on the Mogul ruins. To his strength of character in resisting all plans to give way to insolent demands of corps in arms, when even men like John Malcolm thought surrender the lesser evil, Sir Alexander pays full tribute, while deprecating Colonel Malcolm's share as unworthy. Barlow had temporarily held the Governor-Generalship when Lord Cornwallis had died suddenly, and in spite of his Wellesley tradition had carried out the peremptory orders for retrenchment that Cornwallis had been sent to initiate; and he came to Madras with an evil odour in the opinion of Bengal. He was also a man whose outward manner was cold and reserved, and he had none of that force of character mingled with bonhomie which could gain the confidence of a disgruntled cadre. The Madras Army, indeed the whole of the Indian Army, had lately been increased out of all knowledge to meet new conditions. The Regular system had been introduced, and a full complement of officers on the British model had been given to every battalion and regiment. The cadre, hastily swollen, had not settled down to a spirit of loyal tradition and was wanting in sufficient seniors brought up in such tradition. Many hardships had been removed, pensions and leave rules that were generous had been introduced, but there were still grievances on the subject of allowances and pickings, some reasonable, some the contrary, and especially regarding supersession by "King's" officers. The Commander-in-Chief in Madras, General Hay MacDowall of the King's Service, not only had a grievance—his *ex-officio* seat in the Governor's Council having been abolished by the Court of Directors—but could not but talk of it to all and sundry in most improper terms, eventually resigning his command, though, as it happened, the Court were admitting his protest. This conduct added to the discontent of the Army with their civil rulers. The Quartermaster-General, Lieut.-Colonel Munro, in a confidential memorandum to his chief, had explained how certain allowances did operate too favourably to officers and against the State. This memorandum, a perfectly reasonable one, was published. The Army vowed itself insulted and demanded that he be brought to trial. His Chief incontinently and illogically put him under arrest. The Governor ordered his release, and the whole Army, including its commander, took sides. Malcolm, already becoming famous, was sent to one of the larger garrisons to report and apparently lost his nerve. Things went from bad to worse, and only the Governor kept his head. What happened and how it all ended must be read in the "White Mutiny," and no story was better worth telling with judgment a century and more after its happening.

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THE SPIRIT OF BUDDHISM. By Sir Hari Singh Gour. (*Luzac.*) 30s. net.

(*Reviewed by* A. L. SAUNDERS.)

This masterly study, or series of studies, by a leading Indian statesman and man of letters, of the great religion and civilization of Eastern Asia, will in all probability take rank for many years, if not permanently, as the foremost authority on the subject. No other work on Buddhism speaks with anything like the same completeness and comprehension. Sir Hari Singh has exceptional qualifications for the task, not only as a profound thinker and widely read theologian, but, as he says himself, as an Asiatic, an Indian, and a Hindu. He is of Buddha's own Kshattriya clan, and he can speak with the understanding derived from a kindred faith without the restraint of subscription imposed on a believer. He can write with full appreciation of the profundity of the Buddhist intellectual conceptions and the exalted spirituality of its teaching without losing the critical acumen so many writers on Buddhism lack. Sir Hari Singh makes a point of the first importance, one often unrecognized by European writers, in emphasizing the fact that Buddhism is an aspect of Hinduism, not a distinct and independent religion. While it was for centuries predominant it did not attempt to supersede the older faith. No one knows how it died out, but it is fairly obvious, if only by comparison of dates, that its disappearance was connected with the coming of Islam. Meanwhile it had spread to and become the governing culture through Northern and Eastern Asia and in Ceylon. It penetrated also to Western Asia, but fell back before Christianity. This course of events is not so hard to understand if we compare it with the later and modern development of Christianity itself. What Buddhism was to Brahmanism, Protestantism was to Catholicism, a political, social, moral and intellectual revolt which threatened to submerge completely the older creed. Then it stagnated, and revolutionary unbelief, like Islam in the East, came to supersede it in its turn, and in doing so to give new life to the Catholic culture. To make the parallel more complete, Protestantism established itself in Northern America, as Buddhism in Northern Asia, and is there taking stronger root and developing more and more diverging forms. As in politics, so in religion, there is never permanently room for three parties.

Sir Hari Singh gives us the conventional life of Buddha, based on the Lalita Vistara of the third century B.C., the Mahaparinirvana of about the same time, and the much later Buddha Charita of Asvaghosha. "The art of the historiographer," he says, "is wholly unknown in India" (it would be more exact to say in Hindu India), and these lives are a conglomeration of tradition and romance, of possible events and impossible fancy. This is obvious enough; the royal and miraculous births, palaces and jewels and beautiful princesses, adoring angels and tempting demons, transfiguration, assumption of godhead, final ascension and glorification—all these belong to a different realm of thought from history. Sometimes we seem to see peaks of historical fact jutting out above the flood of myth. Buddha cast off wife and family, he spoke faithfully with kings, he built up an absolutely submissive order, he suppressed heresy and schism. "The smallest minutiæ of the order

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could not be settled without reference to him." There are sculptured portraits—one is given facing page 188—which depict a man of stern temper and iron will, very different from the bland inanity of the conventional Buddha. Lastly, we have the saying ascribed to the disciple Subhadra on Buddha's death. "Thank God, he's gone," said, in effect, this outspoken follower; "what a relief! At last we can call our souls our own." This outburst of Subhadra's, one suspects, gives us more of the real human Buddha than is found in the whole of the Tripitaka.

We have the same historical difficulty in dealing with Buddha's ethics and metaphysics. The Buddhist perspective is terribly flattened. A mass of parables, moralities, and doctrines covering the longest known stretch of human history, and the greatest division of the human race is ascribed in block to the master personally. It is out of the question that he could have delivered himself of more than a fraction of these pronouncements. One fact speaks for itself, the recurring numerical arrangement. Even more than in the scholastic Christian theology, the Buddha's dicta are asserted in numerical categories. That cannot be original. An inspired teacher with a message to deliver to the world does not express it in fours and sevens and tens. The volcano does not spout forth its lava ready hewn into building blocks. Of course some of the teaching ascribed to Buddha, the general lines perhaps, must be really his. There are positive directions which are among the great achievements of the human soul. Love and justice to all men, the avoidance of war, no distinction of classes, no separate priesthood, equality of the sexes, kindness to animals, and complete toleration of all religions—these may well be the Master's very own. Of the last two, indeed, we may be sure. Kindness to animals is over and over again ascribed to him in Buddhist story. It is a lesson imperfectly taught in other religions. The other great moral is not taught at all. Religious strife and persecution have formed the great blot on Christianity and, to a rather less extent, on Islam. They are not quite eradicated to this day. Buddha delivered half the human race from this curse; that alone is a nobler memorial than *stupa* or *vihara*.

The philosophical side of Buddha's teaching is admirably summarized on pages 105, 106 of Sir Hari Singh's book. His "enlightenment," which may or may not have been a sudden revelation, showed the whole chart of life before him. "The root-cause of human suffering was desire, desire rooted in selfishness, and its salve was a life of self-denial. That was all he then learnt and that was all he ever strove to teach." To this ideal one cannot deny nobility, though it seems to miss the altruistic note of Christianity, the ideal of effort, even of strife, in what is believed to be the cause of God. Renunciation is the key-note of Buddhism. The cessation of existence is the cure of all human ills. This is undeniably true, but recalls an irreverent quotation from "Pickwick" about the father who cut off his little boy's head to cure him of toothache. In the doctrine of Nirvana the same antinomy constantly recurs. It is not entire negation of existence, yet without such negation there cannot be complete elimination of suffering and sin.

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Sir Hari Singh's chapters on Buddhism and Christianity, Buddhism and Modern Thought, and Buddhism and Progress, are studies of great and enduring value. In dealing with Christianity he discusses the question of one revelation borrowing from the other, and compares the ethics of the two, finding a vast field in common. As there are, on either side, thousands of years and hundreds of millions of human beings to consider, and as both creeds, especially Christianity, have diverged and developed extensively from their founders' teaching, it is extremely difficult to find a formula to summarize the comparison adequately. In the case of Christianity is easy to contrast the gentle, submissive unworldliness of the Gospel teaching with the pugnacious and money-making civilization which bears the Christian name, but similar oppositions can be found in Buddhism. It had its great age of missionary proselytism, and some of its peoples have shown themselves as warlike as Christians. Indeed, it looks as if we were on the eve of a recrudescence of Mongol militarism. The West taught Japan to wage war, and has regretted it. She may prove to have done the same with China.

Sir Hari Singh gives an interesting sketch of the political, commercial, and intellectual intercourse between Buddhist India and the Western world. As he says, there was more of this than is generally supposed. The centuries of the culmination of Buddhism and formation of Christianity, say from the third century B.C. to the second A.D., were the ages when, owing mainly to the conquests of Alexander and his successors, Asia Minor and Persia were the pivot countries of civilization. Christianity appears to have borrowed largely from Buddhism, even if the numerous similarities of belief are likely to have been taken from the common stock of supernatural tradition. Buddha has been canonized by the Catholic Church as St. Josaphat (Bodhisat). The resemblances of ritual and ceremonies have long been familiar to travellers.

The political side of a religion is usually the least noticed. Buddha overthrew, temporarily at any rate, the throttling supremacy of the Brahmans. His faith was, therefore, like Protestantism, welcomed by lay rulers. He democratized the priesthood, opening it to all castes and classes. His religious orders were not to hold authority, but to be the power behind the throne, to form a unifying cement between classes and states. Such in theory was the Catholic priesthood, such are to be the Fascists of Italy and the Bolsheviks of Russia. The Buddhist brotherhoods did this work. In China they did it so efficiently that 150 warring states were merged into an enduring unity, and hundreds of millions of people lost knowledge of and inclination for war even under a corrupt and inefficient government. Much the same happened in India and elsewhere. But a non-professional priesthood tends to professionalize. Buddhist monks became more sacerdotal than the priests, though they have not lost all their moral efficiency yet.

It would take too long to examine in detail the metaphysics of Buddhism. Probably little of it is Buddha's own. The philosophical contemplation of ascetic dreamers for many centuries has flowered into multitudinous abstractions of immense profundity and nebulous un-

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practicality. The problems, Sir Hari Singh says, remain the same; the solutions show no advance. Eastern metaphysics have suffered from detachment from physical science and history. Christian theology has had its quarrels and its reconciliations with science; it has never ignored it as Buddhism has done. That ascetic practices induce enlightenment is a feature of many creeds, but Buddhism and Hinduism elaborate the principle most of all. It is worth noting that Buddhist metaphysics is mainly the work of Indian and Cingalese thought; the Far East has contributed little.

The book is a credit to the publishers. It is handsomely produced and illustrated, and the type is pleasant to read, though there are occasional misprints. The Christian and Sikh populations of India are given on page 220 as forty-seven and thirty-two millions ("those damned dots" again), and the speed of light is stated as 18,000 miles a second. Sir Hari Singh makes some changes in the usually accepted transliterations. Such established spellings as "Buddha" and "Asoka" are surely best left alone, though the general advantages of his amendments may be admitted.

THE DILEMMA IN INDIA. By Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I. (*Constable.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR PATRICK FAGAN.)

The appearance of this remarkable volume was well timed, though its distinguished author can scarcely have anticipated that its publication would be so quickly followed by an "Indian Crisis," to use the term which the Press has applied to the recent Viceregal pronouncement regarding Dominion status, and to its immediate consequences. That event has served to demonstrate more clearly than before, if indeed such a demonstration was required, the need for a reasoned presentation of the Indian problem which shall maintain the closest possible touch with the live realities of India while avoiding the dense mirage of assumption, of hypothesis and of pure fiction with which unreflective idealism, both in England and in India, has overlaid and obscured the actually existent conditions and limitations of the problem; conditions and limitations which, so far as at present appears, must be immensely prolonged, if not indeed permanent.

The work under review very admirably meets the need indicated. It is from cover to cover replete with facts, which form the basis for deductions prompted by sound and practical common sense. It may be hoped that the atmosphere of strenuous striving for right and justice, of deep and abiding sympathy with the toiling masses of the Indian peasantry, which pervades the book will to some extent at least disarm the prejudice with which the utterances of the ex-official are apt to be received in certain quarters. Had the author restricted himself to a cold, dispassionate, and purely scientific catalogue of facts, while leaving his readers to draw their own conclusions, the book might have been more acceptable to the radical idealist; but in that form it would have been far less effective in dispelling the mist of misconception which surrounds the knotted mass of problems

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which at present confronts India. The author has rightly preferred to plunge directly into the conflict, combining destructive criticism, firmly based on realities, with constructive suggestions.

In a brief review it is impossible to deal in any detail with the varied contents of the book. The tangled threads of the "Dilemma" are unravelled and exhibited in their intricate relations with admirable clarity, while the situation which emerges is very skilfully expounded in Chapters XXVI. to XXIX., the last of these being perhaps the crucial point of the work. It is well that the fundamental inconsistency of the present political position in India and of the current and prospective schemes of constitutional reform—namely, that not a single section of the Indian population either believes in or desires democracy—should be so clearly set forth. All Indian belief and practice, social, moral, religious and intellectual, constitute in combination a patent negation of the fundamental conditions of democracy as understood and postulated by the intellectual democrat of the West.

So far indeed is India from being democratic and from any stirring of that fervour for material and social progress which is an inseparable characteristic of truly democratic institutions that her great glory, according to many of her more enthusiastic admirers and champions, is that during the course of ages she has, in brilliant contrast to the more material West, deliberately turned away from the siren allurements of such progress, while content to find the goal of aspiration in static contemplation of the things of the spirit in a pantheistic universe and under the shelter of a rigidly conservative social and political system. Mahatma Gandhi and his followers apparently desire that the mind of India should permanently retain such an attitude. That may or may not be for her ultimate good, but in any case it is hardly compatible with political progress on truly democratic lines.

The conversation reproduced in Appendix IV., a comic farrago of inconsistencies and impracticabilities propounded apparently in all seriousness, is by no means the least valuable part of the book, throwing as it does a clear light on the mentality and political discernment of an Indian thinker and student.

Sir Reginald Craddock has rendered a valuable service in drawing attention in Chapter XXX. to the moral right to influence and authority which Britain has acquired by the indisputable fact that she, and she alone, has been the creator of modern India; the rescuer and improver of an estate, politically derelict and chaotic, which has passed to her during the last century and a half. This is an aspect of the Indian problem which is only too often treated with total neglect in this country as well as in America.

The author's constructive proposals are contained in Chapter XXXI. As regards details, they are admittedly tentative and in need of further elaboration. In principle they are undoubtedly sound in seeking to substitute for the cult of the politician, framed on up-to-date Western lines, as introduced by the current reform scheme, a system which shall in reality place the Government in close touch with such sound, reasonable and articulate public opinion as at present exists in India, by means of assem-

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blies constituted of appropriately chosen representatives of the widely divergent interests, classes and peoples which form the vast population of the sub-continent. Such diversity it is which, while quite inadequately, if indeed at all, recognized by the Constitution which has been in force since 1921, renders the task of framing a really suitable representative system for India so immensely difficult. The inevitable intricacy of the proposals put forward by the author, as indeed of any other set of proposals which, while retaining his fundamental objectives, could be substituted for them, puts the difficulty in a clear light.

The suggestion for the creation of a Durbar of the Indian Empire is statesmanlike. It will doubtless excite the most vehement opposition on the part of some advanced Indian politicians; but there can be no question that a body constituted on some such lines as the author proposes would be very much in accord with Oriental sentiment and would place the Central Government in effective touch with valuable currents of Indian opinion which under present conditions cannot, or perhaps more often dare not, make themselves felt in face of the clamour of irresponsible politicians and journalists.

Sir Reginald Craddock has rendered a very valuable public service in writing this excellent work on the Indian problem. It is fervently to be hoped that it will be very widely read and pondered; and more especially by all those who directly or indirectly will be called upon in the near future to bear the responsibility of deciding the momentous question of the course which Indian development, political and other, is to follow hereafter.

HINDU EXOGAMY: A SYSTEMATIC STUDY OF HINDU MARRIAGE OUTSIDE THE GOTRA. By S. V. Karandikar. (Bombay: *D. B. Taraporevala and Sons.*) Rs. 6 net.

The author is an able anthropologist, and appears to have studied European literature on sociology to great advantage. Mr. Karandikar has a distinctly vast knowledge of Sanskrit texts, and has collected his material from them, but not one-sidedly; in fact, he has moulded the passages referring to exogamy with his experience of modern Hindu social life into one compact volume, which is at once scholarly and yet easily digestible. Sanskrit sources are frequently quoted in footnotes, and references to European writers are not wanting.

This monograph is an excellent study of Hindu marriage from ancient to modern times.

THE REMAKING OF VILLAGE INDIA, being the Second Edition of "Village Uplift in India." By F. L. Brayne. (*Oxford University Press.*) 3s. 6d. net.

Over five thousand copies of the first edition have been sold within a year. If this has convinced Indian economists and people at large of the soundness of the author's proposals, there is no reason why another such number of a revised and enlarged edition should not be disposed of within the next year. It is an altogether notable book on account of the suggestions which the author makes for raising the standard of living in the

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Indian village. Readers of the ASIATIC REVIEW are of course conversant with the author's plan, but this book reproduces his views in a very handy form. A fine lesson can here be taken to heart: our object is not to make rich but to make happy. The author shows the people how to do it, and, it may be added, the advice does not refer to India alone, but to the world at large.

SOCRATES IN AN INDIAN VILLAGE. By F. L. Brayne. Illustrated. 1929. (*Oxford University Press.*) 7s. 6d. net.

The author of "Village Uplift in India" has now compiled another book on the same subject. This time he uses a conversational form between Socrates, the master, and the Village as pupil. It is a novel form, which should go a long way to make the topic easy to the reader and entertaining. Socrates is a grand man and a village "general," as he is about to cure all village evils—for instance, the position which the woman holds, the uncleanliness which is a common thing in the rural districts, the wrong way of farming, and many others. It is indeed a very sympathetic way in which the author or "doctor" treats his patients; he does not wish for any other fee except that they take his advice joyfully and soon.

A WOMAN OF INDIA, SAROJ NALINI. By G. S. Dutt, I.C.S. (*Hogarth Press.*) 4s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* MARY E. R. MARTIN.)

Within the last few months many books have been published dealing especially with Indian political affairs, but very few of them have contributed anything of value to our knowledge of social conditions in India. It is very gratifying therefore to find a book from which some information can be obtained as to the position of women in India—a subject which has raised so much controversy in recent times. All who are acquainted with ancient thought and literature will agree that in the past her women have been distinguished for their proficiency in the liberal arts and have maintained the best traditions of Aryan culture. It is important, therefore, to investigate the real condition of women in India at the present time, in order to ascertain how far they have benefited from interaction with the West in carrying to a perfect consummation the ideals of the past. In the work under review Mr. Dutt tells us the life story of his wife in an enthusiastic and unaffected manner. At the present time it is only too true that Indian women do not come forward in large numbers to attempt the social regeneration of their own sex, and it is particularly interesting to read of one who had the courage to do so. It is evident that, when the deadening effects of the Purdah system are once thrown off, Indian women will be ready to take their share in the activities of everyday life. We may therefore expect to see an ever-increasing number preparing to follow the example of Saroj Nalini. Mr. Dutt tells us that this admirable Bengali lady combined in herself some of the best qualities to be found in Indian womanhood, and shows how those gifts, aided by a liberal education, fitted her to perform the

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particular tasks she undertook, the importance of which had been gradually borne in upon her. The development of Saroj Nalini's character is well described in the chapters dealing with her childhood, early youth, and married life. She was a devoted wife and mother.

Not the least valuable of Saroj Nalini's activities for the welfare of others was her connection with the *Samitis*, or Women's Institutes, established in the several towns where her husband had been stationed as District Collector. The *Samitis* were attended by groups of Bengali women who gradually realized the value of the instruction imparted to them by Saroj Narini. This included the promotion of village industries, the training of mothers in the art of bringing up healthy children and in teaching them simple rules of hygiene and other domestic subjects. We are not aware, or at least we are not told, whether any similar social schemes had been previously inaugurated by other Bengali ladies outside Calcutta, and, in the absence of such information, we gladly accord to Saroj Nalini the credit of having initiated the *Samiti* movement. It was a great delight to her on a visit to England to find how much the English Institutes resembled those already established in India. Towards the end of her life she also took an active part in the Calcutta League of Women, which was afterwards merged in the Bengal Council of Women, her co-operation being much appreciated by her fellow-workers. However, Saroj Nalini will be remembered chiefly for her beneficent activities around Calcutta, where she spared no pains to promote the social and educational welfare of the poorer women. Her work will continue to prosper if rightly guided, and her husband's efforts in connection with the Central Association, founded in her memory to establish additional Institutes in Bengal, will no doubt continue to bear fruit if his countrywomen will heartily set themselves to support his ambitious schemes.

It is a matter for regret that no index is added, though, owing to its small size, the omission is not of any very great importance, the headings of the chapters forming a sufficient guide to readers, who will find this book useful for the study of social service in Bengal.

MIDDLE EAST

AFGHANISTAN FROM DARIUS TO AMANULLAH. By Lieut.-General Sir George MacMunn. (*G. Bell and Sons.*) 21s. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR A. HAMILTON GRANT.)

To those—and there are many—who are still wondering why on earth such fuss was made over the deposed King Amanullah and his attractive consort during their visit to Europe two years ago, Sir George MacMunn's vivid story of Afghanistan gives a luminous answer.

This is the first comprehensive history of that wild country that has been written. It presents a carefully connected account of the events, inroads, intermixture of races, and political developments that have led to the situation on the North-West Frontier of our Indian Empire as it is today.

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The turgid welter of highlands that surge up from the Oxus to the Indian border forms a country bigger than France. It lies against the one uncovered shoulder of India; it has been the pathway of land invasions from time immemorial; it lies between two great Powers—Russia on the north and Britain to the south; it was the stopping-point of Russia's expansion; Herat is, and always has been, the gate of India. Indeed, Afghanistan itself is geographically, politically, and ethnographically an integral part of India. It is on this side that Britain, with her vast interests in the East, is most vulnerable. Can it be wondered, then, that our statesmen and military advisers have attached paramount importance to the developments in this quarter? Whether strong or weak, friendly or unfriendly, we have deep concern in this difficult neighbour.

We find in this volume a fascinating panorama of the changes and chances that have swept over these mountains, leaving curious racial survivals in the pockets of the hills. Through the mists of the distant ages we glimpse the leisurely inroad of the Aryans, the amazing march of Alexander the Great, the relics of the civilization left by the settlers from his armies, the rise of Islam, with its series of militant champions—Sabuktagin, Mahmud of Ghazni, and all the kings who rode to Delhi on their blood-stained quest. Then we see the appearance of the Moguls—who were really Turks—and the consolidation and decay of their power. Next we are shown Nadir Shah, the coolie conqueror from Persia, followed by his adjutant Ahmad Shah, the Afghan, the first of the Duranis—and so to the ill-fated Shah Shufah. It is here at the beginning of the last century that the British connection with Afghan politics becomes for the first time intimate and serious. The ambitions of Napoleon and the designs of Russia first emphasized our vulnerability on this side. The whole political and strategic position came under review, and as a consequence we embarked on the extraordinary adventure of the First Afghan War. With our modern ideas of transport and commissariat, it seems almost incredible that a large force, with a larger following, without adequate feeding arrangements, and without a single mile of railway in the whole country, should have been despatched on a 1,200 mile treck over deserts and through mountains to replace an exiled king on the throne of a virile and warlike people. The amazing thing is that this was actually accomplished. The subsequent *débâcle* is another story. It is beyond the scope of this review to criticize exhaustively either the policy or the manner in which it was carried out. But this much may be said. It was obviously imperative that Britain, holding the position in India that had gradually become hers, should sooner or later enter into very definite relations with Afghanistan and safeguard herself on that side. Possibly Lord Aukland's venture was premature, but it was based on a broad view of the eventual political necessities. As regards the carrying out of the scheme, a lot of mud has been thrown at the unhappy Macnaghten; but it would be rash to pass judgment on his conduct of this strange business without a very much more careful review of the facts than is here possible.

The adventure ended in the disaster of 1840, followed by the retrieving

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of British honour by General Pollock and his avenging army. The fugitive Dost Muhammad became Amir and was accepted by the British Government. In 1855 he came to Peshawar and met Lord Lawrence, and made an agreement of friendship—an agreement destined to be of paramount importance to us a little later. For acting in loyalty to this pact, Dost Muhammad restrained his people, straining at the leash, from swooping down to participate in our discomfiture in the dark days of the Mutiny of 1857.

The Dost was succeeded by his son Amir Shere Ali, and relations were fairly satisfactory until in 1878 the Russians, as a counter-move to our attitude in the Russo-Turkish War, sent an envoy to Kabul. Yet again fear of Russia forced us into drastic action in Afghanistan. A British Mission was despatched. It was refused admission to the Khaiber Pass; an army was at once collected and hurried northward; the Khaiber was forced, and Jelalabad was taken. Amir Shere Ali fled from Kabul, as did the Russian Envoy, and died in the North, friendless and deserted. His son Yakub Khan succeeded him, and promptly submitted and accepted our terms in the Treaty of Gardamak. One of the provisions of this Treaty was that a British Representative should be admitted to Kabul. The brilliant Major Cavagnari was selected for the post, but before many days were past he was brutally murdered at Kabul with his staff and escort by a senseless mob. This led to the second phase of the war: to Lord Roberts's brilliant successes both at Kabul and subsequently at Kandahar, and to the eventual acceptance by Britain of the great, if ruthless, Abdur Rahman as Amir. The story of his consolidation of his kingdom is the story of a hard man dealing with a hard people. So successful, however, were his methods that he left to his son Habibullah an unquestioned succession and an easy reign, until the entry of Turkey into the Great War produced a situation of the most acute difficulty. But Amir Habibullah was true to his engagements, and managed through stormy days to keep his country neutral to the end—and then he was murdered, a martyr to his own good faith to us. Had Afghanistan during the Great War come in against us, followed, as was inevitable, by every tribe on the North-West Frontier, one does not like to contemplate the consequences. This would have altered the whole position and turned India from a valuable asset into an embarrassing liability. Sufficient credit has not been given to Amir Habibullah for this stupendous feat of loyalty to his word; or to the Government of India for their skilful handling of a most delicate situation, thereby enabling the Amir to carry out his engagements. Remembering the fidelity of Amirs Dost Muhammad and Habibullah at the most criticial points in the history of the Indian Empire, one cannot but regret that Sir George MacMunn has laid such stress on the traditional perfidy of the Afghan. He reiterates the phrase, "*Afghan, Afghan; be-iman, be-iman,*" even as a tiresome member of Council during the peace discussions at Simla at the end of the Third Afghan War used to keep on repeating the catchword from Kipling "Trust a snake before a harlot and a harlot before an Afghan." This allegation of perfidy

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has, generally with justice, been made by almost every nation at one time or another against its neighbour.

The story of Amanullah's succession, of the crazy war in which he got himself involved at the very start of his reign, of the energy of his rule, of his spectacular visit to Europe, of the catastrophe of his reforming zeal on his return, is all too recent, too near us to be subjected to the dispassionate review of the historian.

The war, known as the Third Afghan War, was the result of an accumulation of world forces, especially the pent-up *ira religiosa* in regard to Turkey. It was one of the aftermaths of the Great War, and, though utterly unjustifiable, was much more intelligible than most people realize. Moreover, it was probably precipitated by a local commander without authority from Kabul, and might possibly, with temperate handling, have been averted. Had we had troops good in quality apart from quantity—above all, had we had adequate transport—it might have been finished in a few days by a rapid advance to Jelalabad. As it was, owing to many disadvantages this was impossible, and a futile war dragged on. It does not, however, deserve the somewhat detailed notice given it by Sir George MacMunn, who might perhaps have given a fuller account of the relations established with the Amir both immediately at Rawalpindi and later at Mussooree. It is a pity indeed that Sir George has not thought fit to include an appendix giving the text of all the various treaties, agreements, and engagements made from time to time between Britain and Afghanistan. They are of small compass, and they throw an interesting light on the history of our relations with Afghanistan. But this is a small point; and we are none the less grateful to Sir George MacMunn for giving us such a charming narrative of Afghanistan through the ages. The book is excellently arranged, and should appeal not only to the student and the politician, but to every intelligent subject of the Crown both here and in the Dominions beyond the seas. He has helped very materially to the understanding of a romantic country, a virile people, and a momentous world problem.

ON ALEXANDER'S TRACK TO THE INDUS. By Sir Aurel Stein, K.C.I.E. (*Macmillan.*) £1 1s. net.

(*Reviewed by* HARIHAR DAS)

In this most interesting book Sir Aurel Stein, probably the greatest Asiatic explorer of our time, introduces us to a region lying west of the Indus, outside the borders of the North-Western Frontier hitherto inaccessible to Europeans. The expedition was carried out under the ægis of the Government of India and with the advice of experienced British officials who were well acquainted with the political conditions of that part of the country, but the author would have been unable to achieve so fully his purpose without the generous help and co-operation accorded him by the Wāli of Swāt, Miāngul Abdul Wahāb Gul-Shāhzāda Sāhib. The exploration was directed mainly to objects of archæological and geographical interest, but historians will surely admit that the valuable know-

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ledge thus gained will greatly further their researches. That small region, through which Alexander entered India, was destined to prove of greater interest to Sir Aurel than any of the other tracts hitherto explored by him. Carefully and painfully he followed the path of the great Macedonian through that "region so far as it is at present accessible outside Afghanistan." We are given an account of its past history, and shown how in very early ages it was the scene of an invasion from Irān, and how, even at a more remote period, its valleys had witnessed a conflict between an Aryan chief and the border tribes. At a much later date the country was on the trade route of merchants from Europe and also became the vantage ground of the great conquerors of India. To Alexander himself we owe the beginning and the continuance of Hellenistic influence in India. He had colonized Bactria with Greeks, and her princes "ruled on both sides of the Indus during a couple of centuries and there kept the door open for influences derived from the classical West." These influences are apparent in the "fine Greek-modelled coins of those rulers and in those sculptures of Græco-Buddhist art which the ruined Buddhist shrines of the Swāt and Peshawar valleys have preserved for us." These are still to be found in great abundance, covering the long period down to the tenth century A.D., which includes the reigns of the Indo-Greek, Indo-Parthian, and Indo-Scythian kings, as well as the dynasties of the Kushan and the Hindu Shahi sovereigns. Sir Aurel emphasizes the fact that the influences of Buddhism, Græco-Buddhist art, and Indian literary culture spread from the north-western borderland, not through India herself, but northward through Central Asia into China. This is undoubtedly "India's greatest contribution to the civilization of mankind in general." It certainly seems very remarkable that the fame of the numerous Buddhist monasteries, hidden away in those remote valleys, should by some means have spread into China and have inspired devout pilgrims to undertake long and dangerous journeys for the purpose of worshipping within those sacred enclosures. The author rightly points out the historic importance of those pilgrimages; to them we owe the true sources of authentic information concerning the period which witnessed the decay of the Indo-Scythian empire. It was at a later time that Buddhism began to decay and the system of Hindu worship revived till the latter was finally destroyed by the Islamic invasion under Mahmud of Ghazna. The border tribes disputed the possession of their country with the conquerors of Northern India, and the great Mughal emperor, Babar, spent many years of his reign in continual warfare with the Pathān tribes. In recent times the tribes of the Swāt valleys owe their regained independence to the wise spiritual leadership of Akhund, grandfather of the present ruler, and subsequently, with the assistance of the British *Raj*, peace and order have been restored.

Saidu is the capital of Upper Swāt and the hereditary seat of the Bādshāh, who has proved a worthy successor to his holy ancestor. He has travelled widely and has thus been able to study at first hand the general trend of political conditions in various countries. He takes a practical interest in the improvement of agriculture and has introduced "useful

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agricultural implements and materials for safe transport of produce." At the same time he has not neglected precautions for the safety of the district; towers have been built round the city in strategic positions and a gun factory has also been established. Nor has he been unmindful of the education of his subjects, having established a secondary school at his headquarters.

The main object, however, of Sir Aurel's exploration was the identification of the exact site of Aornos, the famous rock on Pīr-sar, the scene of Alexander's great exploit and of his treachery in obtaining possession of an almost inacessible spot. The situation of Aornos renders Alexander's exploit all the more remarkable. The marshalling of the forces and the transport of the implements of war to be used against the gallant defenders must ever be accounted among the greatest deeds of warfare. Whether or not Alexander ascribed his victory to the intervention of the gods, Arrian and Curtius both relate that, as an act of thanksgiving, he offered sacrifices to the gods, Minerva and Victory, after the battle was won. Sir Aurel's assertion that there is no trace in Indian literature or tradition of Alexander's victorious invasion has already been pointed out by Vincent Smith, who wrote in "The Early History of India" that "no Indian author, Hindu, Buddhist (or) Jain, makes even the faintest allusion to Alexander or his deeds." It is regrettable that Indian literature should be so silent with regard to that remarkable fact in Indian history, but possibly some information may yet be discovered in ancient manuscripts.

The success attending the general survey of these regions is attributed by Sir Aurel to the skilled assistance of the Afridi surveyor attached to the expedition, and it is doubtful whether any future explorer will be able to throw any additional light on the topography of those parts. After leaving Pīr-sar Sir Aurel stayed a few days at Chakesar, well known for its theological learning, Muslim students coming from many parts, even from beyond the border, to "this quaint semblance of a small medieval University."

This volume bears witness that its author is an indefatigable traveller and a shrewd observer of mankind. On account of his keen sympathy and intimate understanding of the various people he met he was well received everywhere and the Khans bestowed upon him unbounded hospitality. Sir Aurel is besides a true lover of nature, and his descriptions are rendered all the more vivid by his witty and graphic delineations of local conditions. He has contributed a fascinating chapter to the history of Buddhistic archæology for which all Orientals ought to be deeply grateful to him.

We cannot conclude this review without a well-deserved tribute of praise to the publishers and to the printer. The numerous photographic illustrations add enormously to the value of the book, and their clearness of detail enable the reader to appreciate the scenery and to study the various types of the border races seen by the distinguished author. The two maps also give valuable topographical knowledge of the country traversed and the heights of the mountain ranges. The work retains its interest to the last page; it is long since we have derived so much enjoyment from the perusal of a book of travel.

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NEAR EAST

ORIENTAL INSTITUTE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO: COMMUNICATIONS NOS. 2 TO 5. (*University of Chicago Press*, 1927-29.)

The Oriental Institute, well known for their fine work on Egyptology and Babylonian research, deserves great praise for issuing these communications. No. 2 contains "Exploration in Hittite Asia Minor," by H.H. von der Osten, wherein the author gives a fine account of the history and the country of the Hittites before entering on the archæological finds on his first expedition. No. 3 contains the first report of the prehistoric survey expedition to the Nile Valley, by K. S. Sandford and W. J. Arkell, which advances considerably our knowledge in geology and with it in human development in that region. No. 4 has for its object the excavation of Armageddon, or Megiddo, of the Old Testament, compiled by Professor Clarence S. Fisher, also known as a profound Arabic scholar, who gives us, besides the results of his excavations, a good account of the topography and history of Megiddo, of the organization of the expedition and methods of works. No. 5 informs us of the work done at Medinet Habu in Egypt during 1924-28, for which H.H. Nelson and V. Hoelscher are responsible. The final results will be made known through facsimiles of the reliefs and inscriptions and a volume of architectural details.

All parts mentioned include a number of good illustrations as well as maps or plans.

ISLAM: BELIEFS AND INSTITUTIONS. By H. Lammens, S.J. (*Methuen.*) 8s. 6d. net.

The French edition of this latest work of Islam has met with universal praise, and Sir Denison Ross is to be congratulated upon bringing it, through his English translation, to a wider public. The volume is clear and concise, and it provides a thoroughly comprehensive survey of the religion and institutions laid down by the Prophet Muhammad, and more so of Islam as it appears today. All aspects are adequately dealt with, and there are, amongst others, chapters on Mysticism, Jurisprudence, and the Sects, and a final chapter on modern aspirations. A splendid bibliography of fourteen pages, arranged according to subjects, concludes this valuable book. Both the author and the translator are to be congratulated upon a work which will for a long time to come stand as one of the standard books on one of the world's great religions.

FAR EAST

TU FU: THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF A CHINESE POET, A.D. 712-770. Arranged from his poems, and translated by Florence Ayscough. Vol. i., A.D. 712-754. With Maps, plans, and illustrations. (*Jonathan Cape.*) 21s. net.

Only quite recently an edition of Tu Fu's poems was published, and here we have one on a more ambitious scale. Mrs. Ayscough explains

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in the preface how these poems were translated by her and the great trouble taken in the proper mode of rendering the orginals. The choice fell upon a literal translation instead of one in metre and rhyme. Opinions are divided, but there seems no doubt that poetry becomes popular through rhyme, it is more pleasing to the ear, while literal translations appeal more to the mind of the scholar. Let us state at once that Mrs. Ayscough has spared neither time nor trouble to carry out her intention satisfactorily; she has conferred with Chinese scholars as to the meanings of words and sentences. The renderings—not translations—by Mr. Cramer Byng have met with much approval on account of the correct and beautiful rhymes. Mrs. Ayscough has done her work thoroughly in giving a general discourse on the poems, then the translations of the poems, and further the life and times of Tu Fu culled from them. The work is rendered even more charming through the illustrations by a Chinese artist. There are at the end several valuable additions. First, a topographical note on the places where Tu Fu lived and worked; a year record of Tu Fu's life and events pertaining thereto. We look forward with pleasure to the concluding volume.

TROPISCH NEDERLAND (October, 1929).

This popular, well-illustrated periodical continues its work of making us acquainted with "Ordinary and Extraordinary Things in the East Indies." In its present number it leaves us to decide in which category we choose to place such things as an unexpectedly fine motor road in the remote island of Flores and the primitive bamboo suspension bridge which carries it across a mountain torrent. Professor Nieuwenhuis deals with the myths of the Minahassa people of Celebes, whilst M. W. de Zwart takes us through the wild fascination of the Batak lands in Northern Sumatra.

J. DE LA V.

ORIENTALIA

MARCO POLO. From the Elizabethan translation of John Frampton. With Introduction, Notes, and Appendices. By N. M. Penzer, M.A. (*The Argonaut Press.*) Two guineas.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

This sumptuous volume is creditable alike to the learning of Mr. Penzer and to the resources of the Argonaut Press; indeed, the only criticism we have to make is that it will assuredly provoke, to the commission of one or all of the seven deadly sins, every impecunious bibliophile who may chance to catch a glimpse of it.

Not without some justification, the publishers have described as "the definitive" edition. Yet the description may at any time be falsified, as a consideration of the complicated MS. derivation of the present text will easily demonstrate. The critical work of Professor Benedetto, to which Mr. Penzer pays high and deserved tribute, shows that the precious MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fr. 1116), long known as the best

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text of Marco Polo's book, is itself but the descendant of an unknown archetype, which archetype was not, in all probability, Polo's own dictation, but the composition, on the basis of Polo's information, of Rustichello, the romantic novelist. Benedetto gives further reason for believing that most of the known MSS. can be related, not to this Bibliothèque Nationale MS. (F), but to slightly different brother-versions, all connected with the same archetype as F, which he denotes as F^1, F^2, F^3. These are respectively the ancestors of the Grégoire, Tuscan, and Venetian recensions. The most striking discovery of the Italian savant is, however, the definite proof of the existence of an "ante-F" phase, evidence for which exists in his newly discovered Z, corresponding to the Ghisi codex mentioned by Ramusio, "the Italian Hakluyt," and in long known MS. representing subgroups related to it. The MS. upon which John Frampton's translation, here printed, is based, belongs to a Venetian recension deriving from F^3, which recension was done into Castilian by Rodrigo Fernandez de Santaella y Cordoba in 1503. And since we may at any time be so fortunate as to discover a MS. throwing more light than we possess at present upon the whole ante-F phase, it is not wholly correct to put forth this volume as "definitive." That is not Mr. Penzer's fault. In the existing state of our knowledge there is nothing more that can be done. It is true that fr. 1116 is probably better as a base than the Venetian recension upon which Santaella's Castilian text is founded; but the unique interest of an Elizabethan translation, of which only three copies exist, will constitute sufficient palliative in the eyes of all English scholars. His careful extracts from Ramusio, printed as Appendix II., enable us to reconstruct within a single volume all that for the present can be discovered of the ante-F phase.

Mr. Penzer has employed, with the utmost learning and patience, the latest work and discoveries of modern explorers, in order to throw light upon the journeys of Marco Polo. He has provided us with eleven entirely new maps, and, with the help of scholars whose assistance he acknowledges in generous terms, has cleared up many knotty problems and has corrected many venerable errors. His notes are models alike of scholarship and of compression, possessing the valuable quality of illuminating, and not of smothering, the text. We heartily commend his plan of relegating the *apparatus criticus* to introduction and appendices, thereby permitting the reader to enjoy unhampered the delightful Elizbethan pages of John Frampton, unmarred by references and footnotes.

A notable volume; but, let us repeat, an incitement in those who do not possess it to "envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness" against those who do.

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FRENCH BOOKS

LE ROMAN DE GENJI. Par Murasaki Shikibon. Traduit par Kikou Lamata. (*Librairie Plon.*)

LA PORTE. Par Matsume Soseki. Traduit par R. Martinie. (*Les Editions Rieder.*)

(*Reviewed by* MRS. VÉRONIQUE COLDSTREAM).

The work of Lady Murasaki is already well known to English readers in Mr. Waley's beautiful translation which has admittedly served as a basis for the present translation into French, in which it has lost none of its elaborate, sophisticated, ceremonious delicacy. But this new rendering in yet another European tongue is a welcome addition to the World's Library. The work of Matsume Soseki—of which the translation has appeared almost simultaneously—is separated from the antique novel by almost a thousand years, and it would therefore perhaps be a somewhat futile task to attempt to find any common national characteristic. Yet there does seem to be one, though it may be merely a coincidence. Readers of "The Tale of Genji" may remember that, exquisitely told as it is, the hero's life seems to be one long series of love affairs, generally inconsequent and leading nowhere. The enormous romance seems to have no connecting thread of significance. There is the same inconclusiveness, the same inconsequence, but in a far more marked degree, in the modern novel. There is practically no plot and such incidents as occur seem to have been hardly worth relating, since they appear to have little point in themselves, less bearing upon each other and very little psychological value. The conversations between the characters break off before they reach any important point. True the chief character in the novel is described as incapable of decisive action, but the quality seems not only inherent in him but in his author also. Indeed, this pervading indecision and procrastination gives the whole book a flavour of futility, surprising to Western minds, accustomed to consider the Japanese as the most practical and progressive of Oriental nations.

Matsume Soseki achieved considerable renown in his own country before his death in 1916. "La Porte" is one of his later works and belongs to the period of his maturity and popularity. A student of English literature, he shows little of the influence of his studies. His method of telling his story is curiously involved, including long parenthetical chapters explaining previous events, an indirect technique which we in England have learnt to consider awkward, but which in this novel is so pronounced that it seems to have been adopted intentionally. The author is credited with "an acute sense of the comic" and was the first avowedly humorous writer of Japan. He shows little of this in "La Porte," but on the other hand betrays a seriousness in his elaboration of any subject which commands attention, and makes it impossible for his writing to be dismissed lightly. In the common affairs of every day he shows also a talent for psychological analysis, although this does not seem to go very deep. The picture he gives us of Japan is a little disappointing in its bourgeois, westernized drabness. It is a Japan of tram-lines, advertisements and mass-production,

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with, though one may hesitate to say it, few of the virtues generally entailed by these things; of that rich and ceremonious civilization of the eleventh century in which the practice of the minor arts was part of the equipment of every person of culture, the civilization of which Lady Murasaki has given her world so enduring and complete a picture, not a trace, not a breath of influence, remains.

PAROLES D'ACTION. By Marshal Lyautey. (Paris: *Armand Colin.*)

As in politics and war, so also in the colonial field, France has been fortunate during the last decades in finding among her sons men of commanding genius at times of crisis. One need only mention Poincaré and Clemenceau, Joffre and Foch, and, in the subject dealt with in this volume, Galliéni and Lyautey. If the author's achievements in Tonkin, Madagascar, and Morocco belong to history, he has also, like so many French men of action, been able to wield a ready pen—and his first literary effort, published in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* soon after the war of 1870, was a plea that the officer had, besides the learning of his profession, another important duty to perform, and that was his "social rôle" among his men. It was an article that was destined to become famous. Later he published his letters from Tonkin and Madagascar in which he explains the colonizing methods of his great teacher and friend Galliéni. The present volume reproduces the speeches Lyautey delivered from the year 1900 onwards in Madagascar, Oran, Morocco, and France, and reveals the guiding principles of this great administrator. He has now set himself one more task, to organize the Colonial Exhibition which is to be opened in Paris in 1931. It will be recalled that he paid an official visit to London recently to seek the participation of the British Empire in what promises to be a very notable event.

MISCELLANEOUS

FOUR MILES FROM ANY TOWN, AND OTHER VERSES. By David Gow. (*Cecil Palmer.*) 3s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* JOHN CALDWELL-JOHNSTON.)

Mr. David Gow is, of course, the editor of *Light*, the psychic journal, and is well known in psychical research circles. The present is the first volume of his own collected poems, which have all appeared in various magazines and journals, and are now published mainly by the persuasions of many literary friends.

On opening this slim volume one is irresistibly carried backward to a chance moment, when at a tram-stop in a noisy and somewhat malodorous East End street one was saluted by the piercing sweet tones of a captive goldfinch, hung high in its tiny wooden cage over the heaped vegetable matter of a greengrocer's shop. The pipes of Pan are to be heard in many strange places; nevertheless one was amazed on the high peak of that London County Council tram to find oneself, as it were, breezily swinging from a supple thistle-top in a forty-acre field, four miles—or, for all one knew, four and forty miles—from Barking or any other town.

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David Gow is a poet whose verse holds at times curious echoes of the Far East, of the Chinese, and, more rarely, of the Japanese. But this is not imitation, nor is it conscious or even unconscious reminiscence. It is rather as though at some dim epoch in the past he had walked gravely through the garden temples of Nippon or of Han, and something of their musky Oriental perfume clung intangibly to his robes. But his work is English—or shall we say British?—through and through, as British as the goldfinch, whose presentment nevertheless appears dimly on many an old painted Chinese scroll.

The spirit of Mr. Gow's fine work may perhaps best be summed up by the following excerpt from his sonnet "The Wistfulness of Beauty":

As held by life's twin gaolers, Time and Space,
Like prisoners scourged we sit and moan our scars,
Till Beauty like a rose between the bars
Peers in upon us with a sweet, shy face.

* * * * *

So must it be, till in some far-off day
The baffling walls that separate us now
Shall, like the Temple's mystic veil, be rent;
The cloud upon her face shall flee away,
And sunshine dwell for ever on her brow—
Then shall we kiss her lips and be content.

THE THIRD ROUTE. By Sir Philip Sassoon. (*Heinemann.*) 15s. net.

(*Reviewed by* A. L. SAUNDERS.)

The "first route" (from Western Europe to India) was that taken by Vasco da Gama round the Cape of Good Hope; the second was that through Egypt, and though it has followed the Suez Canal since its construction, with one interval, the old name of "the Overland route" is still occasionally met with. The third is the one by air, taken and here described by Sir Philip Sassoon. Not only is it the speediest, but it is the shortest in distance, the most comfortable, avoiding as it does the Red Sea furnace, and it has the greatest attractions in scenery and history. The names of Sir Philip's stages read like the unrolling of the world pageant, Paris, the Tyrrhenian Coast and Sea, Naples, Etna, Cairo, the Nile, Palestine, Damascus, Ur, Nineveh, Babylon, Baghdad, Rajputana, Delhi. The story of such a flight can hardly fail to be interesting; Sir Philip's keen observation and vivid narrative make it fascinating. Particularly interesting are the notes on the Air Force's dealings with the untamed raiders of various races of the Middle East—Beduins, Kurds, and Pathans. The photographs are admirable and tell us much of the buried cities of the past. It is a book which all, especially boys, should read who would know something of the meaning of our Empire.

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THE AGE OF THE GODS: A STUDY IN THE ORIGIN OF CULTURE IN PREHISTORIC EUROPE AND THE ANCIENT EAST. By Christopher Dawson. (*John Murray.*) 18s. net.

Numerous research-workers and archæologists have during the past hundred years carried on almost silently their productive search into the mystery of earliest history. Mr. Dawson has, as his bibliography shows, consulted a great number of these authorities. Beginning with the Glacial Period, he gradually proceeds to the religion of the hunter, and of the peasant, until he arrives at the city state. As our civilization originates from the East, we naturally obtain a good insight into the culture of the Near East, and he has in fact presented an almost complete panorama of its gradual development. The latest discoveries in Sumeria, Egypt, and Crete are analyzed, the volume serving as a synopsis of what might well be made into a series, using each of his chapters as the basis for a separate study.

HISTORY AND MONUMENTS OF UR. By C. J. Gadd. Illustrated. 1929. (*Chatto and Windus.*) 15s. net.

Only towards the middle of last century was this ancient city re-discovered, and since then constant excavations and explorations have been made, with the result that the history of this city—with which by tradition the birth of Abraham is connected—has now been laid open. No happier choice could have been made for the authorship of a volume on the subject than Mr. Gadd, who for some time past has been engaged on editing and preparing the findings of these excavations.

The book opens with an account of the prehistoric period and proceeds through the Sumerian and Semitic Kingdom until its destruction by the Persians. This is an *editio princeps* giving the fullest particulars, so far as it has been possible to collect them, from existing discoveries, and for those wishing to pursue the study the author has quoted in a bibliography the references to those authorities who have contributed to the publication of their labours in this field.

The illustrations—there are thirty-two plates—are very clear and well produced, and should be an additional attraction to a valuable and timely publication.

SENSE IN SEX AND OTHER STORIES OF INDIAN WOMEN. By A. P. Panchapakesa Ayyar. (Bombay: *Taraporevala and Sons.*) Rs. 4.

A collection of twelve stories dealing with Indian womanhood. The author, who had issued two volumes of Indian after-dinner stories a few years back, can write very entertainingly. He assures us that they are characteristic of Indian life, and that the incidents have really happened. "Recovered Bliss" is an exceptionally good story, in which Akku, the wife, shows much devotion and faithfulness.

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HISTORICAL SECTION

SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD—IV*

(1736—1791)

By Lanka Sundaram, M.A., F.R.ECON.S.(LOND.)
Satyalingam Scholar (London University); Author of "Cow Protection in India" and "Mughal Land Revenue System."

Rumbold has an easier task in disposing of the Company's *haveli* lands. It was in the nature of this royal demesne, so to speak, that, except where a particular renter was allowed to keep individual farms for a number of years, its disposal was not subject to a consideration of conflicting interests as in the case of the *zamindari* lands. Everything depended upon a reasonably high bid from an individual who could give good security for the payment of the agreed rent.

Proposals for renting these lands were called for when the *zamindars* were ordered to Madras. The subordinate chiefs and councils, who considered the innovations to Sir Thomas Rumbold as at once derogatory to their prestige and detrimental to their personal interests, urged that their departure along with that of the other revenue officials would not only bring in fewer offers for the leases of the *haveli* lands, but also disturb their smooth management.† The Secret Committee and the Court of Directors also held a similar view.‡ They found that three days after the receipt of the news that the Masulipatam *zamindars* had set out to Madras the Madras Council ordered (July 15, 1778) advertisements to be put up both at the Presidency and at the various centres in the Sarkars in English and Telugu calling for offers to rent the *haveli* for periods of five, eight, and ten years respectively, and this they supposed was calculated to injure the Company's revenues. But it should be noted here that these views were not

* The previous papers have been published in the Asiatic Review for January, April, and October, 1929.

† See particularly "Masulipatam to Madras," May 3, 1778; "Rev. Cons.," May 15, vol. xx., pp. 186-256, wherein the Masulipatam consultations were fully copied.

‡ "Sec. Rep.," p. 11, and "Madras Dispatches," January 10, 1781, para. 6, vol. ix., pp. 399-400. See also Appendix No. 153 to "Sec. Rep."

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grounded on a sound knowledge of the situation. For one thing, the *zamindars* as a rule never stood forth as potential renters of the Company's *haveli*, since they considered it beneath their dignity, even though exceptions were to be found occasionally, as in the case of the Vuyyur *zamindar* who enjoyed the rent of the Ellore *haveli*. Actually, the *haveli* lands were not let till August 10, 1779, clearly more than seven months after the *zamindars* and other persons who proceeded to Madras had returned to their respective homes.* Hence the condemnation of the Court of Directors on this account was demonstrably unnecessary and unjust.

To clearly ascertain the actual value of the Masulipatam farms, a statement of the revenues for the past two years was called for by the Madras Council.† The interesting statement on the next page shows the position of the revenues from the Masulipatam farms. ‡

It will be seen that all the four farms which constituted the Masulipatam *haveli* were rented by members of the Masulipatam Council, and managed on their private account. The undesirable features of annual leases were patent on the surface. The Company were not sure of exactly what they would receive from these lands. The decline in the current *jumma* was as rapid as the increase in the balances due from the renters. Advances to the cultivators were not inconsiderable, but still an explanation of the growing balances was not forthcoming from these accounts. To put it in a nutshell, the Masulipatam farms showed that the European renters were not the ideal persons for the management of the Company's demesne. Sir Thomas was not slow to recognize the evil effects of European management, and one of his first revenue measures was to revoke the permission given to the Company's servants to enter into private revenue business.§

In response to the advertisements, a considerable number of offers poured in for the rent of the Masulipatam farms. Rumbold submitted to his Council with remarkable clearness that "there is scarcely one of the farms that have been now advertised, that is not in debt to the Company

* The *zamindars* and renters returned to their stations by about December, 1778. See Appendix No. 55 to the "Sec. Rep."

† "Madras to Masulipatam," September 12, 1778, vol. xxi., pp. 620-621.

‡ "Masulipatam to Madras," September 24; "Rev. Cons.," October 2; *idem.*, pp. 630-640. See also Appendix No. 49 to the "Sec. Rep."

§ See "Madras to Vizagapatam," April 3, 1778, vol. xxviii., pp. 125-130. See also "Masulipatam to Madras," May 3, forwarding their minutes of consultation, wherein they gave effect to this wise act of Rumbold; *idem.*, pp. 204-205.

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REVENUES OF THE MASULIPATAM *HAVELI* (IN MADRAS PAGODAS).

Farm.	Manager.	Old *jamabandi.*	Present *jamabandi* or Sums Due.		Advances to Cultivators.	Balances Due.
Nizampatan	James Hodges	19,600	1775	28,109	5,900	—
			1777	21,038	5,900	—
Gudur and Akulamannadu ...	J. P. Boileau	11,200	1775	17,213	1,000	—
			1776	11,955	3,500	4,014
			1777	9,269	3,500	10,455
Inuguduru	A. Pringle	2,500	1775	4,356	500	—
			1776	2,781	1,500	1,500
			1777	2,260	—	2,041
Bandaramma-Lanka	T. Barnard	6,000	1775	6,164	700	—
			1776	4,913	600	—
			1777	3,561	—	2,726

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for balances from the old renters, who are most of them become bankrupts, and the number of responsible . . . people so few, that it encourages every needy adventurer to stand forth as a bidder trusting to accidents whether he shall be a gainer or loser by the farm he bids for; if the latter, he is not in a much worse situation than when he first set out, and the government have nothing left but to inflict punishments that afford no recompence for the loss of revenue which can never be recovered. Nor is it sufficient that in several proposals mention is made of Soucar security without particularizing the Soucars; for such is the state of public credit at present in the Carnatic and the Circars, that there are very few who are proper to be depended upon or whose security is worth accepting."* On these grounds a higher bidder was ignored in favour of Lakshmi Narasimhulu, who was granted the lease of the four Masulipatam farms for a period of five years at the rate of a lakh of Madras a year; and the Madras Government wrote home that they had adopted this course, as he was a person more to be depended upon than others, for his character, for the circumstance of his being resident in the Sarkars, and for the unquestionable security he had produced.† The Court of Directors and the Secret Committee unnecessarily condemned this procedure, by which "the Company are in all probability deprived of 2,25,000 rupees."‡ But it should be noted here that Edward Cotsford, the Chief of Masulipatam, warmly approved this measure, which shows that the opinion of the authorities at home could not necessarily have been correct.§

Rumbold's analysis of the revenues of the Ichchapuram and Chicacole *haveli* lands is interesting in several ways. They were formerly valued at M.ps. 1,47,548 a year. The collections amounted to only M.ps. 97,907 in 1777-78 and M.ps. 1,43,438 in 1778-79, while the civil and military charges, exclusive of the expenses of the Bengal detachments used to preserve order and secure the revenues, which were borne by the Bengal Government, were exorbitant.‖ The collections for 1777-78 comprised:

* See Rumbold's minute of August 10, 1779; Appendix No. 55 to the "Sec. Rep."

† "Madras Letters Received" (Rev.), October 14, 1779, para. 6, vol. ix., pp. 470-471. See also Appendix No. 55, "Sec. Rep."

‡ "Madras Dispatches," January 10, 1781, paras. 76-85, vol. ix., pp. 413-420, and Appendix No. 153 to "Sec. Rep."

§ "Cotsford to Rumbold," August 19, 1779, in Rumbold, "Answer to Charges," p. 37.

‖ Rumbold's minute in "Rev. Cons.," July 29, 1779, vol. xxii., pp. 652-659.

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	M.ps.
Balances due from 1770-75	20,856
" " 1776-77	32,936
Jamabandi collections for 1777-78	44,115
Total	97,907

The collections for 1778-79 were as follows:*

	M.ps.
Balances from 1770-76	31,469
" " 1777-78	19,257
Jamabandi collections for 1778-79	92,712
Total	1,43,438

These figures are significant enough. The millstone of the balances due from retired renters hung heavily round the necks of every subsequent renter, whose lease of the lands was conspicuously shortlived. Indeed, it was an unfortunate state of affairs when balances for the preceding decade were allowed to tell heavily upon the solvency and capability of a series of shortlived renters. This incubus discouraged any well-planned system of economy and improvement of the Company's *haveli* lands, while the lack of continuity of tenure resulted in meagre bids. On the other hand, successive renters administered the lands to their own advantage and passed on the onus of their mismanagement on to the shoulders of their successors, thus depriving the Company of their legitimate revenues. Only a system of continuity of management and unified control could have effectively checked these fluctuating and ephemeral rental conditions. Rumbold attempted this, but being ahead of the times, his measures were revoked by the Court of Directors.

The Ganjam Council endeavoured to preclude the inquiries at Madras by Rumbold and his Council as to the actual state of revenues in the Ichchapuram and Chicacole districts under their jurisdiction. As has already been shown, the defalcations of the former rank among the worst of their kind ever detected in the administration of the Sarkars.† They further vainly attempted to defeat the orders of the Madras Government which rendered it obligatory on the part of the Company's *dubashes* or interpreters to repair to Madras with a view to facilitate the revenue inquiry and settlement designed to take place there. They were deliberately lukewarm in not urging upon Bala Krishna, the *dubash* attached to the chiefship of Ganjam, to

* Rumbold's minute in "Rev. Cons.," August 6, vol. xxiii., pp. 4-20.
† See *ante*.

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obey the order of the presidency. Madras was compelled to write to Ganjam that they "cannot but disapprove of the countenance that he appears to have received from your Board during the whole course of this business, not only as it defeats the purposes which our instructions to you concerning it were calculated to promote, but lends to nourish a spirit of opposition to the authority of government, in those very persons who should, of all others, be most implicitly subservient to it. We trust they will be of sufficient weight to secure our orders from any further marks of inattention and that we shall hereafter experience in you such an alteration of conduct as may justify in some degree our present forbearance."* In reply to this, Ganjam solemnly declared that they had not either "directly or indirectly encouraged Ball Kistnah to disregard your orders."†

This explanation seemed to have satisfied the Madras Government at that time, but during the course of the later investigation into the conduct of Sir Thomas Rumbold, facts appeared which clearly revealed the manner in which members of the Ganjam Council, who were manifestly interested in the lease of the *havali* lands under their care, attempted to render the presidency's orders nugatory. In a letter from Madras, Mr. Oakes, one of the members of the Ganjam Council, wrote to Bala Krishna: "The distance from Ganjam district is so great that I should not be surprized if the Rajahs would say [that] their country would go to ruin in their absence (as would in some measure be the case) and that they had not money to undertake so expensive a journey, which I believe is also very true; and should this be the case, I imagine there would be no occasion for you to come to Madras, because your presence could only be of use in case the Rajahs were to come down; and if they will not, or cannot come, there will be but small collections if you leave Jamjam (*sic*); therefore, Kistnah, I would recommend it to you, if the Rajahs do not leave the district, to stay where you are for the present until further orders. At all events, I recommend it to you to shew your attention to Mr. Smith's business and pay to Mr. Maunsell immediately on his account the 5,000 [pagodas ?] you were to receive from Hautmaram‡ as also the copper money; likewise, as much of the balances due to him as possible.

* "Madras to Ganjam," August 26, 1778, vol. 21, pp. 562-565.

† *Same to same*, September 26, 1778; "Rev. Cons.," October 2, *idem.*, pp. 626-629.

‡ The name of a *sahukar*.

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Mr. Smith expects you will do all this; he wishes to be your friend but he must see you attend to his affairs; he is in much interest and will be able to assist your business."* It will be interesting to observe here that Maunsell was chief of Ganjam a little previous to this letter, while Smith, himself a former chief, was on the Council at Madras. Further, all the three gentlemen concerned in this letter enjoyed at one time or other the rent of the *haveli* lands under Ganjam, and the members of the Ganjam Council actually offered higher bids for the rent of the same after the receipt of information that Bala Krishna, who subsequently arrived at Madras, was one of the bidders for the lease of the same.†

* Dated May 15, 1778, in the possession of Sir Thomas Rumbold. See Appendix No. 10 to his "Answer to Charges."

† See "Rev. Cons.," July 29, 1779, vol. xxiii., pp. 644-653.

(*To be continued.*)

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FIG. A.—MUTUAL IMPROVEMENT AND ORCHESTRAL SOCIETY, PITCAIRN ISLAND

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FIG. B.—THE HOMES OF THE INHABITANTS

FIG. C.—BOTANY BAY, THE ONLY AVAILABLE LANDING PLACE ON THE ISLAND

Copied from small oil painting presented to Mrs. C. M. S. from Mr. R. B. Fairclough, of Pitcairn, April, 1928.

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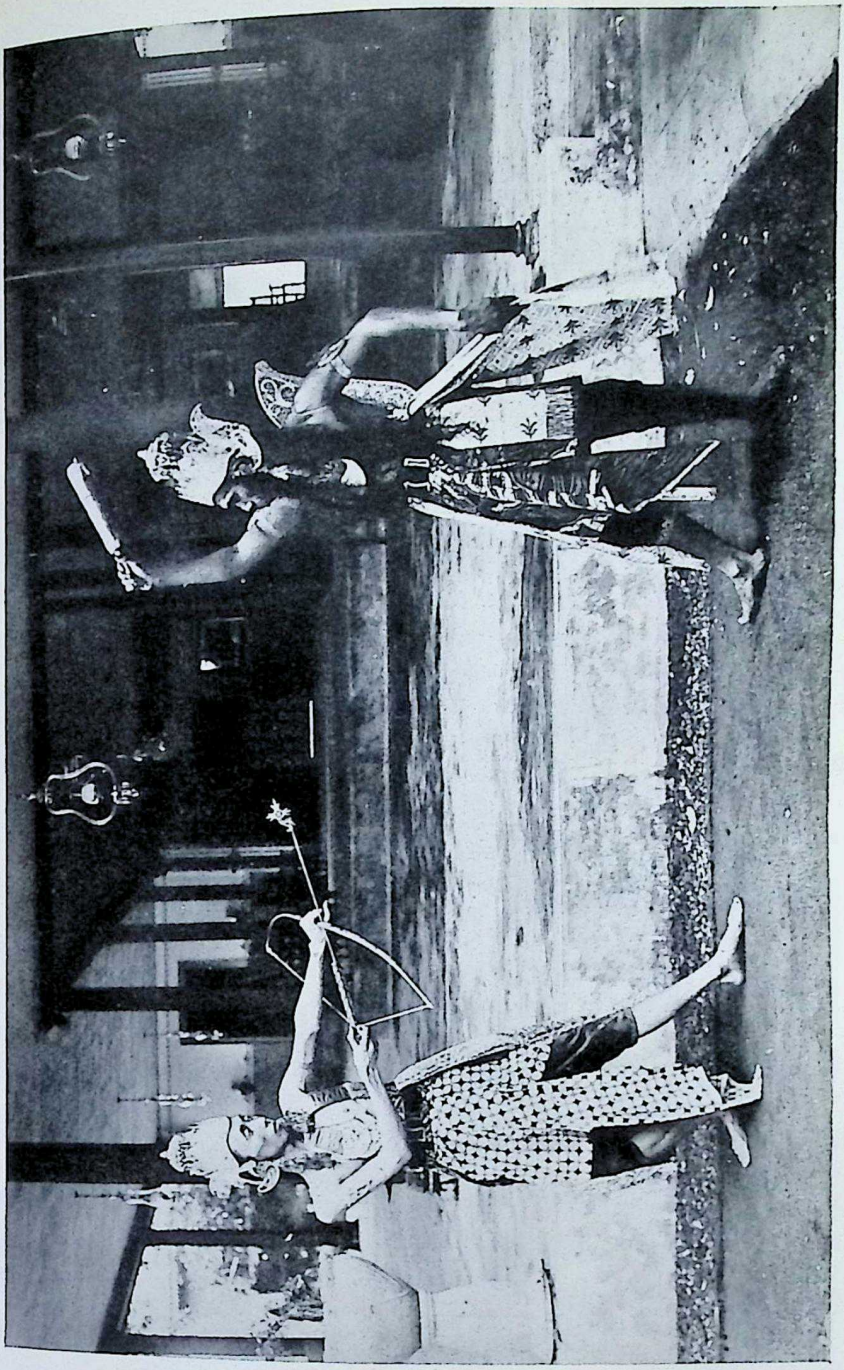

FIG. D.—RAMA SHOOTING HIS MAGIC DART AT DASOMOTO

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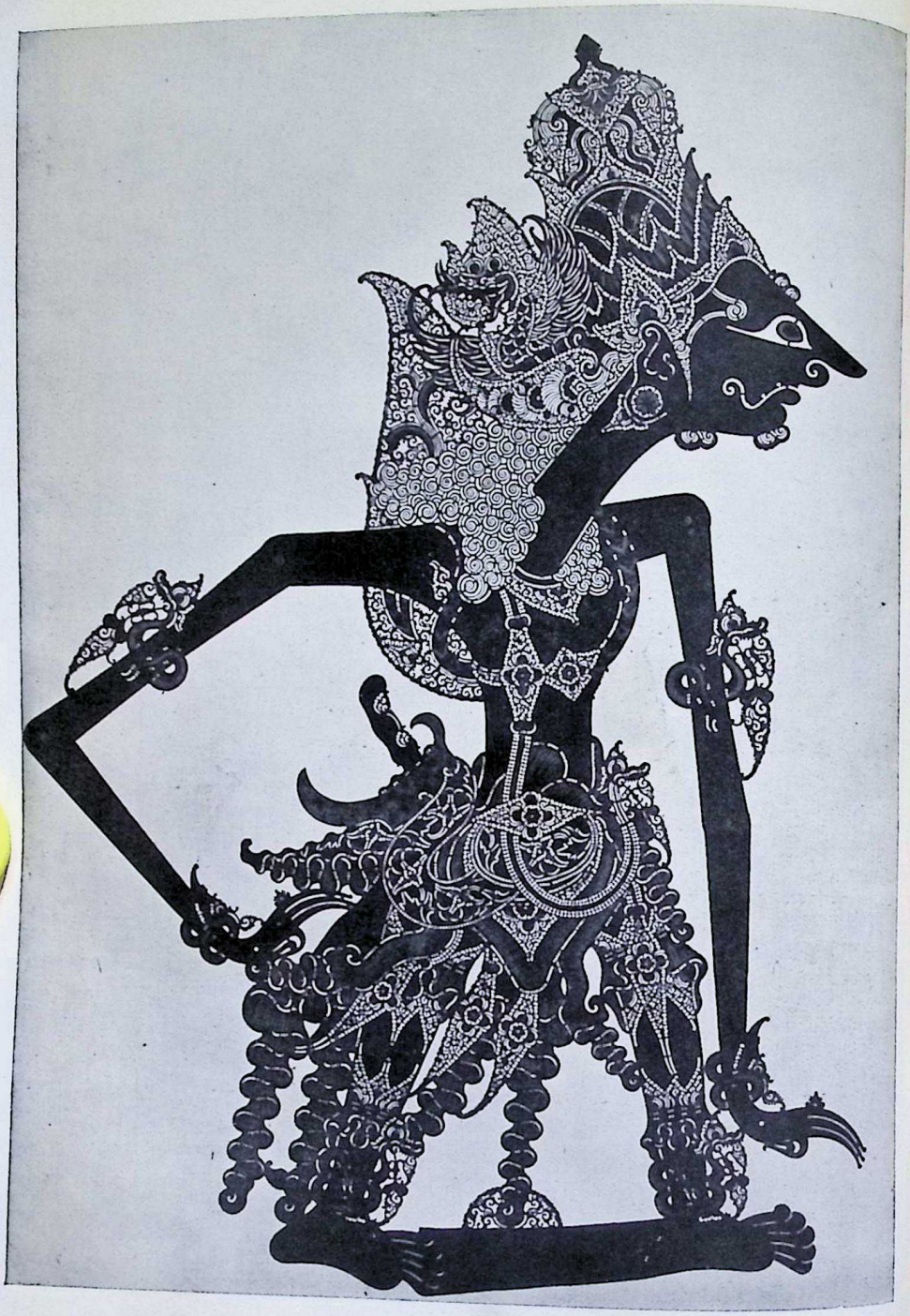

FIG. E.—WAYANG PURWO, JAVANESE MARIONETTES CUT OUT OF BUFFALO HIDE

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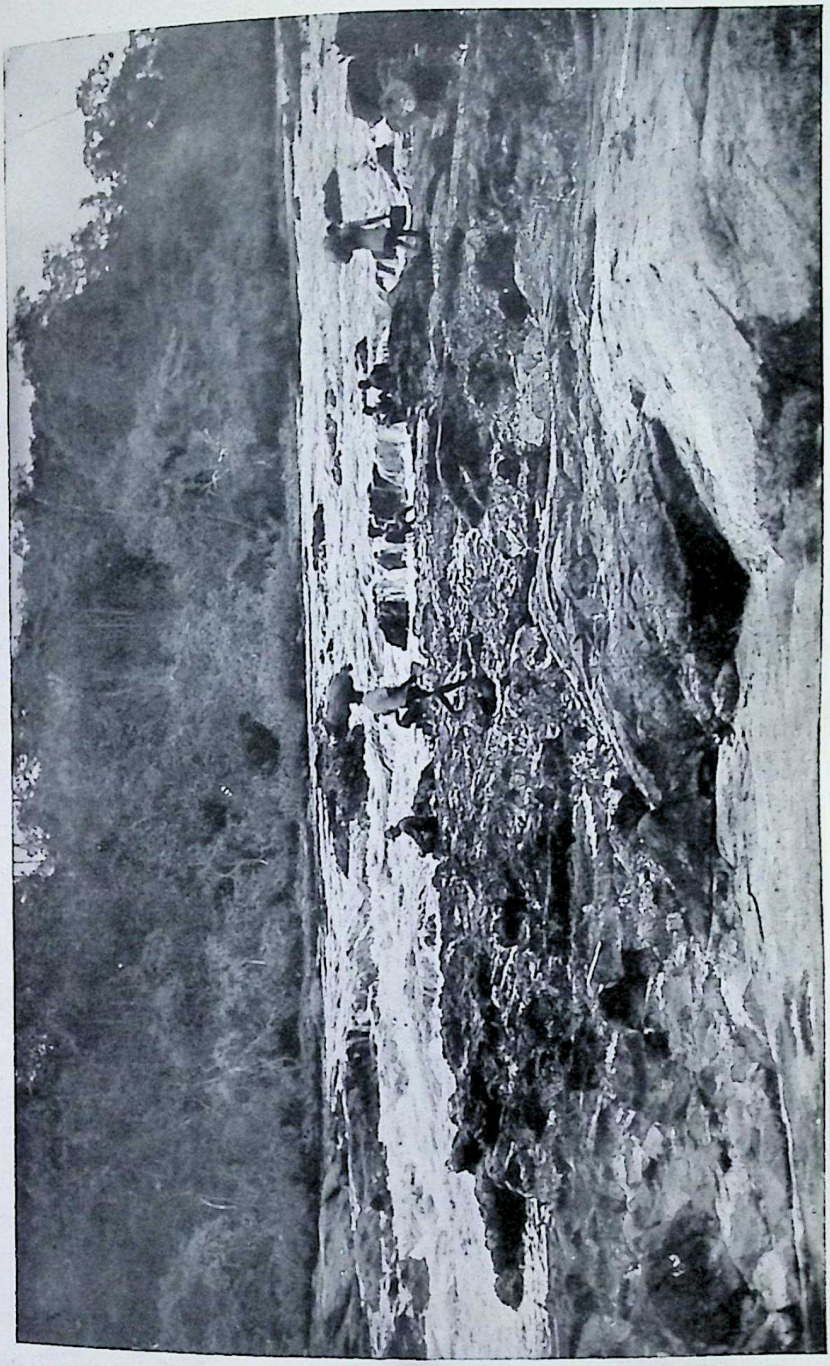

FIG. F.—BAGGAGE BEING CARRIED UPSTREAM TO LIGHTEN THE BOATS

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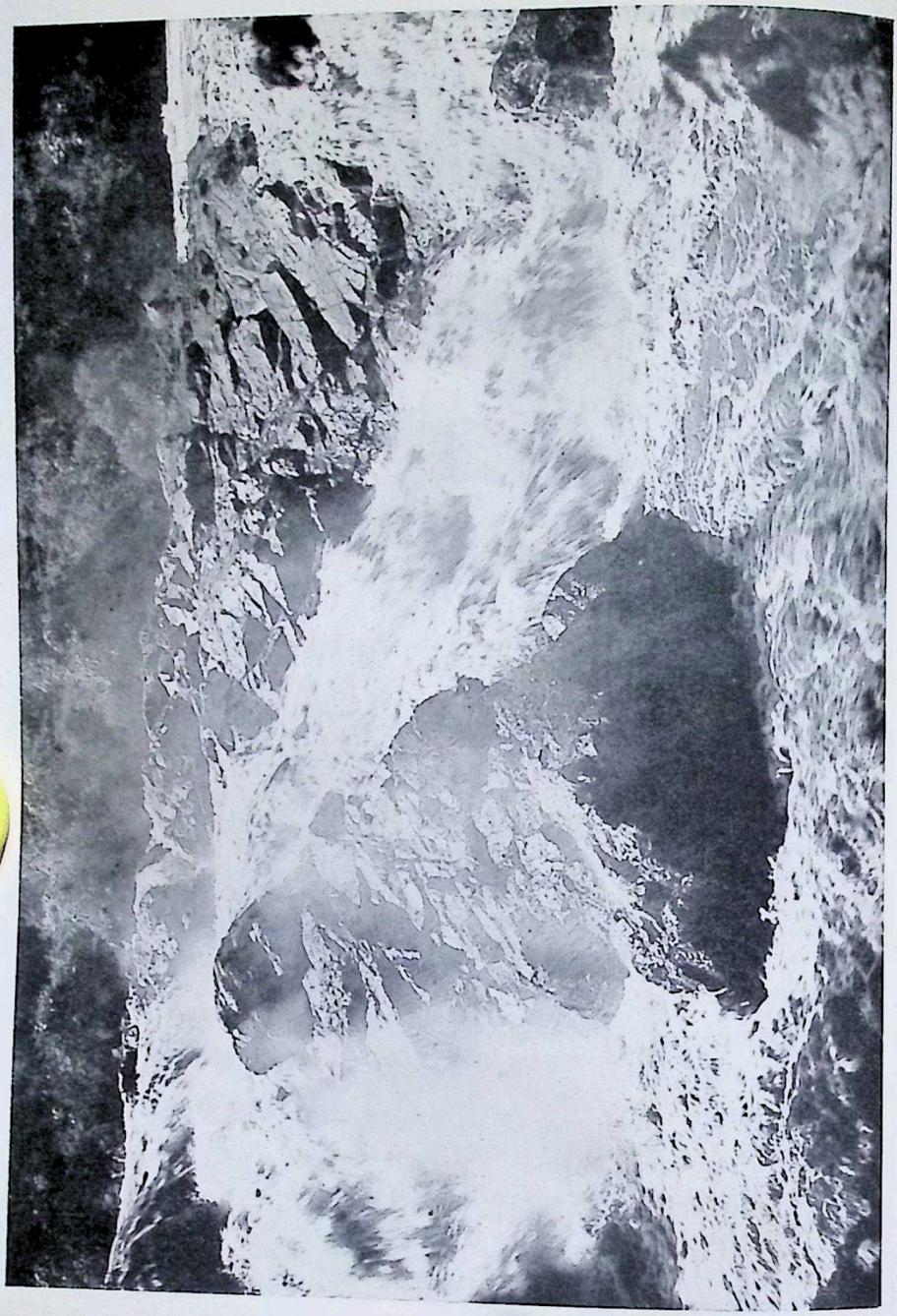

FIG. G.—WATERFALLS IN TJITAROEM, NEAR TJIKOEJA, NORTH PREANGER

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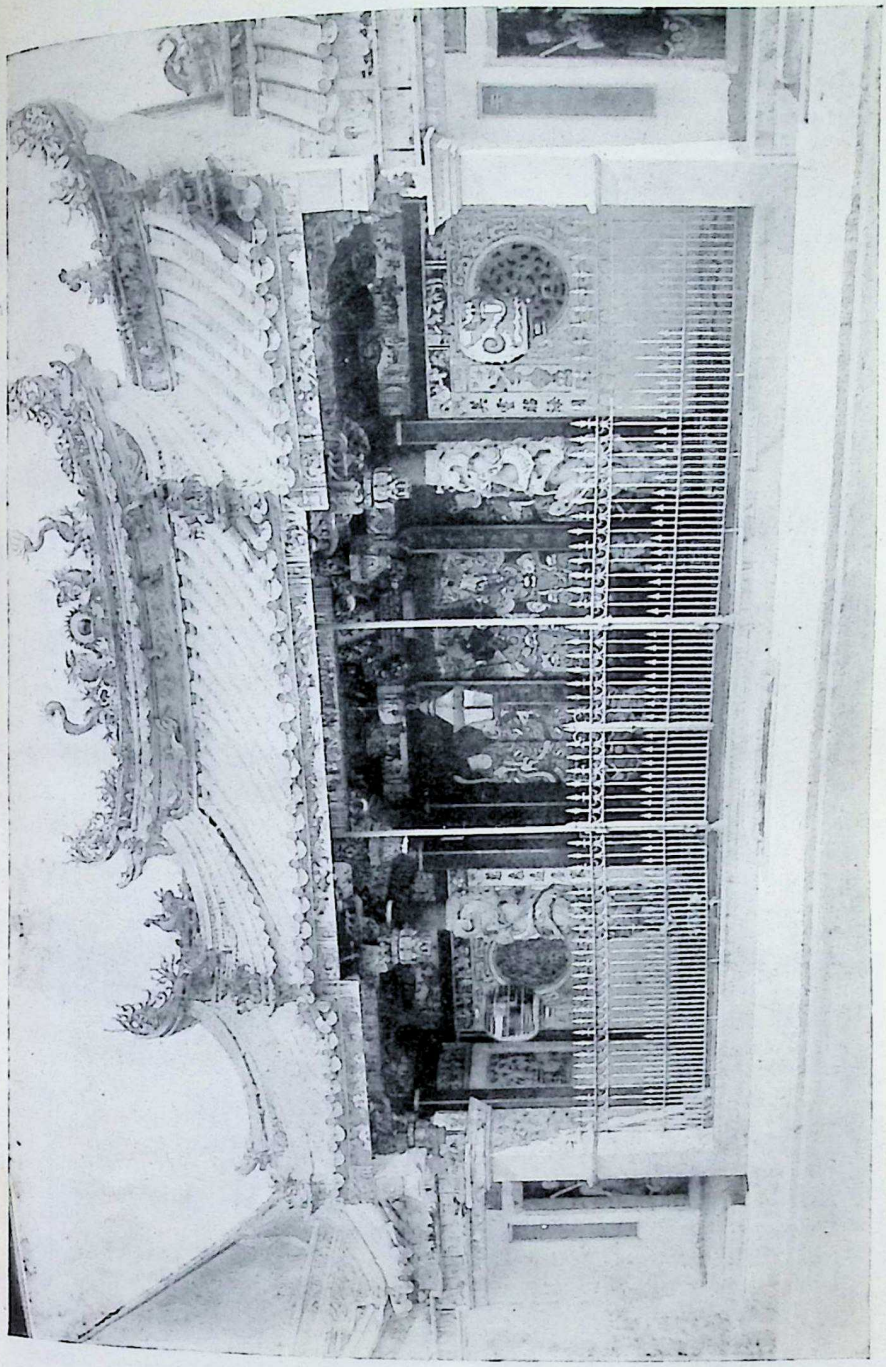

FIG. H.—A CHINESE TEMPLE AT MACASSAR, SOUTH CELEBES

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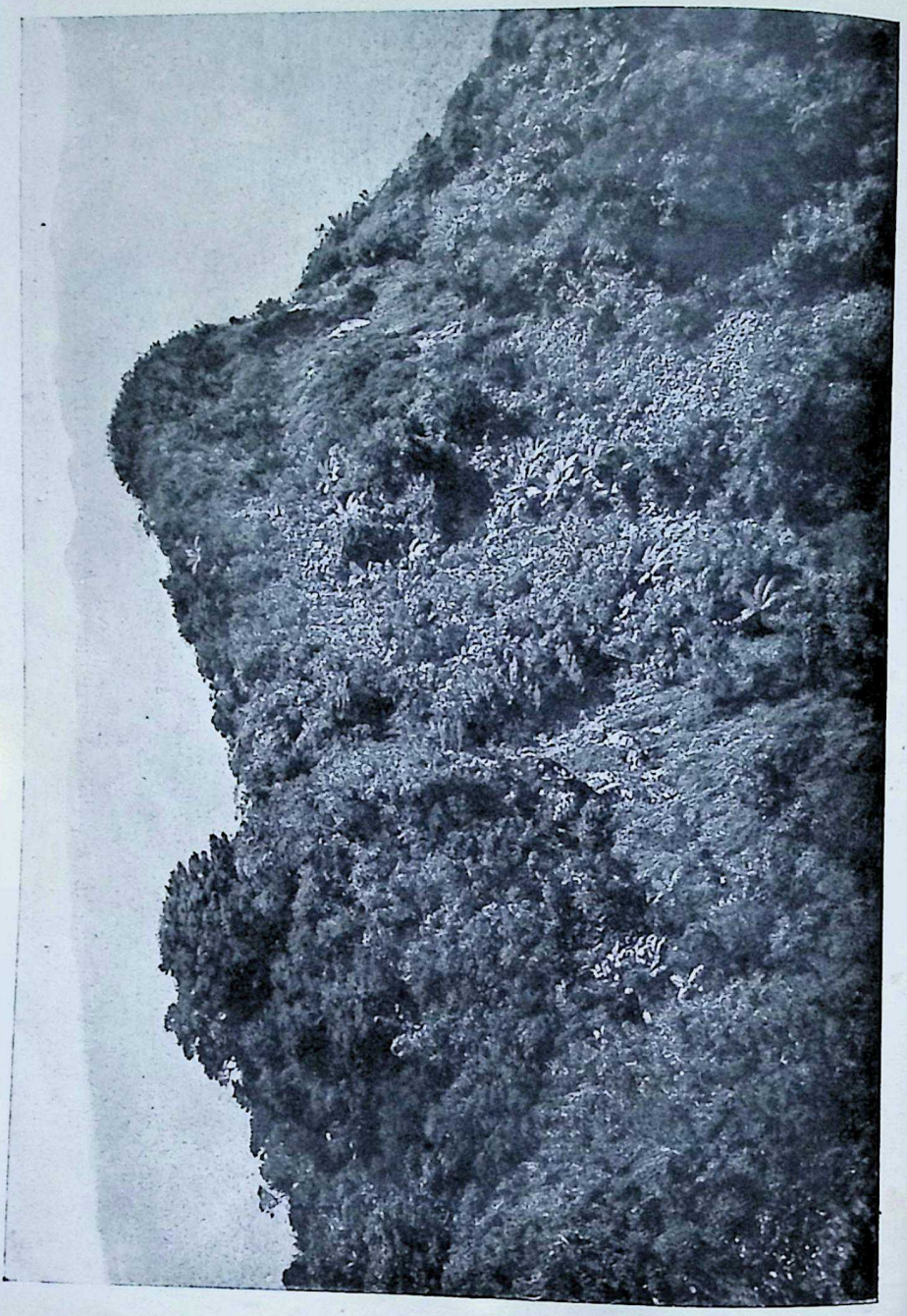

FIG. 1.—THE PEAK OF BONTHAIN (6,600 FEET), SOUTH CELEBES

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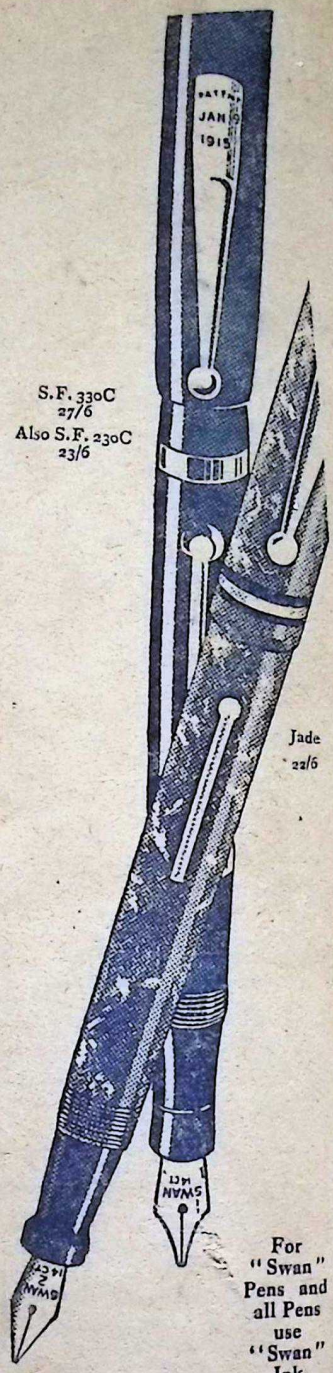

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THE
ASIATIC REVIEW

APRIL, 1930

The views expressed in the pages of the ASIATIC REVIEW must be taken as those of the individual contributors.

THE RECENT SESSION OF THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

By MAJOR-GENERAL HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA DHIRAJ OF PATIALA, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., G.B.E., A.D.C.

(*Chancellor of the Chamber*)

I BELIEVE it is generally agreed on all hands that the session of the Chamber of Princes which began on February 25 and ended on March 1 was the most important, as well as the most successful, that has so far been held. It was attended by fifty-two Ruling Princes and Chiefs, and the number of States represented at the meetings, informal and formal, was well in excess of one hundred and fifty. A noteworthy feature was the adherence of the greater States. The government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam was for the first time represented by a strong deputation of three members of his Cabinet: Baroda and Kashmir were represented by their respective Rulers in person. The Diwan of Mysore was not present at our deliberations, but gave some of us, and some of our Ministers, the benefit of his counsel and advice; while the fact that the Gwalior Government, which is a minority administration, has lent to the Chamber the services of Colonel Haksar for a period of two years, is ample testimony to the support, for which we have never looked in vain, from the State ruled by the House of Scindia. The smaller States, I am glad to notice, show no signs of weakening in their adherence to the Chamber. For a good many years it has been the policy of the Standing Committee to make these States feel that we have a real interest in their welfare; that we are always prepared to fight their battles; and that they have just as much right to participate in, and to benefit from, the plan of common action, as any or all of the more powerful units. In consequence, I think it may fairly be said that the Chamber of Princes has now established an incontrovertible claim to speak for the States as a whole throughout the wide range of matters that affect them all in common.

I do not desire, within the compass of a short article, to

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deal in any detail with the work of the session; but those who have followed the day-to-day proceedings as reported in the Press will probably be surprised by the number, as well as by the importance, of the topics covered by our deliberations. This increased expedition in the disposal of business is due, I think, in large degree to the evolution of machinery specially designed for this end. We have now established a permanent Chancellor's Secretariat, with its own budget, its own full-time staff, and its own records—an innovation which not only contributes materially to relieving the Chancellor and the Standing Committee from the burden of routine work, but which also facilitates the rapid circulation of papers. At least equally important is another step which has been taken: and that is the establishment of a Standing Committee of Ministers, which assists the Standing Committee of Princes in every branch of the manifold responsibilities entrusted to them by the Chamber; prepares work for submission to the informal meetings held concurrently with the Chamber session; thrashes out difficult questions of policy; and presents for the approval of the Princes clear-cut proposals and definite lines of procedure. Finally, and perhaps not less important than either of the other two institutions, is the Princes' Special Organization, of which the Indian end is controlled by Colonel Haksar, with the assistance of certain other Ministers whose services the States concerned have generously placed at the disposal of the Chamber, while the English end is under the direction of Professor Rushbrook Williams. It will thus be seen that to aid and assist them during the difficult times through which India is now passing, the Standing Committee of the Chamber can call upon three organizations, each working along its own line, but all carefully co-ordinated towards one common purpose, which is the vindication of the right of the Indian States to exercise that influence in the counsels of India and of the Empire to which their historic position and their political importance fully entitle them.

The principal work of the session was to complete the edifice of reasoned criticism of the Butler Report. The foundations of this edifice had been well and truly laid at Bombay in June last year under the wise guidance of that experienced statesman His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner. The opinions enunciated in Bombay, while avowedly tentative, had in point of fact been framed with such skill and wisdom that they formed the basis of all that we did in February, 1930. To those who think that our criticism was severe and over-strong, I would point out

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that until the Report of the Simon Commission is published, the Butler Report holds the field; and deeming as we do that latter document to be superficial, self-contradictory, and conceived in a spirit of leaving things alone, it was incumbent upon us to give reasoned expression to our views. So far from resenting our plain speaking, His Excellency Lord Irwin showed an earnest desire to appreciate the position which we were taking up; and every Prince in the Chamber derived confidence and encouragement from his attitude. Well knowing as he does our unalterable attachment to the British connection, and our devotion to the person and throne of the King-Emperor, Lord Irwin plainly does not share the opinion of those who consider that frank criticism of some of the defects of the existing régime is an indication either of egotism or of disloyalty on the part of the Princes. Indeed, few Viceroys have done as much as Lord Irwin to win the confidence of the Indian Rulers, and to turn to active account the support which they are ever eager to lend to the King-Emperor's representative. Our general attitude towards the Independence movement on the one hand, and towards the Round Table Conference on the other, will, I hope, convince even the most hostile of our critics that we attack the Butler Report because we believe that the conclusions therein enunciated are likely to weaken, rather than to strengthen, that link between India and Britain which it is our pride to constitute.

The session as a whole provided a complete justification for the policy of publicity and openness which the Standing Committee has for the last few years deliberately adopted. Now that the Chamber no longer meets behind closed doors, the suspicion with which our deliberations were viewed by certain quarters in British India has been shown to be groundless. The admission of the Press and public to the galleries of the Chamber has aroused additional interest, and has enabled us to take our place among the active and recognized forces of Indian politics. One direct result has been the cultivation of friendly relations with the leaders of those parties in British India who, like ourselves, welcome the Round Table Conference and value the British connection. I have every hope that in the course of the summer these relations will be strengthened, so that the Indian States and the more sober elements of British India may work together on a common platform, to the confounding of the revolutionaries. Not the least important achievement of our last session was our indication that we are ready to consider such a course.

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THOUGHTS ON WOMEN'S EDUCATION IN INDIA

By H.H. the Maharani, President of the Council of Regency of Gwalior

[The interest that Her Highness takes in the education of Indian women was recently exemplified by a thoughtful address at a congress lately held at Gwalior.]

There are so many obstacles in the path of higher or even secondary education of girls in India, that any perceptible measure of success achieved in this direction becomes an event for justifiable jubilation. And yet, withal, to quote Mr. Natarajan of the *Indian Social Reformer*, "The education of a single girl means the uplifting of a whole family in a larger sense than the education of a single man."

It is indeed a hopeful sign of the times that the prejudice against the education of girls has vanished to a large extent. Parents have at last begun to realize the necessity of imparting education to their daughters, though not yet almost as much as to their sons. This is particularly noticeable in Maharashtra, where the cramping influence of Purdah and all that it implies does not exist. Purdah, a peculiar bane of Northern India, is also being rent asunder, and the light of learning is slowly and surely penetrating the Zenana. Maybe there are here and there impossible grandmothers who still succeed in screening off that light from their granddaughters, but on the whole their influence is on the wane. The greatest of all obstacles, the early marriage of girls, is also a question which has of late loomed large in the programme of social reformers; and the most notable result of their activities has been the recent enlightened legislation of the Government of India. Now that the movement of women's emancipation has begun, it may be said with confidence that in fulness of time all these facts would vastly improve the state of affairs.

But notwithstanding all this, there is yet a vast field for action lying ahead. There are still a thousand and one small prejudices which have to be removed and numerous other ills that have to be remedied. This, however, is not the occasion to discuss either those prejudices or ills, nor indeed do I feel myself qualified to undertake such a discussion, but shall confine myself to a superficial survey of these questions.

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In the first place a few words may be said regarding the present system of education. The outstanding feature of our schools and colleges for girls is that they are organized on the same plan as schools and colleges for boys, and consquently contain all the defects which characterize the latter institutions. The same "examination fetish" dominates both, and the pupils in either appreciate a University certificate or diploma more than any practical or cultural course of studies. Our educational leaders not infrequently bemoan the system which specializes in the manufacture of clerks. I am not one of those who believe in a radical antagonism between males and females, but rather that the one is the complement of the other, and that the two together form, or should form, a harmonious whole, single in spirit, though diverse in bodies. Male nature and female nature have distinctive traits meant by Nature to supplement each other's functions in life. Boys and girls, as social units and citizens, need a certain amount of education in common, while there are branches which might be the speciality of each. The girl of today is the potential mother of the future, and upon her will depend the happiness or otherwise of some home. Most women in India aspire to be mothers, and every woman gets her chance, unlike her sisters in Western countries. The craft of motherhood would thus be indicated as a speciality for woman. But although this is the highest type of craft known, the opportunity has hardly been taken so far, probably for want of time, even to tell the girls what it is. But, thanks to the Sarda Bill, it is hoped that girls will now be able to remain longer in school, and thus have a chance of gaining some knowledge about this most difficult and sacred task, viz., that of the bringing up of the children. Professor Karve's University for women is, in its own humble way, trying to meet these and similar other requirements by including domestic subjects in its curriculum, but even that would seem insufficient and inadequate, and one wishes that there were more schools which afforded facilities for training in these important subjects in addition to the ordinary stereotyped courses of studies. The importance of training in these and other essentially feminine subjects cannot be too strongly emphasized. "The highest product of social evolution," says an American educationist, "is the growth of the civilized home, the home that only a wise, cultivated and high-minded woman can make." To create such a woman, then, should be the first function of education.

The examination fetish and the hustle which it necessarily

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involves is bad both for genuine culture and physical well-being, and the resulting strain has been admitted to be too much even in the case of boys. Is it not, therefore, highly undesirable to subject the future motherhood of the country to its wasting influence? Would it not be a great pity if, for want of imagination on the part of the authorities, our girls should be allowed to emaciate themselves in the vain and often illusory quest of a University certificate?

The purpose of all education is to impart culture and to prepare the pupil for the life to which he or she is by nature, inclination, and circumstances destined. And this should also be the aim of our educational system. An interesting ancedote may here be recalled.

The famous Boswell once asked Dr. Johnson as to whether, if he had had any children, he would have taught them anything. Dr. Johnson in his characteristic style replied: "I hope that I should have willingly lived on bread and water to obtain instruction for them; but I would not have set their future friendship to hazard, for the sake of thrusting into their heads, knowledge of things, for which they might not perhaps have either taste or necessity. You teach your daughters the diameters of the planets, and wonder when you have done that that they do not delight in your company."

Our prime concern, therefore, should be the suitability of the courses of instruction to the needs of the pupils, and the relating of their education to their lives. If we can accomplish this and can further shake off the domination of the examination fetish, we are fairly near the solution of our problems, and have arrived at a stage when we can consider the feasibility of introducing a system of co-education in this country.

In discussing co-education I may be treading on controversial ground, but I feel that I should be unfair to myself were I not to give my views upon the subject. The controversy over this question in Europe and America, and recently in this province, is well known. I believe in co-education of boys and girls, specially in colleges; and though in a country of Purdah this may appear unsuitable, it has proved a great success wherever it has received a fair trial, and its dangers are rare and the benefits great. Much canting nonsense has been talked against the system, but, to quote an authority, "the case for co-education can be put in a single sentence. If education, rightly conceived and practised, is some day to become one of the chief instruments for perfecting the relations between man and

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man, then co-education rightly conceived and practised will ensure the inclusion in that perfection of the relations between man and woman."

It is often said that a herding together of boys and girls cannot but produce evil results. Girls, it is said, will make boys sentimental, boys will make girls rough and clumsy, and the result would be immodesty and premature love-sickness. Apart from these dangers it is urged that since the sexes differ not only in their respective needs and requirements, but also in their mental and moral qualities, and their physical capacities, education cannot possibly be the same in detail for both boys and girls. But what is lost sight of is the fact that within the limits of curricula and time-tables—which are broadening from day to day—it should not be an insuperable task so to adjust matters that every student, irrespective of sex, which is a mere accident of nature, shall freely engage in the activities for which he or she is best fitted.

Now as to the supposed dangers to the morals of the pupils this only need be said, that the test of experience has invariably belied the worst fears. In Western countries where co-education has been tried it has been found that young men are more earnest, better in manners, and more civilized. The women, on the other hand, do their work in a more natural way and with greater application than when isolated from men, and there is less silliness and folly, simply because a man is not a novelty. There is a general chastening effect both on the man and the woman, and they gain in decorum in thought, speech, and conduct in company more than in isolation. The repression of girls in a Hindu home is a factor which accounts for a great deal of want of self-reliance in Indian women, and coming constantly together would tend to eliminate the emphasis of sex; thus making better human beings of them in every way. It has also been observed that the character of work, too, is not lowered by co-education, the girl student not expecting any preferential treatment or particular leniency because of her sex. In my humble opinion the benefits derived from co-education in Western countries are so great and varied that it is really worth our while to bestow serious thought on the question of its introduction in India. A properly conceived scheme of co-education may incidentally bring some relief in our anxiety to find funds for running separate educational institutions for girls and in the difficult task of wheedling a none-too-prodigal Government into the mood to give.

It has been seen that in most countries, especially in

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India, the prospects of boys and girls are differently estimated, and that more emphasis is given to prepare the boys for the battle of life by educating them as well as or even to a greater extent than what the parents can afford. There is no reason why similar opportunities of self-development and self-expression should not be given to the girls. If the reasons are examined why boys are often given opportunities to learn and girls seldom, it will be found that the reasons are economic. The boy as a man has to earn his bread for himself and his family, and he needs must be equipped for the task. The girl's natural avocation is generally looked upon as marriage, and she need not have any qualification to earn. In this, however, lies the subservience of women. Love and marriage should be a matter of personal preference, and all women should be fully capable of earning and supporting themselves if need be. While a high value is placed on the earning capacity of a man, woman is looked down upon as having only a limited sphere of action. Her value as housekeeper, mother and the rearer of the children, her rôle of being the genius of the Home, is not duly valued, though it can be safely affirmed that her duties are equally if not more important than man's; and that her apparent ease and comfort are hardly any compensation for the onerous duties which she has to perform throughout her life. It is early marriage that makes parents careless of their girl's equipment for life; and the sooner the women of India realize that they must be capable of earning their living before they get married, the greater will be the respect paid, and the better the fate in store for them.

Lastly, a few words may be added on a subject which to my mind is of extreme importance for the welfare of the nation as a whole. It is the question of the health and physique of our girls.

A sound mind in a sound body is a common desideratum. All the ancient civilizations of the world aimed at this ideal, our ancestors considering that mental and the physical development inseparable included the training of the body in the general education of a youth. It has been proved that in Sparta the girls were physically trained along with the boys. In India, too, proofs are not wanting of the fact that the physical culture of women and girls was not only not ignored, but that women took part in many manly games and sports. Some readers may be familiar with the old Rajput paintings depicting women engaged in a game of polo. My purpose here is not to advocate a

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revival of these exploits. But it is highly desirable that the importance should be recognized of such physical culture as may enable girls to maintain a healthy body in spite of the cramping effect produced by their sedentary occupation and the strain of their studies. Girls would do well to remember that the highest University diploma is but a poor recompense for a contracted chest and a curved spine acquired in its pursuit. It is not possible fully to enjoy the fruits of mental labour unless there is also a sound body in a state of good health. Girls should take to open-air sports and games just as boys do, and a time may come when girls thus physically fitted will be able to command the respect of their brothers without calling in the aid of sentimental chivalry. In this connection it may be mentioned that the introduction and revival of national folk-dances and games is excellent as a means of exercise along with other forms of games which some may choose. The famous garbhas of Guzerat and Kathiawad not only give the necessary exercise to the muscles, but they are an asset in the cultivation of grace and development. The games referred to are played in almost all households in Maharashtra, and are certainly a fine form of general exercise to the body. These garbhas and other games are performed to the rythmic cadence of a song repeated by the performers themselves, thus making them both healthful and enjoyable. Our exercises can thus have also an æsthetic side. These and other such exercises have been adopted with considerable success in some of the State Girls' Schools in Baroda.

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THE DEVELOPMENT AND RESOURCES OF THE MYSORE STATE

By B. T. Kesavaiengar

Having recently taken up the appointment of Trade Commissioner in London for the Mysore Government, I readily accept the invitation to contribute an article upon the above subject to the Asiatic Review. It is scarcely necessary for me to mention that Mysore is one of the largest of the Indian States, being the same size as Scotland, with an area of 29,475 square miles and a population of over six millions. The administration is conducted under His Highness's control by an Executive Council consisting of the Dewan and three Members of Council. There are two constitutional bodies to assist in the work of administration—viz., the Representative Assembly and the Legislative Council.

Before writing of Mysore's economic development, I should make special and reverent mention of the high character, saintly life, and noble aspirations of our beloved Ruler, and the keen sympathy he has for the progress of his people. During the quarter of a century of his benign rule, the advance of Mysore has been so marked in all directions that it is universally acknowledged as a model State. In certain respects the State has gone further than British India in evolving schemes for the development of the resources of the State and for the material and moral progress of the people. Half a century ago, before ideas of constitutional reform were being shaped in British India, Mysore was the first Indian State, indeed the first part of India, where a genuine attempt was made to associate the people in the work of administration. The Representative Assembly—a body of persons elected by people in rural areas—was first established in 1881 with a view to enable the representatives of the people to approach the Government with local grievances and problems, and to suggest measures for the development of the resources of the State. This body was nurtured carefully by successive administrators, able and far-seeing, and placed on a statutory basis about ten years ago. Mysore has been evolving and carrying out beneficent schemes during all these years under the benevolent and fostering guidance of the Ruler, assisted by

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eminent statesmen. There is now a Legislative Council with a non-official majority with powers similar to those of the Legislatures in the provinces of British India.

In addition to these two constitutional bodies there is another Council, which, though not established under statute, has been doing very useful service. This Council is known as the Mysore Economic Conference. It was inaugurated by His Highness in 1911 with the object of associating men of enlightenment, public-spirited citizens, prominent agriculturists, merchants, etc., with the officers of Government in deliberations connected with economic progress in Mysore. It was considered that problems relating to wealth creation should receive special treatment as distinct from those of general administration, and the solution of many of them could only be attempted by the joint action of the Government and the people.

The activities of the Economic Conference led, among other results, to a large expenditure on education, the establishment of the University of Mysore and of the Bank of Mysore, the creation of the Department of Industries, and the starting of several industries, large and small.

The Gold Fields

Of the various activities that have brought Mysore into close contact with the West, not the least important is the development of the mineral resources of the State. Mysore, as many business people in this country are aware, is rich in mineral wealth and has afforded ample scope for the investment of capital by people in this country to exploit the mineral wealth. The chief mineral which attracted the attention of the Western capitalist so early as 1873 was gold, the well-known Kolar Gold Fields being situate in the Mysore State.

The existence of the remains of old workings had long been known, but it was not till 1873 that any special attention was directed to them. In that year Mr. Lavelle, a resident of Bangalore, applied to the Mysore Government for the exclusive privilege of mining in the Kolar district. On experimenting he found that large capital would be required for carrying out the work, and he transferred all his rights and concessions to the late Major-General G. de la Poer Beresford. This officer, with some friends, formed a syndicate known as the Gold Fields of Mysore Company. The Company subsequently secured the aid of Messrs. John Taylor and Sons, Mining Engineers, of London, in

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1880, who since then have developed the industry with such energy, enterprise and business insight that it has been going on to this day with persistent vigour to the mutual advantage of the capitalists and the State.

The importance of this enterprise to the State has a two-fold aspect. Apart from the royalty the State derives from the mining operations, the revenue realized by the sale of electric energy supplied to the industry is considerable, being as much as 80 per cent. of the total revenue derived.

The industry has accordingly enjoyed the active support of the Mysore Government, which has financed the construction of a branch railway and installed a plant for supply of electric power generated at the Cauvery Falls, ninety-three miles away. Besides this, the Government have provided a filtered water supply to the mining area. The Mining Board has the privilege of sending a member to the popular assembly to represent mining interests. The largest consumers of power in the State are the Kolar Mines, and with the ever-increasing depths (the present depth of some of the mines goes up to 6,800 feet) the demand for power supply will increase, and it is in the interests of the State that this industry should go on as far as it can and as long as it can. The total quantity of fine gold produced from the commencement of the mining operation in 1882 up to the end of the year 1927 was well over 15½ million ounces, valued at over £67,000,000, the dividends paid exceeding £21,000,000.

Other Mineral Resources

The other mining ventures in the State include manganese, chromium, magnesite, and iron. Of these the extraction and transport of manganese ore on a large scale has been in the hands of a company in England—viz., The Workington Iron and Steel Company, combined with the United Steel Company, Ltd. The quantity of ore exported till the end of 1925 amounted to 591,000 tons, the royalty realized thereon being a little over Rs. 2½ lakhs. The company have their own narrow gauge line for a length of about forty miles, and have done much useful service to the country by opening up a somewhat unhealthy tract in the hilly regions of the State, and by providing labour to the unemployed in that region.

The future development of this industry in India will largely depend on the future of the iron industry, and this is a problem beset with many difficulties, not the least

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important of which are competition and the costly nature of railway transport and heavy steamer freight.

Chrome ore is another mineral, the extraction of which has received attention during recent years, and the future of the industry is promising. A high-grade ore is available, and the manufacture of ferro-chrome, experiments in regard to which are being carried on, will no doubt prove to be a useful enterprise in the State. Till 1925 the quantity of ore extracted amounted to 191,851 tons, and in 1927-28 26,115 tons were mined.

The Mysore Iron Works

The Mysore Iron Works were started by the Government of His Highness the Maharaja, in order to utilize the mineral and forest resources of the State and to establish a basic industry of national importance. The works are situated on the banks of a perennial river close to a railway station on the Birur-Shimogra section of the Mysore Railways. There is an abundant supply of iron ore on the Bababudan hills, which lie within a distance of about twenty-five miles. The ore is brought down to the foot of the hill by a steel ropeway three miles long operated by gravity. The forests in the neighbourhood are worked for fuel. The plant occupies an area of about fifty acres, and comprises a modern charcoal blast furnace, a pipe foundry, a wood distillation and by-product recovery plant. An experimental steel plant has been added to it recently.

The Bhadravati Iron Works are the only works of their kind in India and in the East, and they possess the biggest wood distillation plant in the British Empire. The by-products comprise C.P. methanol, methyl acetone, calcium acetate, and wood-tar and tar products. The revenue from these by-products is considerable, and is a very important offset against the high cost of charcoal pig-iron which is the main product. The blast furnace is capable of a maximum output of 28,000 tons per year, and the disposal and utilization of this large output is engaging the earnest efforts of the authorities with a view to maintaining the industry in a state of permanent efficiency and for developing other lines connected with this industry.

Competition in the market and the cost of transport weigh heavily against the rapid development of this industry, and in the interests of the country a certain measure of further protection would seem necessary to foster its growth.

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In order to improve the revenue prospects of the undertaking, and to manufacture articles in local demand, the investigation of some new developments is receiving the attention of Government. These relate to the supply of cheaper electric power, the manufacture of steel and steel products, the manufacture of pulp and paper, and the manufacture of acetic acid, bakelite, and other chemical products.

Copper and antimony ores are also available, and prospecting is going on to investigate the possibilities of working these minerals on a commercial basis.

Besides these important minerals, there are a few abrasive and refractory minerals, the development of which is receiving more and more attention. Of these magnesite is one and bauxite another. There are also available minerals of construction such as limestone, lime kankar, ornamental and building stones. These are not of much interest from the point of view of external trade, as they are worked for the present for local absorption.

Forestry

The forest resources are another equally important item of the State's wealth, and the development of the work of the Department on scientific lines has always received the closest attention of the Government. The forests under direct Government control reach a total area of 3,500 square miles. The forests contain many valuable species of timber. The value of timber sold by the Forest Department annually is about Rs. 10 lakhs. There are over seventy-five varieties of timber in Mysore forests, many of which are suited for high-class furniture and ornamental work, and there are several varieties locally absorbed for house-building purposes. There are certain varieties of timber growing in the hilly tracts of the State close to the borders of the Western Ghats which would be of great value in Western countries, but the cost of their exploitation and transport is so prohibitive that they are allowed to decay in the primeval forests.

Much of the timber extracted from the forests is used locally for building purposes. There is, I think, sufficient scope for enterprising firms to start furniture factories in areas where good and cheap timber is available, to manufacture goods, if not for export, at least to meet local demand. It would, of course, mean a careful study of the furniture requirements of an Eastern country, where the needs and tastes are different from those in this country,

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and hence affording scope for enterprise. There are timbers suitable for the match industry, and a beginning has been made by the establishment of a match factory at Shimoga in the State. A good deal of heavy timber is supplied for lining the shafts and for supports on the Kolar Gold Fields, and a certain quantity is used for railway purposes as sleepers.

At the Mysore Iron Works a creosote plant has recently been added to treat the ordinary and cheaper varieties of timber to make them fit to be used as sleepers and building material. The plant has been doing good work since its installation, and is likely to prove a useful adjunct for the utilization of the forest resources.

Special reference requires to be made to the sandalwood in the State forests, the wood being a monopoly of the State. Till about 15 years ago, the wood itself was being auctioned in India. It was long known that a valuable essential oil could be had from the wood. The Government realized the advantage of distilling oil from the wood locally, and decided to provide employment to the people of the land by starting the Sandalwood Oil Factory in Bangalore. A few years later another factory also was established in Mysore. The factory deals with nearly 1,500 to 2,000 tons of wood annually, and the oil produced is of an exceptionally good quality and finds a favourable and ready market in the countries of Europe. The oil is used in the perfumery, soap and medicinal trades. The total quantity of oil produced is about 200,000 lbs. annually. The wood is available only in limited quantities, and there is little prospect of increasing the output in the near future, although sufficient oil will be made available to maintain a steady market for the oil.

A start has been made in lac cultivation, and the industry is being carefully nursed with a view to its further expansion. Sealing wax, button lac and lac polish are being manufactured at present, and when sufficient progress has been made, trade with the West in these commodities will naturally develop, and it is hoped will prove to be profitable.

Hydro-Electric Power

With its mineral, forest, and other natural resources and the availability of cheap electric power, Mysore is happily circumstanced in regard to schemes for the development of industries both large and small. Till twenty years ago,

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however, there were but few factories manufacturing on a large scale. It was given to the hydro-electric installation on the Cauvery River at Sivasamudram to transform the entire industrial outlook in the State. The story of the development of power at the Cauvery Falls in Mysore is a fascinating one and would deserve a separate treatment for itself.

The scheme started in 1902 owes its origin to the genius and foresight of one of the foremost of Mysore's statesmen and administrators: I refer to the great Dewan, Sir K. Seshadri Iyer. The scheme has grown from small beginnings to such enormous proportions that it has become an invaluable industrial asset of the State. It was originally designed to generate 10,000 h.p., and as the demand for power increased, fresh generation plants had to be added, with the result that when the summer supplies in the river ran low the continuity of power supply became precarious in these months and the construction of a storage reservoir was keenly felt.

The construction of the reservoir, viz., the Krishnaraja Sagara Dam, perhaps the second largest artificial lake in the world, was soon undertaken and completed, and it owes its accomplishment to the energy and enterprise of another great Dewan of Mysore, Sir M. Visvesvaraya. These developments enabled the State to increase the power supply to 46,000 h.p., and yet the demand for power is growing, with the result that the Government of H.H. the Maharaja have under contemplation the development of power from other water sources similarly situated.

In regard to hydro-electric development, Mysore not only helps herself, but is a source of strength to the neighbouring Provinces. She has set such a wonderful example of initiative and enterprise that others have not been slow to appreciate or follow. This scheme has been the parent of the many industrial concerns that have been established during recent years in the State. Till twenty years ago there were hardly twenty factories, and today there are over 400 installations of the most varied type, a large proportion of which depend on electric power.

The Department of Industries and Commerce

The industrial activity in the State owes its impetus in a large measure also to the aid and advice made available by the Department of Industries and Commerce—a branch of administration which was separately established in 1913 on the advice of Sir Alfred Chatterton.

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One of the important functions of the Department has been to stimulate private enterprise in industries and commerce by the grant of loans and technical advice. The example set by the State has induced private capital to be invested in these concerns in an ever-increasing measure. The Department is assisting industrial development by other means also, as, for example, by training young men in workshops established by the Government, by grant of technical scholarships for training in India or abroad and by undertaking pioneer and demonstration work. There are some factories under the direct control of the State, prominent among them being the sandalwood oil factories, the soap factory, and the industrial workshops.

Even a passing reference to the industries in the State would not be complete without a reference to the sericultural industry. This occupation, which partakes of the character both of agriculture and an industry subsidiary to agriculture, has been practised for a long time in the State, although its fortunes have been of a changing character. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that the climate and soil in the State are admirably suited for mulberry cultivation and rearing of silkworms. The industry is practised over a third of the State, an extent of 52,000 acres being under mulberry cultivation, and the value of silk produced being estimated at a crore of rupees. It gives occupation to about 200,000 people. In view of the importance of this industry to the State, the State has been making special efforts to protect and develop the industry on scientific lines. There is now a separate department of sericulture whose chief functions are to carry on experiments in silkworm breeding with a view to improving the Mysore race of silkworms, fixation of new races, etc., improving the seed supply, and carrying out demonstrations in rearing and reeling. The future of the industry, in view of the competition of foreign silks and artificial silks, gives rise to some anxiety, but it is hoped that by employing better seed and improved methods, a better quality of silk will be produced which will enable it to withstand competition and take its own rightful place in the economic development of the State.

Equally important in the economic development of the State is the cotton industry. The total area under cotton is 115,000 acres. The total number of weavers is about 52,000, and a large percentage of this number weave only coarse cloths. The Department of Industries has taken up the improvement of this indigenous industry and demonstrated the use of the shuttle looms. These looms are gradually

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replacing the earlier crude looms. The Government weaving factory trains weavers in the use of improved appliances and machinery and experiments in new designs and patterns and the manufacture of machinery suited to the cotton weavers. The introduction of power looms is another direction in which the Department has been assisting the growth of the industry. There are ten power-loom factories in the State now. The object of developing these small industries is to reduce the export of raw material and provide occupation for people in the State during non-agricultural seasons. Another industry which is showing signs of revival is the carpet industry. Bangalore carpets find a market both in America and Great Britain.

Of the other industries in the State, coffee and tea deserve to be mentioned. Coffee is a commercial crop of great importance in the State, the total acreage under coffee being 100,000. A large number of plantations are in the hands of Europeans, be it said to whose credit that they have done much pioneer work in this connection. Mysore coffee is noted for its superiority and flavour, and is one of the principal items of export from India to this country. The value of the coffee crop is estimated to range from a crore to a crore and half rupees. Tea is another industry which has recently established itself in the State with promises of a good future.

The State has besides various other resources for the development of many new industries, but as elsewhere in India, lack of capital, absence of organized effort and want of facilities for investigation and research have hampered the progress in the past, but it will be noted that determined efforts are being made to give the necessary impetus for a more rapid progress in this direction.

Trade of Mysore

The external trade of Mysore passes through two channels—viz., the highways and the railways. The total length of the roads in the State is nearly 6,000 miles, and annually Rs. 10 lakhs are spent on the maintenance of these roads. The State owns 713 miles of railway, of which 440 miles are worked by the State and 273 miles by the M. and S.M. Railway Company. The total gross earnings during 1927-28 amounted to Rs. 52·59 lakhs, and the net earnings amounted to Rs. 27·29 lakhs. The State fully realizes the importance of communications in the development of the resources and trade of the country, and

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has been steadily pursuing the policy of extending railway communications and road developments. A prominent feature of the constructive programme of the railway development is the extension of the existing lines to the frontiers of the State with a view to establishing trade connections between Mysore Railways and British Indian Highways of Commerce.

The establishment of the Mysore Chamber of Commerce in recent years is another step in the direction of developing trade beyond the State. The Chamber has been doing a good deal of useful work already and is bound to be of great help to foreign business people anxious to establish trade connections in Mysore. The Chamber of Commerce has the support and sympathy of the State, and has the privilege of sending a member to the Legislative Council and other public bodies in the State.

Although many details have been given, the subject of the natural resources of Mysore State is by no means exhausted. There are aspects of it which I have scarcely mentioned, especially the impetus that will be given to production and to manufacturing development by the great schemes of irrigation already undertaken or in contemplation. This subject alone would require a separate article. It is the desire of the Mysore Government to establish and develop friendly trade relations with the advanced countries of the West for their mutual benefit.

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TRAVANCORE

By Maurice Emygdius Watts, B.A., Barrister-at-Law
(Late Dewan of Travancore)

I.

The Country

In the extreme south-west of India, remote from the beaten track of the cold-weather tourist, lies Travancore—tranquil, happy and shy, courting neither attention from the politician nor publicity from the Press, gazing forever from the sacred point of Comorin washed east and west by twin seas, across the ocean expanses stretching out to the South Pole. All Hindu India knows Travancore as *Dharma Rajyam*, the Land of Charity—but little more; and the rest of India knows even less, while to the rest of the world, outside mercantile houses scattered everywhere, Travancore, even as a name, conveys nothing. And yet the Greeks and the Romans, the Phœnicians and the old-time Chinese, were intimately associated with her ports, from which were drawn fine muslins and ivory and wealth-bringing spices; spices and fine cloths which held the Portuguese and the Dutch in close commercial relations with the State, and which from 1680 down to this present moment, through changing circumstance of mutual need, have welded Travancore and Britain into lasting political unity. Travancore is a land to which Nature has been most bountiful. It has never known famine, and it is ever and everywhere green as England in summer. Springing from the great chain of mountains, older far than the Himalayas, which walls it off from the rest of India, there flow across the country ten considerable rivers, which eventually sprawl into ganglia of greater and lesser lakes which, man-connected where Nature failed in the linking-up, skirt the coast with outlets to the sea and give the country unbroken water-communication for 150 miles north and south—the main artery of its trade and commerce. Whether up among the mountains where British enterprise has won 60,000 acres for tea from the encircling virgin forests, or along the rolling uplands devoted to spices and rubber, or by lake and stream and canal down to interminable palm groves and vivid paddy-fields, the eye constantly lingers upon beauty spot after beauty spot in bewildering variety. The State has an area of 7,625 square miles of territory, a third of which comprises reserved forests,

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virgin, conserved, or, since 1866, scientifically regenerated. These forests, besides being a valuable economic asset and source of revenue to the State, make—forswear the word "sportsman's"—a naturalist's paradise. Bird-life, reptiles—snakes which it would take a lifetime to identify, great lizards and little—the pitiless wild red-dog, the bear, the leopard, the glossy black panther, the tiger, the sambur, the mighty bison, all these are there and, most numerous of all in spite of annual catchings, the privileged elephant. There is no greater joy in life than to watch a herd swim across the Periyar lake, the deep-sunk mothers carefully holding their babies' little trunks to breathe safely above the water line; or to stand silent and still within a few yards of a herd and watch its simple family life until, the watcher detected, my lord throws up his trunk and trumpets his short, sharp signal and the herd ambles away in stately dignity, while the forest resounds with the stampede and the crash of bison and sambur, deer and hog. All these forests, all these rivers, all these lakes, all cultivation, are ultimately dependent on rainfall, and the rains never fail Travancore. There are two lavish monsoons every year, beginning in May and October, although, to the joy of the rubber planter, there are places where some showers fall almost every day of the year. Trivandrum, the capital, counts on an annual rainfall of 60 inches in the year; while, higher up, tea planters work to pay their London dividends soaked in a rainfall of 200 inches a year. Carefully compiled rainfall statistics have been recorded by the State Observatory and Department of Meteorology continuously since 1838.

Its Peoples

Travancore's habitable area of some 5,000 square miles is compact with a population of nearly four and a half millions, showing a density of 888 to the square mile, as compared with Belgium's 663 and Great Britain's 468. There are more people in Travancore than in Denmark, than in the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland combined, than in Norway and in all but four of the Central and South American States; while only five of the States comprising the United States of America hold a larger population. The vast expanse of Canada has no more than twice as many people, and the population of Australia exceeds Travancore's by barely a third, while that of Scotland is very little more. Of the Indian States, only Hyderabad and Mysore have a larger population; and Ceylon and Travancore have the same.

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It will, of course, be questioned whether a teeming population by itself establishes a State's title to relative importance. So far, at any rate, as India as a whole is concerned, that criticism nowise detracts from Travancore's right to eminence *per se* or to pride of place in a gradation of rank. Its peoples are more literate, better educated per centum of population than those of any part of British India or of any other Indian State bar the sister State of Cochin. As long ago as 1817, the then ruling Rani issued a rescript ordaining "that the State should defray the entire cost of the education of its people, in order that there might be no backwardness in the spread of enlightenment among them, that by diffusion of education they might become better subjects and public servants, and that the reputation of the State might be advanced thereby." English education was first introduced by Christian missionaries between 1816 and 1819, and the first State English free school was established in 1834. At the present moment the State spends over 22 per cent. of its revenue on education, and about 78 per cent. of the population of school going age are under instruction. The total number of educational institutions in the State in 1928 was over 4,000, giving an average of one school to every 998 of the population and to every 1·8 square miles of territory. There are eight Colleges, of which four are Government institutions and four aided institutions conducted by Christian bodies. One of the Government Colleges is for women—for women, who have never been cribbed and cabined by the *pardah* system in this country, and who for ages have been on a footing of equality with men, are as anxious to proceed to higher education as men; and, in passing, it may be mentioned that they are not merely admitted to the public service in its educational and medical branches, but also on complete parity with men in certain other branches of the Civil Service. And in connection with the controversy in England on the question whether women public servants should resign or be dismissed on marriage, it is interesting to note that Travancore has long followed a more generous policy than the authorities are adopting in this country. In Travancore, not merely are women not called upon to vacate office when they marry, but special concessions are allowed them. The State Civil Service Regulations grant women, over and above the cumulative privilege leave of a month a year enjoyed by all civil servants male or female, three months' full pay "maternity" leave when required. Primary education is free throughout the State. The number of vernacular schools in the State in 1928 was 3,335, of which 444 were exclusively

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for girls. There were 230 middle and high schools for boys and 94 for girls exclusively, and 228 were English schools. Co-education of boys and girls has for centuries been an established custom in the State, and the advent of English education in schools run more or less on Western lines, has not materially affected the practice. In 1928 the number of girls who attended boys' schools was 124,068 as against 66,883 who attended schools maintained exclusively for girls; and this applied not merely to primary schools, but also to middle and high schools and the colleges. The proportion of girls to boys attending schools and colleges in 1928 was 1 to 1·7—a record in female education which no other part of India even approaches. Music is taught in girls' schools, and there were 200 teachers of music in Government schools and 50 in private institutions aided by Government. The broadmindedness, the catholicity, of this Hindu State is as manifest in its educational policy as in its general administrative outlook; not only are Christian educational institutions supported as generously from public revenues as similar Hindu institutions, but large endowments have been made for exclusively Christian education; and in schools where there is an appreciable number of Muhammadan children, the State provides Arabic and Quran teachers.

Their Democratic Spirit

One of the results of the high level of literacy is the large number of newspapers and periodicals published in Travancore. In 1928 there were fifty newspapers and eighty-three periodicals issued regularly, of which, nineteen were in English, forty-four partly in English and in the vernacular, all but two of the rest being in the latter, the two exceptions being one in Latin and the other in Syriac. Both men and women, young and old, are assiduous readers of papers, and just as practically every man and woman of the middle classes, by constant association with litigation, is a born lawyer, so also, in a closely packed population where everybody knows or knows of everybody else, and where most families have members in the public services, a lively interest is taken by the upper and lower middle classes, even down to petty shopkeepers, who, on a low-qualification franchise, enjoy a vote, in public affairs generally, both in high politics and in the conduct and character of the executive of every grade. Possibly there is no part of India so given up to public meetings, resolutions, representations, deputations, as Travancore. In all these activities the newspapers and periodicals, whether

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as vehicles for the expression of views or as actual participants in movements, are vigorously engaged. Although it is inevitable that in the circumstances of the country the Press should occasionally lapse into licence—for which a Newspaper Regulation reserves correctives (never once applied since its promulgation five years ago)—it must be admitted, on the whole, that the wide publicity of this closely critical Press and the highly developed public opinion which is sleeplessly active in the State are a valuable asset to the people of the country and indirectly to the Government—a wholesome check on peculation, corruption, inefficiency, injustice, and high-handedness, wherever these should chance to raise their heads. No administration in Travancore can afford to flout such public opinion, which is the outward and visible sign of a spirit of democracy unparalleled in the rest of India. This free expression of public opinion and local feeling has also a positive value; it unerringly guides the head of the administration and heads of departments to the investigation of wants to be supplied and wrongs to be righted. And it is not the general intelligence, the wide-spread education, and an expansive Press that alone contribute to foster the democratic spirit and create public opinion. There are *kara yogams*, or people's committees to secure the rights and well-being of the inhabitants of defined localities; there are countless associations and societies devoted to one purpose or another; and, last but not least, it is important to bear in mind that Christians, including the ancient Syrian Christians of the lesser Eastern Churches, who were established in Travancore from the beginning of the Christian era, constitute between a third and a fourth of the entire population of the State—not the down-trodden and often despised Christian converts in some other parts of India, but a large, prosperous, and industrious community which holds a high social position. There are no less than twenty-two Christian Archbishops, Metropolitans, and Bishops in the State, as well as a Territorial Commander of the Salvation Army. The influence of these Christian bodies, exercised through dioceses and parishes as well-defined territorial units, with all the sanctions of religion behind them, in moulding public opinion and according or withholding moral support to men and measures, is very considerable.

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FRENCH DEVELOPMENT WORK IN INDO-CHINA

By Pierre Cordemoy

(*Translated by* Miss N. Williams)

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COMMUNICATIONS (*continued*)

(*b*) Roads

When France, who had been established on the Lower Mékong for a quarter of a century, extended her protection over Indo-China, as far as China in the north and Siam in the west, the road system of the district thus opened up to civilization was practically non-existent.

The Indo-Chinese Union, which comprises Cochin-China, Cambodia, Annam, Tonkin and Laos, is one and a half times as large as France, and has a meridian measurement of nearly 2,000 kilometres; but it had then neither the trunk roads, whose general purpose is the linking up of different regions, nor the by-roads to the interior which facilitate the development of the soil and subsoil of each colony.

To quote one typical example, the famous "Mandarin Road," crossing the Annam Empire from north to south, was hardly more, at that date, than a long track with very steep gradients, broken by rough sections which were only practicable for foot-passengers, horsemen, and in certain places, light conveyances. The traveller usually accomplished it in a palanquin, escorted by a long train of coolies carrying his luggage.

Hence, in those days, even in the most populated and best administered districts of the Empire, road transport was precarious, slow, and difficult; apart from navigable ways it was almost impossible to get up into the interior, particularly to Upper Tonkin, distant Laos, the recesses of the Annamite Range, the solitudes of the Moï country, wherever mountain, forest, or jungle raised their formidable barriers against the people and the ideas of the West.

But, very quickly, the representatives of France in the Far East realized that these far-off colonies, so difficult of access, concealed everywhere, in small quantities, enormous wealth, and that there could be found, in the Tonkin Delta and the over-populated region of North Annam, the necessary labour to work the fertile but sparsely peopled central and southern districts.

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They understood that farming on a large scale, forestry work and mining industries might become the sources of very great prosperity when Europeans, providing capital, and the necessary methods and machinery, could bring to their concessions labourers and plant, and export to the borders or the ports the products of agriculture and manufactures.

Finally, being responsible for the defence and safety of a great country, they did not forget that a good system of communications constitutes the foundation of effective operation either for making war or keeping order.

In short, France has realized that these fruitful lands, which have lain like some magnificent body in a state of lethargy for so many centuries, must be provided with a vigorous system of circulation.

The problem having been defined, it remains to be shown how this has been done.

The Sarraut Programme.—The building of roads began in the nineteenth century with Cochin-China which became French in 1860. First the Admirals, then the Civil Governors, have endowed this country with a road system of which she is proud, and which, at the beginning of the twentieth century allowed of the development of rubber growing in the eastern part of the Colony.

The districts, which from 1885 were placed under the French Protectorate, entered in their turn on the work of road development. But these efforts were, at first, purely local; and it was not until 1912 that M. Albert Sarraut, the Governor-General, decided upon a complete programme of road-making, and applied it to the five Colonies of the Indo-Chinese group.

A classifying ordinance of June 18, 1918, gave the necessary sanction to the Sarraut programme.

This organization, which followed only slowly upon that of the railway system which had been thought out in 1898, was nevertheless very timely at a moment when the growth of the motor industry allowed ten times as much transport by road, and when French capital was more readily invested in Indo-China.

The results obtained by the carrying out of the Sarraut programme are remarkable.

Since 1912, the Public Works Department has, on the one hand, pushed forward with great energy the construction of *colonial roads* intended to unite various parts of the Indo-Chinese Dominion; on the other hand, they have accelerated, first in Tonkin and Cambodia, then in Annam

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and Laos, the opening up of *local roads* which have had an excellent influence on the economic development of those countries.

In sixteen years, in spite of the obstacles placed in the way of all French undertakings by the World War, the extent of the road system has been tripled.

By the end of 1928, there was a total development of 32,500 kilometres (more than $\frac{3}{4}$ of the circumference of the earth), viz.:

14,300 kilometres of metalled roads.
10,400 kilometres of unmetalled roads.
7,800 kilometres of tracks.

The cost of this work was 83 million piastres, of which 50 million were assessed to the general budget, and 33 million to the local budget.

From the end of the period which we have been considering, and especially since 1923, the employment of motor transport has developed, alongside with the opening of roads, at a very rapid rate.

At the end of 1928, 18,776 motors were in use in French Indo-China.

The carrying out of the programme is going on briskly, and already now the cultivated areas have a convenient service.

There remains to be carried out of the work of improvement and completion:

1. The improvement of certain sections to keep pace with the ever-increasing traffic.

2. The metalling of the whole of the classified road system and the provision of permanent building constructions.

3. The completion of certain roads in Laos and Upper Tonkin.

The total expense involved is about 50 million piastres.

The Road System of Moï.—Besides the above, and in the same way as has been done with the railways, the extension of the road system must be planned in the vast region of Moï, which is still very little known, to keep pace with the industrial requirements which are steadily increasing in the famous Red Lands.*

Although certain sections of the Colonial roads crossing the Moï country are already, as we see, open to traffic, it is

* See Section (a) (Railways) of the present essay. The demands for concessions in the Moï country represented, already, at the beginning of 1926, an area of 500,000 hectares.

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impossible in the present position of prospecting and concessions to settle exactly the direction of the projected roads.

The first portion of the necessary expenses is put at 20 million piastres.

THE PLAN.

The roads of French Indo-China are divided into two main categories:

A. Colonial roads.
B. Local roads.

To the latter must be added for Cochin-China only, *provincial* and *communal* roads.

Since 1922 there are, in addition to the roads which have been mentioned, the up-country tracks which serve as the rough outline of a road system to the interior districts.

(*A*) COLONIAL ROADS.—The colonial roads, being intended for general service, form the great arteries of the system, from which the local roads branch out.

The Sarraut programme, enlarged in 1926, allowed for the making of twenty-two roads, having altogether a length of more than 9,800 kilometres, and necessitating an outlay of 55,000,000 piastres.

There are at present about 8,066 kilometres of colonial roads open to traffic, of which 6,524 kilometres are metalled and 1,542 kilometres unmetalled.

Among these roads the following are the most important:

1. Colonial Road No. 1, or the Mandarin Road, is the great artery which runs the length of the Indochinese Union. It stretches from the threshold of China as far as the frontier of Siam. With a length of 2,570 kilometres* it links up, from north to south, the four capitals of Tonkin, Annam, Cochin-China, and Cambodia.

The reconstruction of this magnificent highway, the precarious state of which before the French protectorate has been mentioned, has all been done in sixteen years.

It has, at its narrowest, a width of 6 metres, curves having a radius of 15 metres, the gradient reaches to 6 per cent. in exceptional cases only; the bridges, mostly made of reinforced concrete, can support an overload of a nine-ton axle preceded and followed by five-ton axles.

2. In Tonkin, radiating from Hanoi.

(*a*) Roads Nos. 2 and 3 towards the High Lands and the Chinese frontier.

(*b*) Road No. 5, which has much traffic, leading to the port of Haiphong.

(*c*) Road No. 6, leading to Laos.

* The distance as the crow flies from Paris to Moscow.

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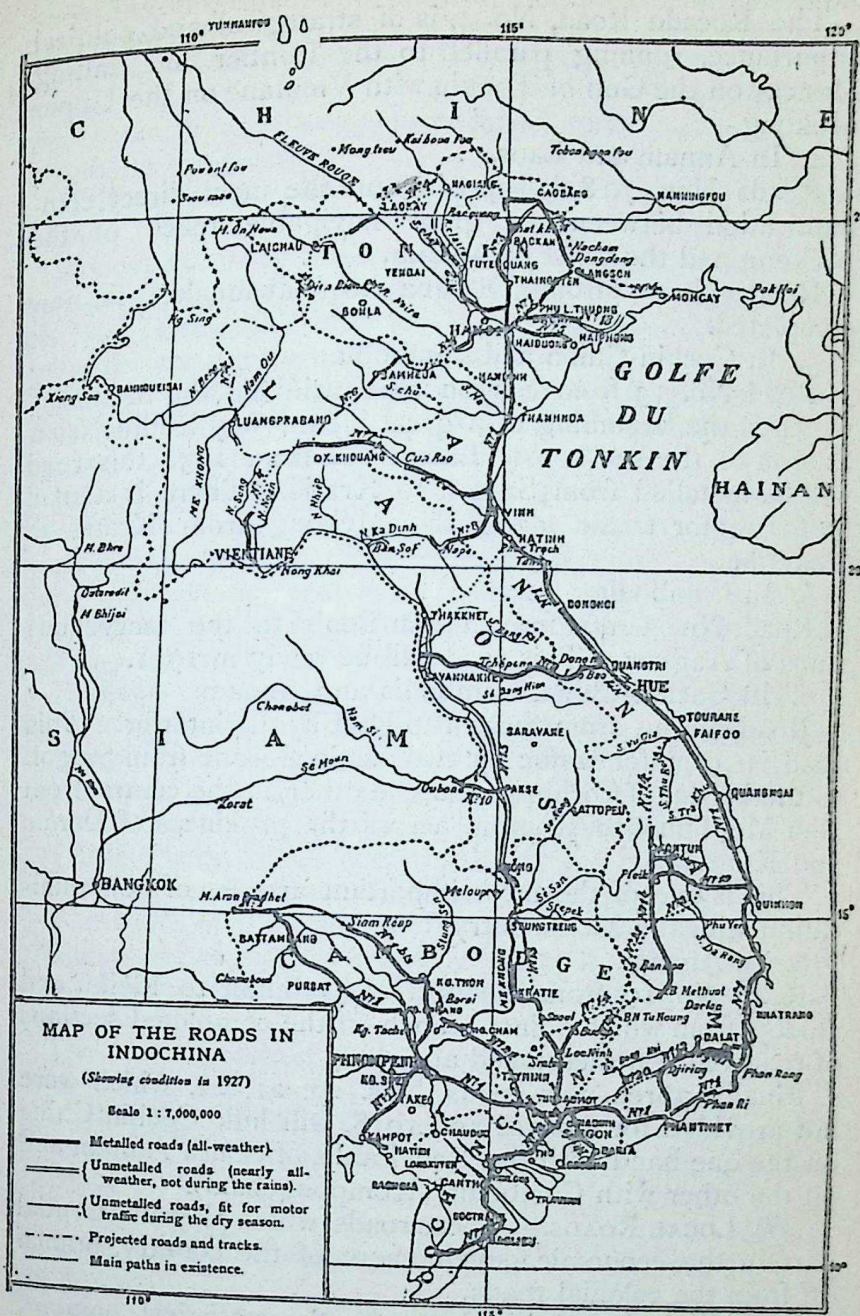

N.B.—It should be noted that Road No. 13 (mentioned on page 238), which is marked on the map as being metalled from Saigon to Kratié, continues as an unmetalled road from Kratié to Kong, in the valley of the Mékong (15 by 115°), then continuing, as marked on the map, from Kong to Thakkhet.

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3. In Tonkin and Laos.

The Rocade Road, No. 4, is of strategical and political importance, running parallel to the frontier and uniting Moncay on the Gulf of Tonkin with Vientane on the Upper Mékong.

4. In Annam and Laos.

Roads Nos. 7, 8, 9, opening up the most direct communication between the great navigable reach of the Mékong and the coast of Annam.

Road No. 9 from Dongha to Savannaket is now completed.

5. In Cochin-China and Cambodia.

Road No. 13 from Saigon to Kratié (on the Mékong), which is the beginning of a great inland way leading from Saigon to the sea across Laos. As from 1930 this road will be metalled from Saigon to Kratié. There is a road fit for motor traffic along the Mékong from Kratié to Thakkhet.

6. In Cambodia.

Road No. 1 *bis* from Pnom-Penh to the marvellous ruins of Angkor. This road will be ready in 1931.

7. In Cochin-China, Cambodia and Annam.

Road No. 14, from Saigon to Hué by the interior. This road is open for traffic on two sections—one from Saigon to the border of Cochin-China, the other, in the centre, from Ban Me Thuot to Kontum across the provinces of Darlac and Kontum.

This is one of the most important arteries of communication with the Moï country.

8. In Annam.

Road No, 19, from the port of Quinhon to Pleiku and Budop, from which points branch off the completed sections of road No. 14, mentioned above.

Finally, three new roads, Nos. 20, 21, 22, which were not provided for in 1912 and 1918, will link Cochin-China on the one hand with the Red Lands of South Annam and on the other with Cambodia (Kompongcham).

(*B*) Local Roads.—These roads, which play an essential part in the economic development of the country, branch off from the colonial roads.

We will include with them, for the statistical point of view, the provincial and communal roads of Cochin-China.

Naturally they are numerous in thickly populated districts, and much rarer in the mountainous regions.

In the whole of the Union, the extent of the development

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of these roads, provided for in the Sarraut Programme, is 22,000 kilometres.

At the present time, 16,654 kilometres are open for motor traffic, 7,800 kilometres being metalled (practicable all the year round), and 8,854 unmetalled (practicable for six months in the year).

Half of the metalled non-colonial roads are in Cochin-China.

An outlay of 25 million piastres has been allowed for embankments, building construction, and metalling, the purpose being that these roads may be put in a state to stand the constant growth of motor traffic.

To the roads already mentioned should be added those which are to be opened in the Moï district, according to the needs of development.

(*C*) Up-Country Tracks.—These tracks are of great interest. They constitute, generally, the beginning of future roads; made quickly and cheaply they facilitate communications between the centres of isolated provinces, and are destined to play an important part in the prospecting work and improvement of the country.

For this reason the General Budget of Indo-China devotes 300,000 piastres a year for the sole purpose of the construction of these paths, a work usually carried out by indentured labour under the direction of the Heads of the provinces helped by militiamen of the Civil Guard.

These tracks, which are practicable for motor traffic in the dry season, have some bad patches in places.

The width of the track is often reduced to 3 metres, the gradients are as high as 9 and 10 per cent., the bridges are wooden (sometimes bamboo); there is metalling only in the worst places.

The most important of these tracks are in use:

In Tonkin and Laos—

In the high district of the north-west of Tonkin, the plateau of Tranninh, the chief places of the Laotian provinces.

In Cambodia—

In the northern district which they link to the centre of the kingdom.

Lastly, and deserving of special mention—

1. The tracks running up towards the north, prolonging, for the length of the Mékong, Colonial Road No. 13 (Saigon to Kratié). These tracks form the plan for the great Transindochinese road of the interior.

2. The tracks running up into the Moï country, already

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designed to be the groundwork of the future road system.

Characteristics, Construction, and Maintenance

The roads of Indo-China are generally 5 to 6 metres wide, except in the mountainous regions, where for reasons of economy they are reduced to a width of 4·50 metres and sometimes even to 4 metres.

The bridges have generally a single track, and consist of a road 2·50 to 3 metres wide bordered by two sidewalks each 50 to 75 centimetres wide. Many of the bridges are of reinforced concrete, the platform being held up from underneath by beams measuring 20 metres across.

The road-work comprises:

1. Embankments and building constructions.
2. New metalling.
3. Upkeep.

Embankments and buildings are put out to contract by public auction. The plots are generally 10 to 20 kilometres, to allow small contractors, who are often natives of the country, to become bidders.

Metalling is done by the Administration. The usual coating is macadam, 3 to 4 metres wide, with a convexity of 1/80. 400 to 500 cubic metres of stone is used to the kilometre. Hard stones, granite, quartzites, porphyry, are used on roads which have heavy traffic.

Motor traffic, particularly motor omnibuses, which are very active on certain sections, has been the cause of a very rapid deterioration of the roadway.

There, as in every other place in the world, motor traffic has set the problem of the resistant road, without being able to solve it finally.

To remedy such rapid wear and tear, certain narrow sections have been widened to allow a larger surface for traffic; also use has been made of special road facings with concrete or asphalt.

Following upon repeated experiments, it seems that the most useful process is that which uses an upper coating of asphalt combined with the heavy products of petrol distillation.

By these means the repairs last twice as long as those carried out in limestone, and half as long again as those in hard stone. Under these circumstances, renovations with asphalt seem less burdensome than ordinary repairs.

In 1929 there were 983 kilometres of asphalted roads, of which—

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513 kilometres are in Tonkin;
261 kilometres are in Cambodia;
209 kilometres are in Cochin-China.

It is estimated that the total length of this class of road in 1930 will be 1,500 kilometres.

Motor Transport

The construction of a road system has produced a very rapid development of motor transport, especially in Cochin-China, Tonkin, and Cambodia.

Besides the Europeans, for whom the motor-car has become the habitual vehicle, the native population have been at once won over to the new method of transport.

To understand the swiftness of the development of the motor car it is only necessary to glance at the figures which show the value of vehicles imported into the colony.

Until 1918 the annual value of these imports did not exceed 2,000,000 francs.

In 1919 it reached 6,700,000 francs, and 20,000,000 in 1920.

In 1925, 35,000,000 worth of cars, nearly all of French make, were imported.

Moreover, it is calculated that, at the end of 1928, 18,776 motor-cars were in use in the Indo-Chinese Union. More than half of these vehicles were in use in Cochin-China, a quarter in Tonkin.

Public Transport Services

Thanks to the liking shown by the natives for motor cars, Public Motor Transport services have been started and have been successful.

Many of these services, some of which are intended for the transport of mails, run daily. The number, quality, and weight of the cars used are steadily increasing.

At the end of 1928, nearly 2,000 companies served the whole territory. 60 per cent. of these companies work in Cochin-China, 11 per cent. in Cambodia, 16 per cent. in Tonkin, 13 per cent. in Annam and in Laos.

This is the best proof of the importance to the native population of the road system that has been opened up by France.

It has been shown elsewhere, in the article devoted to Railways (January, 1930), that the Government have had, as a means of contesting motor competition, to reduce by

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30 per cent. the passenger fares in Annam and Tonkin, and thus have averted a crisis.

Conclusion

It remains, by way of conclusion, to sum up the above statements:

It has been seen that since 1912, thanks to the impetus given by M. Sarraut, the co-ordination and amplification of the efforts of France in Indo-China for the improvement of land communications have been undertaken.

The realization, which is still incomplete, of this whole programme, has allowed, so far, of the opening to traffic of 32,500 kilometres of classified roads or up-country tracks.

Today a magnificent Transindochinese arterial road 2,500 kilometres long unites the four great capitals, and allows the passage of a motor-car from the borders of Siam to the gates of China.

Other well-constructed roads open up for colonization Upper Tonkin, Central Laos, and Cambodia, while the fine road system of Cochin China is constantly growing and improving.

But already the growth of Indo-China and her visions for the future make the Sarraut programme inadequate. This has, however, been foreseen, and its extension has been broached.

The proposed roads, partly begun, will penetrate to the undeniably fertile but little known regions of Central Laos, and chiefly the great Moï country.

At the same time, there has been started the great Indo-Chinese road of the interior, which, starting from Saigon, and going along by the Mékong, will unite South and North—wealthy Cochin-China and vigorous Tonkin.

The road, by opening to motor traffic a country of overflowing wealth, has been, therefore, one of the most efficient instruments employed by France in Indo-China to give, by peaceful methods, comfort and prosperity to the peoples whom she has taken under her protection.

N.B.—Pictures depicting life and scenery in Indo-China will be found in the last four pages of the Illustrated Supplement in this issue. In addition, the fifth and sixth pages show views of the Palace of Indo-China which is being constructed for the International Colonial Exhibition (Paris, 1931), and the seventh page the building for the Permanent Colonial Exhibition. An article upon the International Colonial Exhibition will appear in the July issue of the Asiatic Review.

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THE MINES AND MINERALS IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES ARCHIPELAGO

II

By C. G. S. Sandberg, D.Sc.
(Consulting Geologist)

[The author of this article gained his first practical experience of gold-mining and gold deposits in the Transvaal as a Government Claims Inspector. After taking his degree at the Sorbonne, he returned to South Africa as a consulting geologist and issued reports on various mineral deposits. In 1909 he was commissioned to examine and report on a gold occurrence in Sumatra, and subsequently joined the Government service of the Netherlands East Indies in a semi-detached capacity. He explored and reported upon various mineral deposits and on the geology of parts of Sumatra, Java, the Little Sunda Islands, and Celebes, and was the first to cross the latter island from Paloppo to Posso along a route keeping to the west of the central range. Since 1913 he has established himself as a consulting geologist in Holland, and is now at The Hague.]

Having given the principles governing the mining law and regulations and those of the labour legislation in the N.E.I. in tabloid form, we may now proceed to outline some of the deposits which are being exploited, the accompanying map giving an idea of the various places where the several minerals have been located up to the present. It certainly does not claim to be complete in details; yet it may serve to give a general idea of the mineral wealth and possibilities of this country, the exploration of which is still in its very infancy.

Government Exploitations.—The Government mining enterprises are restricted to the exploitation of gold and silver, coal and tin.

Gold-Silver Mines.—The Government gold mines are situated on Sumatra, Residency of Benkoelen, and in its north-west—south-east directed main range, the Barisan (Malay word for what is ranged along a straight line). Geologically and mineralogically the deposits belong to the gold-silver-selenites and manganites, which will be treated below. Economically their mining has as yet brought little success to the Treasury. The yield of the Tambang Sawah gold mine (Residency of Benkoelen—English: Bencoolen —Sumatra), over the year 1927 totalled up to 25,539,290 kilograms silver, and 25,502 kilograms gold, having a value

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of f. 1,675,783 (approximately £140,000) equivalent to f. 40.40 (£3 7s. 4d.) per ton. The net returns (yield *minus* working expenses) amounted to some £53,000 in all.

Four of the six *private companies* actually exploiting gold deposits in the N.E.I. have their mines situated in the above-mentioned Barisan Range in Sumatra, the other two being located almost at the top of the northern digitation of the Isle of Celebes. The ore is contained in true fissure veins of, geologically, recent age, and intimately connected with the andesite-trachyte-dacite intrusions of the region, which were accompanied by a strong propylitization of the vein and its casing. The main trend of the Sumatra veins corresponds with that of the Barisan Range (*i.e.*, north-west—south-east), whilst two secondary directions are fairly common, at least in the Redjang Lebong region, the latter at their intersection with the main trend often causing an enlargement and a local enrichment of the vein and its ore contents. The vein filling chiefly consists of quartz and various sulphides, arsenides occurring rarely. The proportions of gold and silver vary greatly locally, sometimes the one, sometimes the other metal predominating.

Mineralogically the ores may be classed into three main groups: the selenites (typified by the Redjang Lebong and Simau veins), the manganites (typified by the Equator and Tambang Sawah, Government, veins), and the sulphides (Paleleh veins).

The analysis of a typical selenite ore specimen of the upper levels of the Lebong Donok vein (Redjang Lebong Gold-Mining Company) rendered:

Se	...	0·015 per cent.
Au	...	0·004 ,,
Si	...	0·028 ,,

The manganitic ores are typified by those of the Government mines of Tambang Sawah (Bencoolen), and of the manganic deposit (Equator Gold-Mining Company) on the Padang Highlands of Sumatra. A specimen from the zone of cimentation of the Tambang Sawah vein gave the following analysis:

SiO_2	...	45·88 per cent.
MnO	...	35·36 ,,
CaO	...	8·44 ,,
H_2O	...	8·61 ,,
FeO	...	0·80 ,,
Al_2O_3	...	0·38 ,,
MgO	...	0·18 ,,
		99·65 per cent.

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At one time these latter ores were considered rather refractory, in so far as the presence of manganese hampered a satisfactory extraction of the silver contents. Experiments simultaneously instituted by the Department of Mines at Batavia under the direction of M. H. Caron, M.E., and Professor Vermaes of the Technical University of Delft resulted, independently of one another, in establishing a treatment by which 95 per cent. of the silver contents could be recovered.

The Paleleh ores of Celebes are very different to those of Sumatra. They mainly consist of an accompaniment of sulphides such as pyrrhotine, arseno-pyrites (mispickel), iron pyrites, blende and copper pyrites. It is a free milling ore, 60 per cent. of the gold being recovered by amalgamation, after which the tailings and slimes are concentrated, and these concentrates fusioned and the gold collected in a lead bullion. No cyaniding is applied.

In 1927 *the Redjang Lebong Gold-Mining Company* produced 94,714 tons of ore with an average of 11·3 grams of gold and 74·5 grams of silver per ton (1·555 grams=1 dwt.), and a value of f. 1,635,395 (£136,283) for some 35,000 ounces and of f. 267,371 (£22,280) for some 201,670 ounces of gold and silver respectively.

The productions of the other gold-mining companies were, for the same year 1927:

G.M. Companies.	Gold.	Value.			Silver.	Value.		
		£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Simau G.M.C.	48,550	202,000	0	0	687,300	74,789	5	0
Equator G.M.C. ...	16,332	63,633	17	0	500,000	56,290	3	4
Kinandam - Sumatra G.M.C.	2,127	8,287	0	0	192,907	20,945	8	4
Paleleh G.M.C. (Celebes)	5,708	22,240	5	0	3,676	399	8	0
Bolang Mongondou G.M.C. (Celebes) ...	1,140	4,444	0	0	292	31	10	4

(Gold and silver in ounces; value of the £ calculated at f. 12. For details see Jaarboek v. h. Mynwezen in *Ned.-Indië*, 1927, Alg. Ged.)

The total production of the N.E.I. in the year 1927 thus amounted to some 108,857 ounces of gold with a value of some £436,800, and 1,586,845 ounces of silver with a value of some £174,700. (Compare annual outputs 1903-1927.)

Far more important economically, and as far as quantity is concerned, is the Government *Coal Mining Industry*, which was up to a recent past the only coal producer in the Archipelago. The mines actually in exploitation are three

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in number—(1)Sawah Loentoe,* (2) Boekit Asam, (3) Poeloe Laut—with a total annual yield of some 1,000,000 metric tons. The mines are respectively situated: (1) to the north-east of Padang (west coast of Sumatra); (2) in Palembang (Southern Sumatra); (3) on the island Poeloe Laut, off the south-east coast of Borneo.

The main coal producers of the N.E.I. are the mines situated in the Ombilien coalfields near Sawah Loentoe, the Soengei Doerian and Loera-Gedang mines. They are connected by rail with the port of Padang on the west coast of Sumatra, known as the Emma-haven (Port Emma). The line is famous both for its engineering works and for the beautiful scenery of the region it traverses on its course right across the mighty and highly volcanic Barisan Range, which is crossed in a direction nearly perpendicular to its trend. The coal is a Tertiary coal of good quality but rather friable, so that it cannot well support much transhipping. The seams have a shallow dip, are basin-like in development, and extend over a large area at comparatively a very shallow depth below the surface. Their thickness varies from some 0·80 metre to 2 metres and more, and sometimes acquires a magnitude which becomes inconvenient for their extraction, especially because of the unsolidity of the roof casing-rock. Staff, skilled and unskilled labour are all imported, the latter mainly from Java. The production over the year 1927 was 482,573 tons net, of which 113,185 tons were sold at Port Emma (Padang) as bunker coal and 278,896 tons freighted to various ports (mainly Sabang, Singapore, and Tandjong Priok).

The *Boekit Assam Mines* in Palembang produce a superior anthracitic coal fully equivalent to the best Cardiff bunker coals, which, however, is as friable as the Sawah Loentoe coal. A series of experiments were therefore instituted with a view to briquetting the material on a large scale. The attempts being at last crowned with success, a factory of large capacity was erected at Tandjong Priok, which in a few years attained an annual output of 100,000 tons of briquettes. The entire output is as yet required to supply the wants of H.M. Navy and of the Government railways. The deposit, like all of its kind in the N.E.I., is of the Tertiary Age. It is remarkable, however, because of its having been transformed into an anthracite by the metamorphic action of a younger, interstratified magmatic intrusion. In 1927 the mines produced 299,013 tons net,

* The Dutch diphthong *oe* must be pronounced as the *oo* in "poor."

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of which 85,435 tons were delivered to the briquette factory, and the rest sold as bunker coal. The third Government coal-mine is the one on *the Isle of Poeloe Laut*, having a net output (in 1927) of only 136,257 tons. The quality of the coal is equivalent to that of the Sawah Loentoe mines.

Of the private coal mines, which all happen to be situated on the east coast of Borneo, the principal ones belong to the *Oost Borneo My.* (East Borneo Company), with an output (in 1927) of 208,154 tons; the N. V. Steenkolen My., Parapattan (Parapattan Collieries, Ltd.), closely connected with the Kon. Paketvaart My. (Royal Packet Navigation Company), with an output of 213,804 tons; and the Malayan Collieries, closely connected to the Mynbouw en Handel My. "Goenoeng Batoe Besar," with an output of 134,001 tons all in 1927, and deduction made of the quantities required for their own consumption. On a total demand of some 1,500,000 tons in 1926, not more than some 270,000 tons were imported, the rest being produced by the N.E.I. collieries, the principal producers of which we cited above. (Compare annual outputs 1903-1927.)

Tin.—The N.E.I. until recently ranked second of all the *tin-producing* countries of the world,* being surpassed and followed at about equal distances respectively by the Federated Malay States and Bolivia. As in other parts of the world, the occurrence of exploitable tin-ore deposits in the N.E.I. is closely connected with that of acid granites, in which it occurs in veins and as a subordinate constituting mineral, in the form of *cassiterite* (SnO_2). The primary ore is contained in true fissure veins and stockwork, and the secondary ore in alluvial deposits. Up till recently the latter mode of occurrence was exclusively exploited in the N.E.I., and even now it is only the Billiton Joint Company which is exploiting vein ore on a large scale as well as alluvial ore. The Granite Massive, the central part of which has been found tin-bearing, extends from the Federated Malay States over the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago, Bangka, and Billiton to the Karimondjawa Islands. Its eastern extension has not been located with certainty, and reports pretending that the natives of the Isle of Flores were probably tin-mining in an unknown past have not been confirmed in spite of vigorous researches. Outcrops of, lithologically, the same granite have been located in the south-western part of Borneo and the east coast of Sumatra adjoining the Isle of Banka.

* In 1928 the outputs of the three principal tin-producing areas were: F.M.S., 61,898 tons; Bolivia, 41,404 tons; and the N.E.I., 35,247 tons.

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Tin-mining is respectively carried out by the Government of the N.E.I. on the Isle of Bangka; the Joint (Government-private) Billiton Company on Billiton; the private companies: the Singkep Tin Company on Singkep and the adjoining islands of the Riouw-Lingga Archipelago, and by the Mining Company "Stannum" on the west coast of Sumatra.

The total production may be classified as follows:

Bangka	354,270 picol	Period March 1, 1927, to February 28, 1928	Government mines.
Billiton Joint Company	188,469 ,,	Period June 1, 1927, to May 31, 1928	Joint-company mines.
Sinkep Tin Company	12,737 ,,	Period July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1927	Private limited company.
Mining Company "Stannum"	2,108 ,,	Period June 1, 1927, to May 31, 1928	Private limited company.

(Sixteen picol are approximately equal to one ton.)

The total production over the year 1927 was about 34,500 tons of tin, representing a value of some £9,478,930.

The staff of the Government exploitation on Bangka in 1927 consisted of 334 men, of which: 1 general manager, 12 mining engineers, 2 chief mechanical engineers, 8 electro-technical engineers, 1 civil engineer, 5 European medical doctors, and 5 Javanese medical doctors. The labour employed is predominantly Chinese, working under indenture or under contract, a group under a foreman, in the latter case, tendering and contracting for the exploitation of a certain area, and executing their contract under the supervision of the European official staff. The number of indentured labourers amounted to 19,783 Chinamen and 329 Javanese; besides, 1,028 Chinese foremen, 1,552 Chinese and 1,115 Javanese free labourers were employed. Excellent habitations and playing-grounds, first-rate hospitals and medical attendance, all at any time accessible to the critical eyes and ears of the officers of the Labour Inspection Department, are provided to staff and working men in accordance with the laws and regulations on the subject. Thus the institutions of social order, hygienic and otherwise, erected and maintained for the benefit of their contract labourers by private companies (mining, agricultural, and others) and by the Government, have universally acquired a well-merited renown for their efficiency, and for the liberal scale on which the various hospitals, laboratories, and other hygienic institutions have been erected, furnished, and staffed.

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The principal mining centre, seats of the general manager and staff, and of the local government, are Singkep on the island of Singkep, Muntok on Bangka, and Tandjong Pandan on Billiton.

Formerly the Bangka ores were melted and refined locally. Since 1922 some 30 per cent. of the output is exported to Singapore for treatment. As for the Billiton and Singkep ores, they are exported *in toto* to the said port, where they are melted and refined in the Pulu Brani works of the Straits Trading Company. The output of tin metal is then exported to the principal markets, London and Batavia besides Singapore itself, in ingots weighing about sixteen to the ton. We may add that the quotation of Bangka tin is always some £10 higher than that of standard tin.

In a recent publication on native methods of mining Mr. P. Hövig, M.E., records some remarkable facts about various indications Chinamen are accustomed to go by when prospecting for tin. Of course, the association of various minerals and the connection existing between the occurrence of certain plants and that of certain metallic substances in the soil has not escaped their cute attention. Besides, however, the flocking down of troops of certain white sea birds is considered to be good indication of rich ores existing some way down in the vicinity of the spot. The surest sign for the Chinese miner of Bangka that rich ore is hidden at some 4 or 5 metres below the surface is divulged to his sensitive eye by a dim glare of light which, it is pretended, should emanate from the spot on very dark nights. No European has yet succeeded in detecting it, but for the Chinaman it is gospel in which he puts such perfect faith that his tender for the exploration of the area concerned will be such as to secure its grant. It is still a matter of doubt whether their assertion should be placed in the realm of fiction or superstition, or whether it is founded on a good basis. (Compare annual outputs 1903-1927.)

Mineral Oil

The mineral oil deposits of the western part of the N.E.I. are all located in the anticlines of the *Tertiary Formation*, and principally, in fact, in the *Neocene*, whilst in the eastern part of the Archipelago some of them are of Mesozoic age. The productive upper oil horizon often reaches till quite near the surface, from some 300 feet onward, and is generally succeeded in depth by one or more other ones. As in other oilfields of the world, the

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oil of the various horizons sometimes becomes of lighter composition with increasing depth; yet light and heavy oil may also occur in one and the same part. Here, like elsewhere, the composition of the crude oil varies greatly, and thus the Perlak oil (Sumatra) with 52 per cent. of benzene and only 7 per cent. of residue forms the very contrast to the Tarakan oil (Borneo), which may directly be used as liquid fuel. As a curiosity it may be mentioned that up till recently—*i.e.*, when motoring was in its infancy and aviation only just started—this high benzene percentage was considered a great nuisance and a heavy burden on the exploitation, as there was practically no market for this highly inflammable by-product.

The importance commercially, socially, and economically of the mineral oil industry far exceeds that of all the other mining enterprises in the N.E.I. taken together. From data collected and published in "Nederlandsch Indië" by Mr. P. Hövig, M.E., ex-director of the Government Enterprises Department, we may quote that the following quantities were produced from refining the crude oil in the year 1924:

Name of Product.	Tons Produced.	Tons Exported.	Tons Consumed in the N.E.I.
Kerosene	675,000	185,500	489,500
Benzene	557,000	494,000	63,000
Residue	414,000	244,300	169,700
Solar and Diesel oil	118,000	104,000	14,000
Paraffin	41,000	35,000	6,000
Candles	5,000	?	?
Wax	8,000	—	8,000
Lubricating oil	40,000	23,600	16,400
Impregnating oil	20,000	18,550	1,450
Asphalt	21,000	2,000	19,000
Various products	2,500	?	?
Totals	1,901,500	1,106,950	787,050

The value of the above products sold in the country itself represented some £21,000,000, and that of the liquid fuel some £4,400,000.

The oil industry of the N.E.I. is of only recent date. The first concessions, in fact, were granted in 1873, and well-directed and capitalized exploration and exploitation was not realized before some twenty years later. The strong companies first in the field were the Royal Dutch, as it is popularly called, the Dortsche Petroleum Company,

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now one of the subsidiary companies of the Royal Dutch, and the Shell Trading and Transporting Company, the first two of which had their concessions respectively on Sumatra and on Java, and the third on Borneo (Koetei). Years afterwards the Netherlands Colonial Petroleum Company was established, in which company American capital is largely interested, whilst the capital of the two first-named was preponderantly Dutch, and that of the Shell mostly British. The industry from its infancy went through an evolution similar to that of the American oilfields. Here, as in that case, a great number of big and small producers soon entered into vigorous competition for the sale of their products, which caused prices to become depreciated to a ruinous degree. As matters became critical, the great organizing power of J. B. A. Kessler, then managing director of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company, succeeded in uniting the conflicting interests and establishing a common selling organization. After his death it was the genius of his successor, Sir Henri Deterding, K.B.E., who succeeded in bringing about a very close alliance between the Royal Dutch and the Shell Transporting and Trading Company, and who developed the combined concern with their several subsidiary companies into the mighty organization it has now become. Its main centres in the N.E.I. are Balik Papan on the east coast of Borneo, Pankalan Brandan on the east coast of Sumatra, Pladjoe (Sumatra), and Tjepoe on Java, where the oil from the various fields is collected in tank parks by means of pipe lines, tank steamers, etc., and where it is refined and otherwise treated, and its various products packed, barrelled, and shipped in freighters and tankers to different ports. (Compare annual outputs 1903-1927.)

The table on p. 252 details the outputs of oil over 1925, 1926, and 1927 of the various oil-producing concerns (Year Book, Mining Department, 1927).

The old mining law, in fact, did not discriminate between oil (and other bituminous substances) and other minerals, so that concessions for its exploitation could be granted, and actually were. As mentioned above, however, oil now ranks under the "b" minerals, no exploitation of which is allowed except on special conditions (*vide ante*). The present law only dating from 1919, and various concessions on oil exploitation having been granted previously, and for a maximal term of seventy-five years, it is clear that the oil of the N.E.I. is actually being gained: (*a*) under the old concessions granted by the Government; (*b*)

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under concessions granted by self-governing native Chiefs; (*c*) under special contracts with the Government in terms of the present law; and (*d*) under joint-company arrangement with the Government, equally in terms of the present law.

STATEMENT OF THE MINERAL OIL PRODUCTION OF THE N.E.I. IN THE YEARS 1925, 1926, AND 1927

(*Extract from Year Book of the Mining Department of the N.E.I.*, 1927)

Name of Concession or of Area held under Permit.	Name of Holder of Concession or of Permit.	Production in Tons of 1,000 Kilogrammes.		
		1925.	1926.	1927.
North Sumatra.				
Aroebaai	Royal Dutch Petroleum Company	69,644	97,508	70,085
Boekit Mas ...		21	20	27
Oost-Peudawa ...		595	489	450
Boekit Sintang ...		275	225	211
Telaga Said ...		3,621	3,336	3,348
Boeloe Telang ...	Langkat Mining and Exploration Company	6,018	5,003	5,494
Zuid-Perlak ...	Oil Company, South Perlak	4,206	2,753	1,999
Peureula	Perlak Oil Company	69,869	66,776	59,856
Paja-Bilik	Batavian Petroleum Company (Royal Dutch)	—	—	2,190
South Sumatra.				
Djambi	N.E.I. Mineral Oil Company	13,274	29,980	40,285
Arahan	Exploration Company, Netherlands	4,257	4,164	3,443
Lematang	*Ibid.*	4,000	3,763	3,857
Babat I.	Royal Dutch Petroleum Company	25,704	41,698	41,512
Bandjarsari ...		2,993	2,654	2,212
Moeara Enim ...		99,263	116,489	102,823
Soeban Djerigi ...		170,330	216,609	275,097
Sumpal	Batavian Petroleum Company (Royal Dutch)	5,683	5,859	8,158
Berau		3,117	3,047	3,002
Kenawang		8,150	8,142	8,120
Kloeang		37,280	49,698	31,845
Ramok		14,027	25,322	31,901
Soeban Boeroeng ...		63,128	54,891	49,212
Tandjoeng Loentar		28	25	1,061
Tandjoeng Loentar Oost		807	549	627
West Senabing ...		487	527	519
Karang Ringin ...	Mineral Oil Company, "Moesi-Ilir"	1,759	1,771	1,427
Talang Akar ...	Netherlands Colonial Petroleum Company	160	34,353	150,749
Loeboek Batoe ...		415	501	223
Mambang		—	62	899
	Carried forward ...	609,111	776,214	900,632

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Name of Concession or of Area held under Permit.	Name of Holder of Concession or of Permit.	Production in Tons of 1,000 Kilogrammes.		
		1925.	1926.	1927.
	Brought forward ...	609,111	776,214	900,632
Java.				
Banjoebang ...	Batavian Petroleum Company (Royal Dutch)	118	1,270	4,708
Djabakota ...		195	278	561
Djepon		20,999	14,710	26,433
Gegoenoeng ...		747	499	860
Lidah Koelon ...		6,735	7,393	8,331
Metatoe		130	76	238
Made		32,339	31,927	34,722
Panolan		81,698	77,542	128,884
Tinawoen ...		71,312	61,232	67,661
De Twaalf Dessa's		19,401	19,466	21,970
Wonosari ...		—	—	168
Bapo	Petroleum Company "Gaboes"	791	—	20
Klantoeng Sodjomerto	General Petroleum Company	155	194	172
Petak	Netherlands Colonial Petroleum Company	6,960	9,638	9,857
Tremboel ...		2,891	1,074	3,982
Petiken	Oriental Petroleum Company	60	50	31
Lerpak (Madoera)	Madoera Petroleum Company	—	5	5
Borneo.				
Moeara	Royal Dutch Petroleum Company	212,171	173,372	159,431
Tarakan I. ...		484,418	446,842	642,781
Tarakan II. ...		443,625	421,949	555,558
Tarakan V. ...		324	8,150	29,592
Mathilde ...		156	5	554
Oeloe Karang Moemoes		6,724	2,993	1,138
Semberah ...	Batavian Petroleum Company (Royal Dutch)	1,769	5,723	6,012
Louise	Netherlands Industrial and Trading Company	604,048	658,509	693,641
Nonny		416,217	257,792	358,662
Boela (*Ceram*) ...	Boela Petroleum Company	41,640	40,369	36,824
Nief Zuid (*id.*) ...		1,340	837	401
	Totals	3,066,074	3,018,109	3,693,829

Finally, we quote from the annual report of the Royal Dutch Petroleum Company that in the year which closed June, 1928, the said company alone employed on their works in the N.E.I 2,645 Europeans and 47,600 natives. In the same period 600 kilometres of pipe lines were added to those existing, bringing the total length of the company's lines in these regions to 4,500 kilometres.

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GRAPHICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE ANNUAL PRODUCTION OF SOME MINERALS IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES DURING THE PERIOD 1903-1927.

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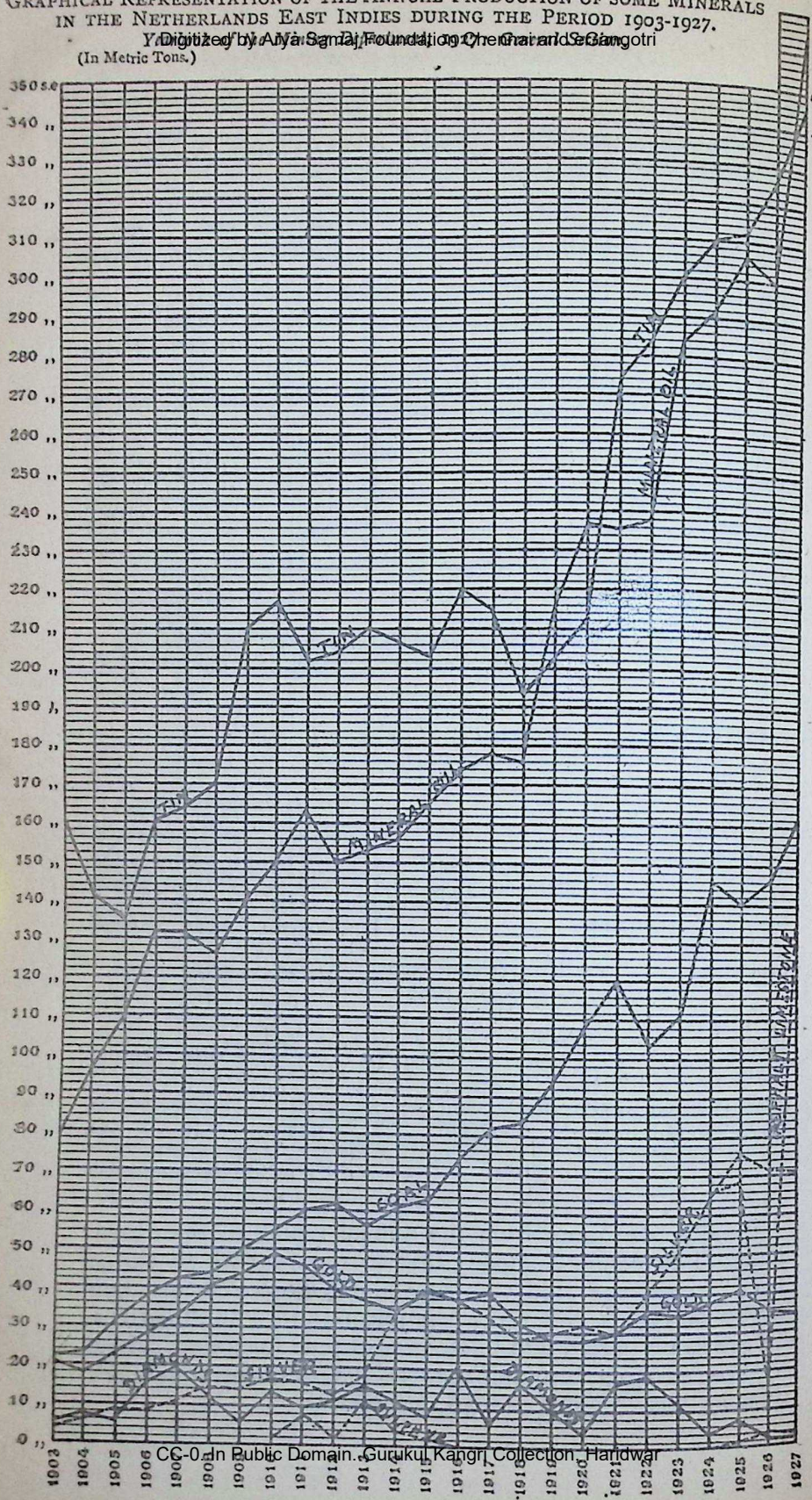
(In Metric Tons.)



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Of other minerals being exploited in the N.E.I. we may cite *wolfram*, which is extracted from the tin ores, *iodine*, which occurs in connection with the oil emanations (100 tons in 1927), *sulphur*, of volcanic origin (some 500 tons in 1927), alluvial *diamonds* from Borneo, and an increasing output of *manganese*. The latter ore is derived from the mines situated in the district of Koelon Progo, Province of Djogdjakarta. It occurs in layers of pyrolusite (manganese dioxide), which attain a thickness of ½ to 2 metres, as interstratified banks having a roof of silicified marls or breccia, and a limestone floor. The ore is remarkably pure, and may attain 80 to 95 per cent. of manganese dioxide. The output amounted to 11,300 tons of 1,000 kilograms in 1927. Manganese is, moreover, occurring in Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and other isles in connection with, sometimes, vast deposits of iron ores, and may then attain a percentage which would qualify them as manganese-iron ores or ferro-manganese ores.

As to iron-ore deposits, the N.E.I. may certainly rank among the countries which are exceedingly rich in that respect. Apart from being vastly extensive, various deposits may greatly differ mutually in composition and contain ores of excellent quality and within easy reach. The deposit of nickel-chromium-iron ores—*e.g.*, of the Verbeek Mountains in Central Celebes—is estimated to have a quantity of ore in sight, in fact, practically at surface, of some 400,000,000 tons, and a reserve of equal magnitude. The fields on the east coast of Borneo, which are only separated from the Poeloe Laut Collieries by the narrow straits of that name, are not much smaller. Along the south coast of Java and the Isle of Bali huge accumulations of titaniferous magnetite occur over vast areas; and so we could continue enumerating for pages and pages. Little wonder, therefore, that the native iron industry throughout the length and breadth of the Archipelago (with the exception of New Guinea and surrounding islands) was renowned from times immemorial, and its wrought iron and steel products, swords, daggers and spears, as much admired as feared by friend and foe. Yet, in spite of the excellence of ores, their accessibility from a miner's point of view, and their abundance, no capital could as yet be sufficiently tempted to undertake their exploitation on a modern scale. An immense field for the display of human energy is here waiting for development.

This conclusion, however, is not only applicable to the exploration and exploitation of iron ores. These vast

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regions, so lavishly blessed with a profusion of sun and rain and with a boundless fertility, are equally endowed with a mineral wealth as various as it is great, and which is jealously hidden by a deceptive, thick layer of decomposed material mostly crowned by virgin forest with aggressively thick undergrowth which is difficult to penetrate, and has, consequently, hardly been prospected.

The mining industry of the N.E.I. is still in its infancy. However, the mining laws being liberal, the political, economical, and social conditions of the country attractive and sound, the treasures hidden in the soil are only too anxiously waiting for the stimulant and urge of capital, brains and courage to disclose their presence and to have their unknown wealth developed for the benefit of the explorer and the country alike.

This concise sketch—for more it does not pretend to be within the space of an article, however liberally meted out to the present author—should not be terminated without the writer expressing his indebtedness to his friend Mr. P. Hövig, M.E., ex-Director of Government Enterprises, for the sketch-map and various other data he graciously placed at his disposal and which are embodied in this paper.

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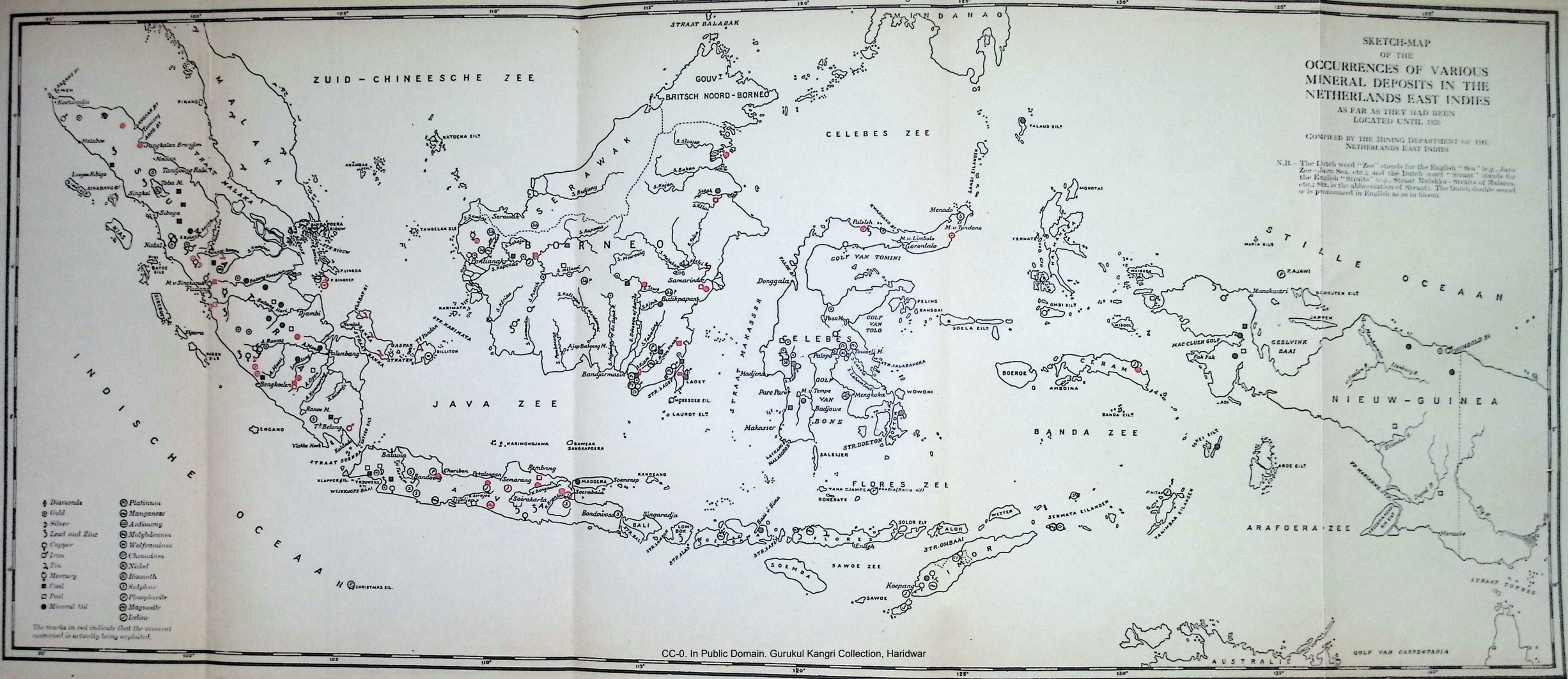
SKETCH-MAP
OF THE
OCCURRENCES OF VARIOUS MINERAL DEPOSITS IN THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES
AS FAR AS THEY HAD BEEN LOCATED UNTIL 1928
COMPILED BY THE MINING DEPARTMENT OF THE NETHERLANDS EAST INDIES
N.B.— The Dutch word "Zee" stands for the English "Sea" (e.g., Java Zee = Java Sea, etc.) and the Dutch word "Straat" stands for the English "Straits" (e.g., Straat Malakka = Straits of Malacca, etc.; Str. is the abbreviation of Straat). The Dutch double sound oe is pronounced in English as oo in bloom.
ZUID-CHINEESCHE ZEE
CELEBES ZEE
JAVA ZEE
BANDA ZEE
FLORES ZEE
SAWOE ZEE
ARAFOERA ZEE
STILLE OCEAAN
INDISCHE OCEAAN
NIEUW-GUINEA
BORNEO
CELEBES
SERAWAK
BRITSCH NOORD-BORNEO
GOUV.
MINDANAO
STRAAT BALABAK
STRAAT MAKASSER
STRAAT MALAKKA
STRAAT SOENDA
STRAAT TORRES
GOLF VAN TOMINI
GOLF VAN TOLO
GOLF VAN BONE
GOLF VAN CARPENTARIA
AUSTRALIE
SUMATRA
JAVA
BALI
LOMBOK
FLORES
TIMOR
CERAM
BOERO
AMBOINA
BANDA EILD
TALAUD EILD
MONOYAI
FERNATE
TERNATE
MOTIR
MAKIAN
HALMAHERA
GEELVINK BAAI
MAC CLUEN GOLF
SCHOUTEN EILD
JAPPEN
P. AJAWI
Manokwari
Menado
M. v. Tondano
M. v. Limbola
Gorontalo
Paleleh
Donggala
Palopo
Towoeli
Tempe
Badjowe
Menkoeka
WOWONI
Pare Pare
Makasser
Madjeno
SALEIJER
STR. BOETON
STR. JALABANGKA
Samarinda
Balikpapan
Bandjarmasin
Pontianak
Sambas
Singkawang
Sintang
Serawak
Kuching
Sibuga
Natal
Bengkoelen
Palembang
Djambi
Padang
Ranoe M.
Tj. Belong
Batavia
Bandoeng
Cheribon
Pekalongan
Semarang
Rembang
Soerakarta
Soerabaja
Madoera
Soemenep
Bondowoso
Singaradja
Kendeng
Kendeng
Kendeng

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE WORKING OF THE REFORMS IN MADRAS

By The Right Hon. Viscount Goschen,
P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.B.E.

Before I deal with the subject-matter of my address, perhaps you will permit me to make a few general and explanatory observations.

In the first place let me assure you that I desire to appear before you today, in so far as I am able to do so, in the rôle of an historian and not in that of a prophet. I wish to present a picture of the working of the Reforms in the Madras Presidency, of the effect which I believe they have had on the character and the mentality of the people, and of the reasons which led the Government of Madras to frame and publish the Report which they submitted to the Simon Commission. From this it will be understood that on these three points I am only speaking for the Presidency of Madras; indeed, it is only for that province I should be justified in speaking or have the adequate knowledge to express an opinion on these matters, and I shall endeavour not to trespass on any ground not covered by our Report to the Simon Commission. It may well be that the experience of Madras is not the experience of all other provinces, and one of the many difficulties before the Commission may arise from that fact.

Now I am fully aware that the audience I am addressing is composed of men who have an intimate knowledge of India, extending in the case of many over a far longer period than my own, but I am confident that they will agree with me, as I have had occasion to observe before, that it is one of the misfortunes of India that the British public know so little of the daily life and current events in India. Their interest is spasmodic: little attention is paid

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to the progress it is making in industrial development and commercial enterprises, in railway development, in health propaganda and research work and in many other directions; but it is aroused by the political storms which sweep across the country, or by some outbreak, political, religious, or agrarian, which arouses the passions of the people. In the first place this attitude deprives the public of that mental balance so necessary for a calm and fair judgment, and in the second deprives those men, Indian and European, who are endeavouring to promote the moral and material welfare of the people, and to further their progress on constitutional lines, of the encouragement they deserve. With this preface of a general character I come to the main theme of my address, the working of the Reforms in Madras.

The prominent feature of dyarchy, indeed its chief characteristic, is apt to be forgotten—namely, that it was only intended to be a transitional form of government. Its purpose was to teach the people responsibility: its actual effect has been to teach them irresponsibility, and that has been one of the main causes of its failure. For reasons which I will describe it has, perhaps, been more successful in Madras than in most provinces; but even there we were faced with the perpetual anxiety that at any moment it might break down, and the efforts and energies of the Government were spent on maintaining the machinery in working order instead of being concentrated on its output.

The Working of Dyarchy

I presume that everyone present is acquainted with the system of dyarchy, but it may be brought home to those who have not had any personal share in its working if I describe it in terms of English political life.

Let us imagine a House of Commons not a sovereign body chosen by an electorate which represents but a fraction of the population, a Ministry of which half is selected from the party in power while the other half is nominated by the King; of the nominated portion half are selected from the

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ranks of the permanent Civil Service while the remainder may be, and sometimes are, selected by the King from the ranks of the Opposition; all legislation and, with certain exceptions, all financial provisions, whether initiated by the elected or by the nominated members, must be passed by the House of Commons, while the King has extensive power of veto and is enabled to pass legislation, and in special cases to restore rejected items of expenditure to the Budget, against the will of the House.

Let us now examine for a moment what have been the results in India of such a system.

When a number of important departments were handed over to the complete control of Ministers, these last were to depend for their continuance in office on securing and retaining sufficient support in the Legislative Council. A weakness of the system has been the inflexibility of the distribution of departments as between the two halves of Government, which was fixed by statutory rules. Certain safeguards were introduced, but the intention was that these should only be put into force when grave reasons of State intervened—for the whole theory of dyarchy was contained in the idea that the Ministers should realize the full force of popular currents, while the Reserved side should be free from such influence. But this theory proved fallacious, for so far as legislation and the provision of funds were concerned, the Executive Council was made as dependent on the Legislative Council as Ministers were. On the other hand, the Ministers were constantly supported by the official block and the nominated members, which rendered them independent of a majority composed of the elected members. I have known more than once in Madras a Ministry which has owed its continuance in power to the support of these two parties.

Of course, it is true that a breakdown of Government can be prevented, or grave mistakes remedied by the powers conferred on a Governor, but it has always been understood that such powers should only be used in cases of emergency.

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Results of the System

From the foregoing description it can well be understood how this form of government has led, as I suggested, to irresponsibility. A representative form of legislature has been created which has the opportunity and powers of criticizing every department of Government, but which at the same time is not responsible for the consequences which may arise from its criticism. The Ministers chosen from the elected majority are not entirely dependent in the Council on the elective body, while on the other hand the Executive Councillors in charge of Reserved subjects are largely dependent upon it. Again, in the discussion of Reserved subjects the members of the Legislative Council could give free rein to their criticisms. They knew that on these subjects responsibility did not rest with them. Even in essential matters for carrying on the Government of the country, such as maintaining law and order, providing funds for necessary purposes, they could always please their constituents by posing as economists or as antagonists of the Government on unpopular measures in the full and certain knowledge that behind them existed the reserve powers of the Governor to amend the effects of their irresponsible action.

A further result has been that many sober-minded, patriotic men have refrained from taking part in public affairs, and have stood aloof waiting until this atmosphere of unreality passes away and is replaced by one of responsible statesmanship.

The Electorate

So far I have spoken of dyarchy as it concerns the Government, the Ministers, and the Legislative Council. But there is another body whose relation to dyarchy and its effect upon it is often forgotten, and that is the body of the electors. In all the discussions on dyarchy, and in much that has been written upon it, very little reference has been made to them. In Madras Presidency, as elsewhere, the professional classes and those dependent on

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industry form a very small portion of the population. The principal qualification for enfranchisement is the payment of Rs. 10 per annum in land revenue to the Government, or a similar amount in rent to a landlord, and the bulk of the voters are of the small farmer class, men who have a very small margin of income and to whom a good or bad monsoon means probably the difference between indigence and making both ends meet.

The Indian voter, as he becomes educated in the value of his vote, resembles, I suppose, electors in other countries. He believes that the chief duty of his representative is to look after that part of the world to which the voter belongs and secure for him a due proportion in the distribution of loaves and fishes. But there is one disability attaching to the Indian voter as the result of dyarchy which does not affect the citizens generally of self-governing States. There they learn that continued irresponsibility on their part will recoil on their own heads, and that internal or external confusion will result from it. As has been said, in the nature of things there is an automatic check, real if imperfect, on the exercise of political power, and the voter soon realizes that his welfare depends upon the character of the man whom he elects to represent him.

And yet in India—and especially during the period of educating the elector—he is deprived of any incentive to exercise his power in a responsible manner. Meanwhile it is his attitude towards the Government of the country which will have the greatest influence on the constitutional development of India. If the voter grows up in the idea that use his vote as he may he will not suffer any penalty from his action, how can you expect success to attend further constitutional development?

And yet under dyarchy can any other result be expected? For what constitute the most important items of Indian administration? The maintenance of Law and Order and Finance. Since both of these are Reserved subjects in the hands of Members of the Executive Council, the voter

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knows that whatever action he takes the Government will continue to function, and that funds will be forthcoming for expenditure. He feels that he can skate about on thin ice, and that if he falls in he runs no risk, as he will be saved and restored to vigour. He will therefore never learn to be careful, for the consequences of his action impose no penalty upon him. And there is a further disastrous consequence of this, and that is that the longer the present system is maintained, and these characteristics developed in the voter, the more will they react on Members of Council and Ministers, and the less efficient will the machinery tend to become. Meanwhile the voter remains happy, he knows his life and property are protected, and that in cases of necessity funds will be found to deal with them. Why then should he not be irresponsible?

There remain now two points for consideration.

1. If the state of affairs is as I have described it, how has it been possible for this dyarchic system of Government to work to the extent that it did in Madras? (I confine myself to Madras, as I can speak from personal knowledge.)

2. Is there any remedy, and if so *what*, to deal with the evils which I have described?

The System in Madras

I will endeavour to give you an answer to No. 1. With the initiation of the Reforms and the subsequent elections for Legislative Councils, Governors of Provinces were faced with the task of forming a Government. The interpretation of this responsibility and of the relations of the Governor to his Ministers varied from province to province. Lord Willingdon, who was then Governor of Madras, was anxious from the first to make the experiment of parliamentary government on Western lines, and consequently he asked the leader of the Non-Brahmin party, which was the strongest party returned at the election, to form a Government. This was admittedly in the nature of an experiment. The basis upon which it rested was the division of parties, in the

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absence of any other lines of partition, by caste. Lord Willingdon hoped that, starting with the rigid division of caste, a parliamentary atmosphere as known to us in England might be created, and that parties on political lines would gradually assume shape. In this he was, as others have been, disappointed. But although the experiment did not fulfil such hopes I believe it to be fair to say that it did achieve a greater success than could have been obtained by any other method. For while institutions were in the melting pot, it secured, by constituting a strong and united opposition, a stability of parties in the Legislative Council, which preserved the form if not the soul of parliamentary government, and assisted in developing, without constant interruption, the administrative machinery. The system proved its usefulness in the initial stages, but should now be supplanted by party government on political lines. Madras was perhaps more fortunate than other provinces in the existence of two main parties. One of the difficulties of developing Parliamentary life in India is the absence of political parties as we understand them.

Madras adopted the system of a "First Minister" and his colleagues. The Governor, after an election, sent for the man whom he wished to be "First Minister" and if able to form a Government the future First Minister recommended the names of two members who should be his colleagues. Such a system, I believe, induced an increasing sense of joint cabinet responsibility, which certainly was a feature of the Madras Government. In Madras it has been the custom since the Reforms to hold cabinets—that is, meetings of both sides, the Executive Council and Ministers—when possible about once a fortnight unless important business has demanded more frequent meetings. This custom, not peculiar to Madras, afforded an opportunity for the exchange of views between the two sides of the Government: it enabled the Reserved side to gauge through the Ministers the parliamentary opinion of any piece of intended legislation; it gave the Ministers the chance of discussing matters strictly pertaining to the Reserved side.

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It was only by a spirit of give and take between the two sides, of mutual understanding and mutual forbearance, that the system could be made to work. That it has worked I attribute to the fact already emphasized, that the Legislative Council was divided into two parties and not into numerous factions; and also that on the part both of the Reserved side and the Ministers there has been a genuine desire to work the Reforms, and that both during successive Ministries have loyally tried to assist each other. I should like to bear testimony to the assistance in this direction I received from all my colleagues, Indian and European alike.

The Remedy

And now I come to the most difficult part of my address, and that upon which there must be diversity of views—namely, the remedy for the present unsatisfactory state of affairs.

I have endeavoured to show the perils of dyarchy and the impossibility of continuing a form of government intended to be transitional and educative, but which has failed, during the period of its existence, to achieve its object. What are we to do, then? If we cannot, as I suggest, stand still, are we to go backward or are we to go forward? If it is a question of time we have further to remember this, that during this period of uncertainty for obvious reasons the machine is becoming less efficient. As the Madras Government says in its Report: "No written word can restore vitality to a form of government which has been at bay for a decade." The present system not only wholly fails to satisfy Indian sentiment, but is rapidly becoming unworkable. Dyarchy is not now practical politics.

The immediate need is to develop responsible self-government in the provinces. Providing for this hypothesis, the further suggestion of the Madras Government for satisfying this need was to hand over all branches of the local administration to provincial legislative councils under

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certain safeguards while the machinery is in good running order, and not after a growing deterioration foredoom them to failure in their efforts. The recommendation has been made in the belief that it is only by allowing the Indian to reap as he has sown that he can be taught the meaning of responsible government.

Unitary Government

The proposals for carrying out this procedure in Madras are that, instead of the Governor's colleagues consisting as at present of three Ministers and four Members of the Executive Council, it should consist of eight Ministers, amongst whom the portfolios should be distributed. The Chief Minister should not, as at present, have several portfolios, but at the most only one, as his time will be fully occupied.

It is quite possible, indeed I think I might almost say probable, that, with the disappearance of dyarchy and the Reserved half and the increased importance of the vote, old parliamentary divisions will disappear and parties will rally round political programmes.

One interesting suggestion, as carrying out the English system, was made in the Report, that an official, preferably a senior I.C.S. man, should be appointed as secretary to the Cabinet, who would perform much the same duties as the secretary to the Cabinet does over here, and in addition would keep the Governor fully informed of the course of business of the Cabinet or the stage of any particular question.

The Governor's Powers

The existing powers of the Governor will remain in his hands except in so far as those relating to Reserved subjects will be abolished as the result of the disappearance of the Reserved side. The rules for the transaction of business should be drafted by the Cabinet for the Governor's approval, and should become operative to the extent of such approval. Under our proposals the Governor

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would have in relation to the Ministry the powers which he now has under Section 50 (2) of the Government of India Act—namely, to override the Executive Cabinet when he considers that the safety, tranquillity, or interests of his province, or of any part thereof, are, or may be, "essentially affected" by a decision from which he dissents.

In regard to the Legislative Council, the Governor's power of authorizing expenditure in cases of emergency should continue, to secure the safety and tranquillity of the province, but not merely to carry on a department, and he should have the power to order administrative action if such is necessary to secure in an emergency law and order.

In regard to the provincial Public Services, a local Services Commission has to be set up. This Commission will examine and recommend, but the power of actual appointment must remain with the Government. We have recommended that the Governor's concurrence should be necessary in cases where the Ministers propose to make an appointment contrary to the recommendation of the Services Commission, and in the case of certain high appointments to be specified—*e.g.*, heads of departments. Also where Ministers propose to take action in disciplinary cases without, or contrary to, the advice of the Services Commission, the concurrence of the Governor should be required. If in all these cases agreement cannot be reached the opinion of the Governor must prevail.

The Superior Services

This recommendation naturally leads me on to the important question of the All India Services. I cannot allow this occasion to pass without paying my tribute to the loyalty and devotion of the men who fill them. They have splendidly upheld the highest traditions of the Civil Service. In times of great difficulty and delicacy they have striven with all their heart in the midst of often disheartening circumstances to work the Reforms for the benefit of the

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people. Their tact and unselfishness have saved many an awkward situation.

I have had the honour of meeting them and working with them in the big departments of Government and in lonely outlying districts, and I have admired the manner in which they have always won the confidence and trust of all classes. I am confident that in Madras Ministers and Members of the Legislative Council would willingly acknowledge—indeed I have heard them do so—the debt of gratitude due to these public servants for the guidance and assistance they have so readily extended to them in their administrative work.

It would take too much time at the end of what, I am afraid, has been an already lengthy address, to describe fully all the suggestions which the Madras Government has made to safeguard the interests of the Services, interests which they have very much at heart. The Madras Government takes the view that the All India Services in the province might be provincialized on the lines already being followed in the case of most of the All India Services on the Transferred side—*e.g.*, the Indian Educational Service—and all the prospects the members of the Services now enjoy should be retained for them. There are the further questions of compensation where posts disappear, of the conservation of the right to retire on proportionate pension, and [illegible] of new recruits. All these difficult questions have been considered and suggestions made.

The Government hope that if provincial autonomy is granted [illegible] the new Government formed under its rules will recognize the necessity of obtaining the assistance of the Indian Civil Service, to whom they owe so much, and will invite many of them to co-operate in working the Administrative Departments. Many Indians of widely differing views have assured me that for some time this must be their policy, as the assistance of these gentlemen will be greatly needed.

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The Alternative

Such were the proposals made by the Madras Government, and I am confident that I need not assure you that we did not conceive them merely as idealists, who, imbued by the spirit of freedom and progress, were so carried away by their theories that they desired to experiment with them, and were optimistically confident of a happy result.

No, we realized to the full the difficulties and the risks inherent in the proposals, which as a responsible Government, responsible for the peace and order of the provinces and for the well-being of the people, we put forward. We weighed carefully the possible alternatives before us—to go back to the days before the Reforms were initiated, to maintain the *status quo*, or to go forward with a further and fuller grant of responsible government.

In our view greater risks attached to the first two alternatives; indeed, in view of all that had been said and promised by responsible statesmen, the first was impossible. The second, as I have already explained, we deemed unwise and impracticable, because it was and is demoralizing politicians and the electorate by placing in their hands power without responsibility. And, further, in Madras there had been a genuine attempt to work dyarchy and a co-operation between the Reserved and the Transferred halves, often under circumstances of considerable strain and difficulty.

Thus in Madras we were led to the last alternative in the hope and belief that, freed from the unrealities of the present system, the politician and voter in Madras would more fully realize their great responsibility, and that, with the fog which now overshadows Indian political life swept away, they would, to their advantage and the advantage of their country, be brought face to face with the stern logic of facts.

I have, as I announced at the beginning of my address was my intention, limited my remarks to happenings within

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the area of the Madras Presidency, and only endeavoured to give some account of the provincial administration, and that in the period when I was there. I have not attempted to discuss the important question of the Central Government which was outside the sphere of this address. I was privileged to be closely connected with the Central Government for only a very short time, but it was long enough to make me realize the difficulties and problems of other Provincial Governments, which differed in form and degree to those of Madras. This variation must greatly complicate the task of the Statutory Commission.

I do not wish today to discuss the present political situation in India, but I would say this, that I am confident that there is a large body of thoughtful Indians who are sick and tired of all the noise and bickering and clamour of the violent-speaking section, and do anxiously desire a constructive settlement, which shall bring enduring peace. They realize the deep resentment caused by outrages such as that committed upon the Viceroy and Lady Urwin (to whom we offer our heartfelt congratulations on their providential escape) and the necessity of taking firm and stern steps to deal with those responsible for them.

The present moment in the history of this country and India is pregnant with possibilities, and we are filled with concern as to the future. Heavy are the responsibilities thrust upon the Viceroy—the man on the spot—as heavy as any Viceroy has had to bear. I would make an earnest appeal that we in this country should not, either by the spoken or written word (words often torn from their context and mutilated in their telegraphed form), add to that burden which he has to bear.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Monday, January 20, 1930, at which at which a paper was read by the Right Hon. Viscount Goschen, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.B.E., on "The Working of the Reforms in Madras." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following, amongst others, were present:

The Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M., Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Reginald Craddock, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Michael F. O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Arthur Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., Lady Knapp, and Miss Knapp, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., and Lady MacKenna, Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Alexander Cardew, K.C.S.I., and Lady Cardew, Sir Hubert Carr, Sir Walter and Lady Willson, Sir Robert E. Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., and Lady Barnes, Sir Reginald Mant, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Mant, Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Richard Dane, K.C.I.E., Sir Murray Hammick, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and Lady Hammick, Sir Philip Hartog, C.I.E., and Lady Hartog, General Sir William Beynon, K.C.I.E., C.B., D.S.O., the Raj Kumar Saheb of Dhenkanal, Lady Scott Moncrieff, Lieut.-Colonel S. B. A. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. H. Harcourt, C.B.E., Mr. H. G. Stokes, C.I.E., and Mrs. Stokes, Mr. J. A. D. McBain, C.I.E., Major H. B. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., M.I.C.E., Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., the Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. H. B. Holme, Mr. J. E. Woolacott, Mrs. Martley, the Hon. Gertrude Kinnaird, Mr. F. W. D. Morris, Mr. B. W. Day, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. J. Nissim, Mr. George Pilcher, Mr. Edwin Haward, Mr. Abdul Qadir Khan, Mr. C. B. Charties, Miss E. L. Curteis, Mr. J. H. Fletcher, Dr. Gilbert Slater, Mr. B. B. Joshi, Mr. and Miss Hepburn, Miss Stacey, Mr. S. M. Siddiq, Mrs. Latifi, Dr. A. M. Shah, Professor G. C. Bhate, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Miss Corfield, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. F. Pratt, Mr. F. Bentall, Mrs. and Miss Pitt-Collett Barnes, Miss M. E. Craske, Mr. and Mrs. O. C. G. Hayter, Mr. K. C. Keymer, Mr. E. H. Ashworth, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mr. P. G. Robertson, Lieut. Colonel H. K. Sadler, Maulvi Farzand Ali, Mr. G. Scott Bremner, Mrs. Cameron Morison, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Mr. V. S. Ram, Mr. W. E. De Monte, Mrs. and Miss B. P. Byramji, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have the pleasure to intro-

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duce to you Lord Goschen, who has been good enough to honour us this afternoon with an address. He has just returned from a most successful tenure of office in the Madras Presidency, and also he has spent some months as Acting Viceroy of India. Therefore it is most fortunate that he has been considerate enough to prepare a paper for our attention. Several people have been unable to come this afternoon. I may single out Lord Ampthill, a predecessor of Lord Goschen in Madras, who has written to Mr. Brown to express his regret that he has an engagement made some months ago. He adds that it is a great disappointment to him to miss the lecture. There are a number of ladies and gentlemen here this afternoon, many of whom would no doubt like to ask questions afterwards or express some views concerning the question of the reforms in India. I would ask those who wish to speak to confine their remarks as far as possible to the subject-matter of Lord Goschen's address, because if we are to wander into the great sea of opinions as to the future government of India our time will be occupied well up to midnight. Therefore I must ask speakers to restrict their remarks as far as possible to what has been the experience of the working of dyarchy in Madras. I do not say that I rule out any observations connected with any other parts of India, but I must ask you not to deal with the future but to confine your remarks to the past.

The paper was then read.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—We have listened to a very liberal-minded and thoughtful address founded on Lord Goschen's experience of the administration in Madras during recent years. We realize the difficulties that have attended the working of dyarchy in Madras, though probably Madras was the one portion of India where it would work most favourably under the circumstances more or less indicated by Lord Goschen, and I believe myself that the remedies which he proposes or which have been proposed by the Provincial Government of Madras, that there should be autonomy of the province, is the one way perhaps of escaping from or solving the very difficult questions which are before the Indian Government and the Home Government. Up till now no doubt the Indian administration has been the most wonderful structure of administration which the world has ever seen, but it has been a unified structure. It has all depended upon the head—that is to say, the Viceroy; his power has been very great indeed, and it has not allowed that scope for various particularities that attach to different portions of the Indian Empire. I believe that some kind of provincial autonomy must be the solution for these Indian problems. It has indeed been suggested to me by a political officer who goes further and says you might have smaller provinces—autonomy for Sind, autonomy for Gujarat, autonomy for the Punjab, and so on. By doing that you would develop responsibility and would cause the Indians to feel that they have a definite hand over the destinies of the part of India in which they dwell and in which they are interested. Full power of control must be retained by the Viceroy and Central Government. That is my own personal view, which is of course

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subject to what we shall learn from the Report of the Simon Commission. (Applause.)

Sir ARTHUR KNAPP said that on behalf of those who had been in Madras he desired to extend a hearty welcome to Lord Goschen on his return to England. The affairs of Madras had not figured very prominently in the limelight at meetings of the Association. It was, however, the oldest province in India and was still alive and vigorous, and its problems were of no less importance than those of other parts of India. Lord Goschen had stated that his purpose in writing the paper was twofold: in the first place, to tell them something about the working of the reforms in Madras, and, in the second place, to set out the reasons which had led the Madras Government to put forward their scheme for the Simon Commission. When the Indian Central Committee published their Report in December last, *The Times* had urged that it would be wise to defer criticism until the Simon Commission had made their Report. He agreed with that view and thought that, so far as any proposals or recommendations which had been made for the consideration of the Simon Commission were concerned, it would be well that propaganda, either in support of them or against them, should be suspended.

With regard to the other portion of Lord Goschen's paper, which was an account of the working of the reforms in India, he personally differed in a good many particulars from Lord Goschen. He had left Madras in 1925. During the period he was in Madras he was brought into very close connection with the organization and working of the reform scheme. He thought it must be admitted that Lord Goschen had painted rather a depressing picture of the state of affairs in Madras. But it was not correct to attribute all the unfortunate results to dyarchy. They must remember that the discomforts under which the reserved side of the Government had laboured in the Legislative Council owing to criticism by an irresponsible opposition were shared by the members of the Government of India; and there dyarchy did not exist. Lord Goschen, when he translated the constitution of Madras into English political terms, had referred to his having been a somewhat mixed Ministry. There had never been any justification for his suggestion that members of Council and Ministers formed a Ministry in the English sense. The Joint Committee of Parliament had made it quite clear that there was to be the most definite separation of responsibility. He was inclined to think that it was rather the departure from the intention of the Act than the Act itself which had led to many of the difficulties to which Lord Goschen referred.

The effect of Lord Goschen's paper was to suggest that the experiment of the last five years had entirely failed to instil a sense of responsibility either in voters, in the elected members, or in Ministers. Personally he did not agree with that view. It was impossible to suppose that nine years of work in office and in the Legislative Council should have failed to leave a very strong sense of responsibility. He thought the Madras Government had probably turned their eyes rather too much to the spec-

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tacular side of the business—namely, the Legislative Council itself—and had not sufficiently recognized the extremely solid and useful work that had been done by members from all sides of the House in the committees, of which there was a large number. It seemed impossible to believe that these members, of whom there were many, should have failed to derive from their experience a very large recognition of the responsibilities and obligations attaching to the work of government. (Applause.)

The MAHARAJA OF BURDWAN said it was not his intention either to criticize Lord Goschen's paper or to defend the working of the dyarchy during the last five years, or in any way to support the Report of the Government of Madras with regard to the granting of full provincial autonomy. He had not a copy of the Report in question, and therefore was unable to deal with it even from the Madrassi point of view. They were very grateful to Lord Goschen for giving his own experience of the working of dyarchy in the Madras Province during the five years of his governorship. Lord Goschen had been courageous in denouncing dyarchy and in pointing out that it was a system which, however much it might have been necessary in the transitional stage, did not teach responsibility. Having been a member of the Executive Council of the Government of Bengal for nearly six years, and for nearly half of that time having worked dyarchy in that province, he could substantiate the fact that the members of the Executive Council were willing to give every assistance to the Ministers. Regarding the reserved side of the Government, the Ministers had to keep their mouths shut on matters relating to reserved subjects; they had to deceive their own constituents with regard to the information they had as regards the Government. In his opinion strength could only be obtained by a uniform form of government, and, whether provincial autonomy was possible in India in all the provinces or not, he thought they must focus their attention on the necessity of having a unified form of government in the different provinces of India. He thought it would be wise to defer any remarks with regard to the subjects which were at the present time being considered by the Simon Commission, but he agreed with Lord Goschen in thinking that all those who had the future welfare of India at heart must not in any way embarrass the Viceroy with any criticism at the present juncture in view of the activities of the extreme wings in India. He thought that this attitude was essential, not only with regard to officials and non-officials in India, but also with regard to those who had retired from service in India and were residing in England, because there was in India a passive revolution which might become active at any moment, and therefore those Indians who had the welfare of the country at heart would have to co-operate in putting down with the strongest hand possible any movement towards revolution. (Applause.)

Dr. GILBERT SLATER wished to thank Lord Goschen for his paper and in particular for his testimony to the work of Lord Willingdon. He had been a member of the first Legislative Council of Madras under the reforms for one year, and had arrived at the opinion that the course

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adopted by Lord Willingdon was not only the best possible in the circumstances, but also successful far beyond any reasonable expectations. He thought part of the fog to which Lord Goschen had referred in his paper was due to the fact that Indians frequently understood a particular phrase in a different manner from that in which it was understood in this country. That remark applied to the words "Dominion status." When Indians spoke about "Dominion status" he thought they meant Dominion *status*, but when Englishmen spoke about "Dominion status" it appeared that they meant a particular form of government, such as was in force in Canada and Australia. He believed Indians meant by "Dominion status" just merely that the connection between India and the rest of the Empire must be one that was in no sense derogatory to Indian self-respect. The Indian wanted to feel himself as much a free citizen of the great federation as any Canadian or Australian; he did not mean any particular form of government. He believed what the Indians wanted for India and what the British electorate wanted for India was exactly the same thing—that India should be prosperous and contented, and that India should have the largest measure of liberty and opportunity for development of its people that was possible for a country which was so vast and which had such an extraordinary variety of difficult problems to deal with. (Applause.)

Sir ALBION BANERJI said that, although he formerly belonged to the Madras Civil Service, during the period when the reforms were at work in the Madras Presidency he happened to be in service outside Madras, and, as an outsider, he wished to make a few remarks as to how the system of dyarchy worked in Southern India. In his humble judgment, the system of dyarchy in Madras worked as satisfactorily as was possible under the leadership of Lord Willingdon, and that had been chiefly due to the fact that the Madras politicians, the Madras official and non-official gentlemen, tried their level best to work the reforms in the spirit in which they were granted. (Hear, hear.) He thought Indians could work with the greatest possible success if they put their heads together in a spirit of true co-operation. During the time he had been in Mysore he had had an opportunity of looking at the working of the reforms both in the Legislative Assembly and in the Executive Government under the dyarchial system. Several matters which had come up for discussion between the Government of Madras and His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore had made him realize that, however successful dyarchy was, in a sense there was something intangible in the form of constitution as to what dyarchy meant. In dealing with the Executive there was a certain sense of uncertainty as to the lines on which the very important questions which were discussed were to be dealt with. Were the Ministers or were the Executive Councils responsible to the Government of India or to the British Government, or was a Minister responsible to the electorate who had returned him to the Legislative Council? The Ministers held a certain point of view as representing the electorate, and the Executive Councillors held another point of view as representing the portion of the Government which was

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responsible elsewhere. That illustrated the difficulty which the Madras Government had had to face in dealing with matters affecting the well-being of the people at large. There was no sense of united responsibility either in the individual Ministers or in the Executive Council, and nobody knew what position they would take up. It had sometimes happened that the Mysore Government had had discussions with the Executive Council and at other times with Ministers, but they were not in a position to take responsibility which a unified Government could take in matters of the kind to which he referred. In his opinion dyarchy was a mistake. It was probably introduced to train Indians during a period of transition in the art of government, but the future historian might attribute to the system the principle of *divide et impera*. In his opinion the idea of having an Executive Council which was in a sense responsible to the Legislature was opposed to all ideas of democratic government, and he thought that in all parts of India it was a kind of make-believe, which was bad for the Government as well as for the people. The acceptance and carrying out of a policy must be left to one body, and for that reason dyarchy was not a success. The responsibility should be vested in one united body, whether it was autocratic, bureaucratic, or democratic. (Applause.)

Sir REGINALD CRADDOCK agreed in thinking that it was undesirable to express opinions on matters which were directly under consideration by the Simon Commission at the present time. It was a common thing to attribute the difficulties in regard to lack of responsibility to dyarchy. Personally he had opposed the introduction of dyarchy, because he felt that a Government could not be carried on in watertight compartments which were necessarily leaky. What had been said by Lord Goschen and others had proved definitely that dyarchy was not a good measure by which to inaugurate a new government, whatever form that government might take. Such a form of government as that which had been introduced in India, whether as an experiment or otherwise, had never been heard of in any other country. Lord Goschen's observations based on his own experience had been extremely interesting, but he had rather assumed that the lack of responsibility of which he complained had been directly due to the dyarchial system, and that with the abolition of that system it would disappear. He thought personally that before coming to such a conclusion they would require considerably more evidence than could possibly be laid before them within the scope of a short paper. Whether there was dyarchy or any other form of government, a man expressed his sense of responsibility by the manner in which he approached public problems and difficulties, without any reference to whether he had been elected by the electorate or appointed by the Government. He viewed with great misgiving the proposal of the Madras Government to hand over law and order to a Minister, not because such a man as an Executive Councillor could not be entrusted with such powers, but because as a Minister he would be liable to powerful influences from which, as an Executive Councillor with the support of his Government, he was almost free. He also viewed with great concern the proposal to provincialize the

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security services. As a member of Lord Lee's Commission, he had agreed that the transferred services should be provincialized reluctantly, because, although his Indian colleagues on the Commission had assured him that Ministers would go on asking for more European candidates and that there was no doubt about their being available, he had met Ministers in one province, he would not say which, who had said that they desired to have more Europeans in the services, but were unable to say so publicly because it would be as much as their position was worth. To the best of his knowledge no local Government had even yet so reorganized its provincial services as to make it possible for British candidates to be obtained. With five years' experience behind them, it seemed improbable that in either the services already transferred or the other services if transferred there would be any improvement with regard to the recruitment of the British element. He was convinced that some British element in the services was necessary in the circumstances of India. He was afraid that irresponsibility could not be cured by irresponsible voters paying their revenue or rent. He regarded the proposal of the Madras Government, which was not shared by any of the other Governments in India, with the deepest misgiving.

Mr. CHARTRES said that, although the present scheme of government was a theoretically workable scheme for a theoretically perfect Legislative Council and for a Government in which every member had the will to work the scheme, there were loopholes for irresponsibility and obstruction, of which great advantage had been taken in many cases. Lord Goschen had referred to the success of the scheme in Madras, but there was one omission from his paper. All those who, like himself, had had the privilege of seeing the work of Lord Goschen in Madras would agree, he was sure, that the devotion to duty which he showed to the Government and to the people of the Presidency had gone a very long way to conduce to the success which the reforms had achieved in Madras during the past five years. He wished to emphasize a point which had been made by a previous speaker—namely, that for a long time to come the security services should be manned, as they had been in the past, by men from that excellent body, the Civil Service. If those services were provincialized, the present high standard of recruits to the service would not be maintained. There was the further point that the Central Government must have a staff to carry on its work in India, and it must have highly trained recruits to maintain that staff.

Lord GOSCHEN, in reply, said he was deeply grateful to the gentlemen who had taken part in the discussion for the kind expressions which they had used with regard to his address and for the kindly criticism which they had made on various points in it. Speaking for the province of Madras, with all modesty he believed that, for the various reasons which he had given, the reforms had worked perhaps better than they had done in any other Presidency. The Government had always felt that the present was a form of government which might at any moment break down. Sir Reginald Craddock had suggested that he had said that dyarchy was

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responsible for irresponsibility, and therefore that he was inclined to think that responsibility would at once come from some other scheme, but he would not go to that length. He believed that the present scheme had been responsible for teaching a great deal of responsibility, which was the reason why the Madras Government had made the suggestions referred to, although even then the sense of responsibility could not be expected to come at once. The transfer of further subjects from the executive to the transferred side would, in his opinion, gradually increase and teach the sense of responsibility which they all hoped to see. He was quite aware that there were many omissions from his address, but the subject was a large one and it had not been possible to deal with the matters more fully. He was extremely grateful for the kind reception which they had given him, and it was a great pleasure to him to see friends from Madras with whom he had worked during the time they were in the Presidency.

Sir Louis Dane, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Lecturer and the Chairman, said that there was no doubt it was essential that there should be a strong Central Government if any reforms were to be successfully carried out.

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SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN THE CHURCHES IN INDIA

By the Right Rev. E. J. Palmer, D.D.
(*Late Bishop of Bombay*)

Allow me to begin this paper by expressing my thanks to the Council for inviting me to address the Association on this occasion. The projected union of Churches in South India is being discussed throughout England, and scarcely a day passes without reference to it in some of the newspapers. Your valued Secretary suggested that I should give some account of this union to your Association, placing it in its proper perspective as one of a long series of movements, and at the same time he asked me to add something about the Indian Church Act and Measure of 1928 which will come into force finally on March 1 this year. I will take the last-mentioned subject first because it is only indirectly connected with the main theme of my paper.

The Indian Church Act.

As many of the members of the Association must know, the Indian Church Act and Measure combined give to the Church which has hitherto been called the Church of England in India complete administrative autonomy. Up till the date I mentioned this Church was considered in law as a part of the Church of England, though it happened to be situated 6,000 miles distant from this country. The ecclesiastical laws of England were the laws of that Church, with the exception of any points in which the Letters Patent creating the Sees of Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay had altered or limited them. The Metropolitan Bishop in India was under "the general superintendence and revision of the Archbishop of Canterbury," though this clause of the Act of 1833 had never been put in force, and indeed no

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procedure was provided by which it could be enforced. On the other hand, the Church in India was wholly unrepresented in the Church Assemblies in England, whether the Convocations or the National Assembly. This anomalous position was further complicated by great legal uncertainties.

Two developments in India made the continuance of this position well-nigh intolerable. It was in effect a position of quasi-establishment. It may well be doubted whether even in a Christian country, where the government is in the hands of Christian men, it has ever been beneficial to the Church to be established; but when under the Indian reforms of 1917 the Government of India in all its branches passed into the hands of a majority of persons who were not Christians, establishment, or even quasi-establishment, of a Christian Church became absurd.

Secondly, as the number of Indians in the Church increased, it became clear that the ecclesiastical laws of England were more and more unsuitable to them. One of the ecclesiastical laws of England is, as you know, the Act of Uniformity, which prescribes the use of the Prayer Book in public worship. Now it is true that we have translated the Prayer Book into most of the vernaculars of India, but that very process has shown how alien it is both from the languages and from the genius of the peoples. Consequently, it was urgently necessary that the Christians of our Church in India should be free to develop their own forms of worship, and that there should be no legal obstacle to their doing so. You will remember that in the Act ample provision is made for the continuance of the English services to which English people have been accustomed in England, and the Act expressly refrains from interfering in any way with the provision that the Secretary of State and the Government of India make for the religious ministrations to British soldiers and other British Christians in their employ.

These are the principal objects and the principal pro-

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visions of the Indian Church Act and Measure. The direct bearing which they have upon the main subject of my paper is twofold. First, none of the other Christian Churches in India are in any way established, and a union between our Church, while in a certain sense established, and these other Churches was impossible. Second, the complete freedom of action which the Act and Measure gives to the Church in India enables it to make such a union as is now proposed without the consent or leave of the Church of England or any authority in it. We hope to have the approval of that Church to our action, but it would have been a very different proposition if that action had required the official consent of the Church to be given by the usual legal procedure of Convocation or the National Assembly and Parliament.

Union of Churches in India

I will now pass to the main subject of this paper, and I will divide what I have to say into two parts. First of all I will endeavour to give some impression of the movement which has long been going on for a greater unity between Indian Christians and between the Churches which are doing missionary work in India. After that I will briefly describe some features of the proposed scheme of union in South India.

Few people can be aware of the great number of different missions which have worked and are working in India. In the past the great missionary efforts were not so much divided. The first of these efforts, whether headed by St. Thomas or not, produced the Syrian Christians of Malabar. So far as we are aware, they did not split into sects until after the coming of the Portuguese the Roman Church tried to bring them into subjection to the Pope. When the Portuguese Empire passed away, a majority of the Syrian Christians threw off their allegiance to Rome and received Bishops from Assyria. These Christians are at the present moment divided into three separate bodies

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exclusive of the Romo-Syrians, as they are called in the census, who are the Uniats who have remained faithful to Rome. The other Roman Catholic Christians in India have a great measure of unity amongst themselves, although until two years ago the exceptional jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa and the Bishops under him modified that unity in the west of India. The missions of other Christian Churches, which may be said to have begun in the last half of the eighteenth century, are numerous and disconnected. Those at present working in India represent at least ninety Churches independent of each other in Europe, America and Australasia. Some of these missions belong to Churches of almost absolutely the same faith and organization. The earliest effort towards unification was attempted at a Conference at Allahabad in 1871 between representatives of four Presbyterian Churches. Obvious as the desirability of uniting the Presbyterians in India might seem to be, this was not accomplished till thirty-three years later.

In the meanwhile, negotiations had begun in Southern India for a union which was not wholly Presbyterian, and the Presbyterian Churches in South India, when they entered in 1904 into the Presbyterian Church in India reserved to themselves the right to withdraw from it if they had opportunity to form a more inclusive unity in their own part of the country. That opportunity came in 1908 when they joined with Churches founded by certain Congregational and Reformed Missions to make the South India United Church. In 1926 a similar union was made between the remaining Presbyterians and certain Congregational Churches in Western and Northern India, which is called the United Church of Northern India. Both of these unions represent a combination of the principles of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism. In 1919 there began a movement in South India which, if it is consummated, will end in a combination of those principles with the principle of episcopacy. This is the movement which is now being

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so widely discussed. It affects the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon, so far as regards its South India dioceses, and the South India United Church, and the Wesleyan Church in South India.

Before I pass on to describe that union in any detail, I should like to draw the attention of this meeting to some of the forces which make for unity between Christians both in India and in other parts of the world. So far as the European countries and North America are concerned, there is not, I am afraid, anything like a serious desire for union of Churches, but at the same time there is a considerable drawing together of Christians. In England itself this has been facilitated, to an extent often forgotten but very important, by the opening of the old Universities of Oxford and Cambridge to persons other than the members of the Church of England. A personal experience will illustrate the importance of this. I have enjoyed intimate friendship with several men who have become prominent leaders amongst the Nonconformists ever since my early Oxford years, whereas my father, who was, like me, both a scholar and a fellow of his College, had no such friendships.

In addition to this there have been definite movements among the younger generation—the Student Volunteer Missionary Movement and the Student Christian Movement—which have brought together the keenest men and women of each Christian generation. The same thing may also be said of the world-wide organizations of the Y.M.C.A. and Y.W.C.A. None of these organizations have existed for the purpose of uniting Churches, but they have united men and women in friendship. They have been partly caused by the drawing together of Christians and have in turn added momentum to it. It may, I think, fairly be claimed that the atmosphere is more charitable and less competitive than it was seventy-five years ago.

A great deal more than this can be said about Christians in those countries where the majority of the inhabitants are still not Christian, and a small Christian community is

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maintaining itself in face of opposition and misunderstanding. The great difference which separates all of these few Christians from the multitudes whom they have left reduces to insignificance any differences that there may be between the Christians themselves. They naturally feel themselves united simply by the fact that they are Christians. Again, they feel themselves united by the bond of common nationality. For instance, in India they are not only Christians but Indian Christians. They resent being separated by divisions which have been imported from foreign countries and for which Indians were themselves in no way responsible. Again, they are patriotic and desire as a community to serve their country. The greatest service that Indians could do to their country is to unite it. Divisions and contentions have brought disaster to India for many centuries. Indian Christians wish to be united themselves and to be able to offer to India a bond of union.

I am aware that there may be amongst my audience some members of the Association who are not Christians. They will not agree with the belief which I share with the Indian Christians that the greatest benefit which could come to India would be the general acceptance of Christianity. Though they may not agree with us, they will be able to understand both our belief in our own religion and in its power for good, and, more particularly, how much we wish that its power for good should be exercised in such a way that it brings in its train union of hearts and an end of faction and hatred. Those Indian Christians who most desire the union of the Christian Churches are also the keenest on spreading their own faith amongst their fellow-countrymen. They are keen on this because they wish not only to save individual men's souls but to save India. Almost exactly the same would be said by Chinese Christians, and I have heard them say these things with my own ears. The desire in the indigenous Churches of Asia for Christian union is in each case combined with an

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intense patriotism. It is also combined with a desire to be more free to develop Christian life in those countries in a manner more appropriate to the traditions and aptitudes of their peoples.

Scheme for Union in South India

I can scarcely suppose that it would be your wish that I should go into the details of the South India scheme in this paper, nor that I should enter into the points of theological and ecclesiastical controversy which have been raised in connection with it. If there is interest in these points, I should be perfectly prepared to explain any of them in response to questions.

The members may desire to know what are the constitutional steps required for carrying this proposed union of Churches into effect. All the three Churches which are proposing to unite differ in regard to the steps which they must take. The South India United Church is an autonomous body. It can adopt the scheme of union by a vote of its General Assembly if that vote is endorsed by a majority of its eight district councils. The scheme has been before the Assembly in October, 1929. It was discussed and various amendments were suggested. The scheme has been sent to the district councils for their opinion, and their opinion has been asked also on the amendments. The scheme will come up again in the autumn of 1931, and if it should be passed then, whether amended or not, it will still require the actual consent of a majority of the district councils. But no consent outside India will be required in the case of the S.I.U.C.

The case of the Wesleyan Church is almost the exact opposite of this. The South India Provincial Synod of that Church is unable to do anything final in the matter without the consent of the Wesleyan Conference in England, and in order that it may adhere to the scheme, that Conference will have to give the South India Synod its independence, and also to consent to the purpose for which

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it desires independence—viz., in order that it may adopt this scheme.

The Church of England in India, or as it will soon be called the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon, will, after March 1, become, as I have explained, autonomous, and will be able to adopt the scheme without reference to any authority in England. Its method for doing so is approval by two sessions of the General Council which must be separated by at least twenty-one months in order to give Diocesan Councils time to consider and report upon the scheme. The General Council has, however, undertaken not to adopt the scheme without first hearing any advice which the Lambeth Conference may think fit to give about it. The General Council will therefore refer the scheme to the Lambeth Conference for advice. The Lambeth Conference has always refused to give anything but advice, but, on the other hand, it is incredible that it would refuse to give any advice on a matter of such great importance when formally appealed to by one of the Churches which is represented in the Conference. The effect of this consultation of the Lambeth Conference will probably be that the earliest date on which the Church of India, Burma, and Ceylon could adopt the scheme would be 1934.

I will next attempt to give a brief sketch of the most prominent and characteristic features of the scheme. As I have observed, one of the Churches which is involved in the scheme is itself the product of a union. The South India United Church has amalgamated Presbyterians and Congregationalists and a much smaller number of adherents of missions of the Dutch Reformed Church in America and of the Basel Mission which is evangelical of the continental type. The resulting constitution is a very fair blend of the constitutions of the Churches which came together. A good deal of liberty is left to the individual congregations, but at the same time they are united together by councils, which are in principle Presbyterian. With this amalgamated Church it is proposed that the Church of England in

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India and its missions and their adherents in the south of India should join and also the Wesleyans in the same area. This will involve combination of constitutional elements still more different than those which are combined in the S.I.U.C. The United Church will have bishops who will maintain the historical succession and will be the only necessary ministers of ordination. They will also perform all the other functions which belong in history to the order of bishops, but for the greater part of these they will require to obtain either the advice or the actual consent of other clergy and of laity in the councils of the Church. This is to a very large extent a return to the primitive theory of episcopacy, and at the same time it preserves the Presbyterian principle of the responsibility of the whole Church for its government. Further, the congregations will have a considerable amount of liberty, especially with regard to the forms of their worship. No single form will be imposed upon the whole Church. In this and some other respects the principles of Congregationalism find a place in the constitution.

The members of the Association will probably have heard that the main difficulty in this and in all schemes of unity hitherto proposed between episcopal and non-episcopal churches is concerned with the existing ministers of the non-episcopal churches. It is a view largely held among Episcopalians that certain sacraments, in particular the Sacrament of Holy Communion, can only be ministered by bishops and priests who have been ordained by bishops in the succession. The problem which thus arises has been solved by the scheme in the form that the ministers of the non-episcopal churches shall continue to minister after the union as they have done before, but that they will not be transferred to churches where their presence would conflict with certain general provisos, especially that—

"The United Church will be careful not to allow any overriding of conscience by Church authorities or by majorities, nor will it in its ad-

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ministrative acts knowingly transgress long-established traditions of any of the uniting churches."

"It is the intention and expectation" [of the uniting churches] "that eventually every minister exercising a permanent ministry in the United Church will be an episcopally ordained minister."

The main questions now in controversy centre round this. On the one hand, the champions of episcopacy appear to consider that no exceptions ought to be made to their principles, and they regard the continued ministry of the ministers of the non-episcopal churches without reordination as an exception to their principles which cannot be tolerated. On the other hand, those who have inherited a dislike or suspicion of episcopacy fear that the Church when it has become entirely episcopal will also profess all the doctrines which they disapprove and believe to be connected with episcopacy.

There is another outstanding feature of the scheme which can be stated in general terms and may be of general interest. The agreements on doctrine and practice are, it is believed, sufficient to justify the union, but they are not nearly so complete as most people have supposed would be required in any scheme of union. There are many things on which it will be permissible to teach differently within the Church. It is natural to compare this with the famous comprehensiveness of the Church of England. It has some similarity with this, but also an important difference. The comprehensiveness of the Church of England is a deliberate and defined comprehensiveness, which has its most complete and elaborate expression in the XXXIX. Articles. The aim of those Articles is to define as inadmissible certain teaching on the extremes of either end of the series of opinions which were held in the west of Europe in the sixteenth century, but to leave as permissible a very large central range of opinion. Now this settlement was conceived as something in the nature of a compact, and also as something which would not admit of alteration and would be maintained by the force of the State authority. It was a settlement.

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The opposite is true about the comprehensiveness of the proposed united Church of South India. The fact that certain very various teachings and practices will be permissible at the time of the union is not intended to convey any pledge that they will always be permissible. The Church will have to make up its mind from time to time whether these varieties of teachings and practices should go on, or whether a common mind has been formed which ought to be upheld by the Church. This is not merely a provision dictated by convenience. There are other reasons for it. On the one hand, the thoughtful Indians foresee that the Indian development, both of doctrine and practice, may well take different lines from those which have been followed in the West, and they wish to have the opportunity left for this development. On the other hand, we Europeans and Americans are conscious that we cannot persuade each other after having spent our lives in teaching the doctrines of our own denominations, but that there is a far better hope that the following generations which will have been born in one Church will be able to agree where we are unable. Those who share common life, common work, the membership of one institution, with all the friendships that it involves, will have more inclination as well as more ability to agree. And I must add here that in our opinion what they will share is not merely membership in an institution, but membership in a body, the Body of Christ, which has a divine power of drawing them together.

It would not, I would add, be appropriate to judge this scheme as you might judge a piece of political statesmanship, or an effort of diplomacy. It is nothing of the sort. It would be insane if it were. It can only succeed if there is behind it the will of that divine Power which uses us, and which, when we lend ourselves to His use, makes us capable of things entirely beyond our human power or wisdom. I can only indicate that side of the matter. But on the human side, if you care for the ending of one more

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needless alienation in a greatly desired friendship, if you care for the development of a beneficent society, if you care for the courage which will venture much in a great cause, if you care for the first attempt at a reconciliation of the most divergent tendencies in Christendom which might be the beginning of a new age, I commend to you this scheme.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, February 18, 1930, when a paper was read by the Right Rev. Bishop E. J. Palmer, D.D., late Bishop of Bombay, entitled "Some Recent Developments in the Churches in India." The Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Arthur Hirtzel, K.C.B., Sir George S. Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir William Ovens Clark, Lady Bennett, Lady Chatterton, the Right Rev. Bishop Eyre Chatterton, Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir John Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Lady Miller, the Ven. Walter K. Firminger, Archdeacon W. H. Hodges, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. D. McBain, C.I.E., Mr. Vincent J. Esch, C.V.O., Mrs. E. W. Huddleston, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., the Rev. C. S. Carr, the Hon. Gertrude Kinnaird, the Rev. William Paton, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mrs. Hankin, Mr. G. Scott Bremner, Mrs. Weir, Mrs. H. B. Edwards, Mr. J. W. Lewis, the Misses Wills, Miss Margaret Brown, Mrs. Nolan, Mr. H. B. Edwards, Miss Mee, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Miss Blackett, Professor G. C. Bhate, Mr. A. C. Brown, Mr. J. W Griffiths, Mr. S. D. Pears, Mr. P. R. Wilson, Mr. Abdul Qadir Khan, Mr. George Pilcher, Mrs. A. D. Bonarjee, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Lieut.-Colonel A. S. Roberts, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Miss Speechley, Miss Tyrrwhitt-Drake, Rev. T. Menzies, Mr. Frederick Grubb, Mrs. Martley, Miss Curteis, Mr. W. E. De Monte, Mr. Henry Rudd, Mrs. Latifi, Miss I. Colhoun, Mr. T. Stephens, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—In the first place I have to announce with very great regret, which I know will be shared by you all, that Lord Chelmsford is unfortunately unwell and is therefore unable to be here this afternoon, and I have been asked to take the chair in his place. I will read a letter I have received from him this afternoon:

"DEAR SIR LESLIE,

"Let me thank you in the first place for having so kindly stepped into the breach and taken my place as Chairman. Unfortunately I am suffering from a bronchial attack, of no great consequence, but sufficient to keep me in bed.

"I particularly regret being unable to preside today, as I was looking forward to the discussion on the paper to be read by Bishop Palmer. I imagine there are many who are not very conversant with what has been taking place in the sphere of the Church in India. No one is better

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qualified than the Bishop both to inform them and, if necessary, to reassure them. He has taken a leading part in the recent developments, and the fact that he, with his family tradition of churchmanship, has felt himself able to advocate a certain line of action—I refer to the union of Churches—has largely influenced me to give him my support. It is a happy coincidence that *The Times* has today published its Indian Supplement. Bishop Palmer has written in it an article on Church matters, so no one present at the meeting can legitimately plead complete ignorance of the matter in hand.

Sincerely yours,
CHELMSFORD."

There is a letter from Lord Winterton, who writes to Mr. Brown:

"With further reference to my letter of the 12th, I now find definitely that I am unable to attend the lecture next Tuesday. I am so sorry, and it would have given me much pleasure to be there.

"I should be grateful if you would kindly make a point of explaining to Bishop Palmer how sorry I am that I am unable to be present owing to the fact that I have to be in the House of Commons on the day in question, as there is going to be a debate on the Motor Vehicles Bill in which I am interested, and on which I am going to speak."

May I say that I am delighted to have the opportunity of taking the chair on this occasion, because it was during my five years in Bombay our lecturer was the Bishop of Bombay, and I am therefore able to speak with some personal knowledge of his entire devotion to the welfare of the Church and Christianity in the Presidency and in India generally. Perhaps I may be allowed in this connection to say one word with regard to the very valuable work which was done by Mrs. Palmer during the whole time that she was with the Bishop in India, particularly in connection with the women of all classes, creeds, and communities in the Presidency. As Lord Chelmsford has said in his letter, there is probably or certainly no one more competent to speak on the question on which Bishop Palmer is going to speak this afternoon than the Bishop himself. Lord Chelmsford alludes to the special supplement of *The Times* of this morning, which no doubt many of you have read. I may say if you have not read it I strongly advise you to do so, because it is one of the most excellent productions about India that I have ever seen; and when India is so much in the foreground as it is at present I think everybody who takes any interest in that great country ought to read every page of that excellent supplement. In that supplement I would strongly commend to you the article which has been written by Bishop Palmer, in which he deals with matters affecting the Christian Church in India, and more particularly what struck me was that he pointed out that, while the British Government has been, and very rightly so, meticulously neutral as between religions, it has introduced ideals which have been derived from its Christian traditions. The facts which prove that are too numerous for me to mention. I might refer to the great efforts which have been made to deal with

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famine, but what I particularly refer to is the institution of so many societies which have been working for Christian principles, although those societies have been controlled by other religions. There are many which come to my mind. Perhaps I might mention one which Bishop Palmer knows himself very well indeed and which I think he mentioned—that is, the Servants of India Society, whose headquarters are at Poona. That society, which I may perhaps call a Hindu mission, is served by men and women who take nothing more than will barely keep them alive and who devote the whole of their time to helping those who are little able to help themselves, and they do an immense amount of work as regards nursing and education. That society, like several others, founded as it is on Christian principles, exemplifies to the very best the principles of understanding, self-sacrifice, and charity, and of giving the best practical assistance they can to those who are not able to help themselves. I am sure we are all looking forward very much to Bishop Palmer's paper, which I will now ask him to read.

The paper was then read.

The Right Rev. Bishop CHATTERTON said he wished to say a few words with regard to the severance of the relationship between the Church in India and the State and Church in England. His mind went back to the time of the great Bishop Lefroy. He remembered when Bishop Palmer arrived in India as quite a young man and the great hopes that were placed in him by the late Bishop Coplestone and others, which hopes Bishop Palmer had certainly fulfilled. (Hear, hear.) In considering the question of the Christian Church breaking the old legal connection and starting anew, it was most important that the Church which was starting a new life should have made up its mind as to its constitution. The making of a constitution was not an easy matter; it took many years. He remembered that, when presiding at the Synod in Calcutta, half an hour had been occupied sometimes in discussing one word, and he was sure that the drawing up of the constitution of the Church in India must have occupied years of the life of Bishop Palmer, who was the main composer of it. He thought that our gift of an autonomous Church to India had been the greatest of many good gifts we had given that country. The supplement of *The Times*, to which the Chairman had referred, showed that the future in India was full of promise, and it showed what he wished everybody in England had understood before, that the British had conferred on India by their connection with it innumerable and inestimable benefits. He might say that a very distinguished Indian, the late Partab Chunder Mozoomdar, the head of one of the reformed sects of Hinduism, with whom he was acquainted when in India, had said when addressing a meeting that "the best day that ever dawned for India was when the English came to it." Among the many great benefits which we had given to India was the Christian Church; and he thought and hoped that the movement for reunion of Christians which was going on in India at the present time, in which Bishop Palmer had taken such an active part, was going to bring home to India still more the benefits which we had been permitted by

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the providence of God to give it. We had started the infant Church in India, and he begged them all to take a great interest in it in the future. It was a very live Church, as was brought home by the fact that it was going to occupy the minds of all the bishops of the Anglican Communion assembled at the Lambeth Conference this summer.

He would say in conclusion that the members of the Indian Church Aid Association, of which he was president, were constantly thinking of the needs of the Church in India, especially those of our own poor people of the domiciled community, and he appealed to all present to take an interest in that association also.

The Rev. W. PATON thought that one of the most admirable points made by Bishop Palmer was that the Church in India, both in its present divided condition and in the future, should be expected to be patriotic. In speaking of the Church he referred to the Churches of all denominations. He had once asked an Indian what Church he belonged to, and he replied that he was a Canadian Baptist. It must be obvious to all of them that, while they admired the loyalty of a man to the people to whom he owed his religion, there was little room for the Christian Church in India unless it appeared to the minds of Indians to be truly Indian. The most foreign things with regard to it at present were the labels which the people from Britain, from America, from Australasia, and from various parts of the Continent had put upon it. The only argument—leaving theological issues aside—he had ever heard urged against the Union scheme by people who believed in unity was the suggestion that the Churches could act together as separated bodies and endeavour by a variety of methods to achieve a real union in practice. In that connection they had to consider what could and what could not be done. In India there was a body called the National Christian Council, which represented all the non-Roman Churches and missions in India. Probably more than in any other country in the East there had been set up through the missions and the Churches which they had founded a machinery for co-operation. They must by some means avoid the evils which were inseparable from division, and, in order to get rid of those evils, they had invented an elaborate form of co-operation. But there was a great difference between sitting in a Council, as he had often done, of perhaps thirty different bodies, considering how they could best tackle, for instance, the subject of primary education among the different missions of the Madras Presidency, or co-operation in theological teaching in the Churches of North India, and a united Church of Christ devising its own policy as a single united body. He had no doubt there would be an enormous liberation of power through any such scheme of union. He was strongly in favour of promoting the co-operation of the separated bodies, but he was most enthusiastically in favour of the principle of organic union. He believed the present scheme should be supported cordially by all those who desired to see effective Church unity in India. (Applause.)

The Rev. Dr. FIRMINGER said they had listened to a very lucid and interesting paper. It was impossible for an association such as the East

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India Association to discuss the essential difficulties connected with a matter which was of an ecclesiastical if not of a theological nature. He fearlessly said that he was a pronounced Anglo-Catholic. A representative committee of Anglo-Catholics, many of them persons who held great positions in the Church or in the Universities in England, had considered the matter, and the difficulties in connection with the proposed union seemed to them to be insuperable. British people who went to India were not colonists; they most of them passed through India as pilgrims. If he had a daughter going to India who had been brought up in his own Anglo-Catholic persuasion, and the proposal for union had been adopted, he really did not know what he would advise her to do. It was a very perplexing matter indeed. He had taken some part in the construction of the present constitution of the Church in India, as chairman of the committee that drafted the constitution of the Calcutta Synod. At the inception of the Synodical movement the Indian chaplains were never consulted as to whether they and their congregations should be included in the Indian Church, and he believed that many of the laity in India still remained very apprehensive with regard to what might happen when the Church in India had autonomy, and he thought that Bishop Palmer's paper would increase their apprehensions. English people were averse from having their religion Indianized, although they desired reasonable freedom for self-expression for the Indian Church. The scheme in his opinion stereotyped Anglicanism in some respects, but in some vital respects it left the Indian church-folk in India unprotected.

The Rev. Dr. WEITBRECHT STANTON said that, having followed the question in India for more than fifty years, he desired to add his humble tribute to what had been said by other speakers with regard to Bishop Palmer's presentation of the case and the work which he had done. With regard to the need for reorganization of the Church in India, fifty-three years ago the Diocese of Lahore was founded, and an eminent missionary, Dr. French, was appointed bishop. There was another eminent clergyman who had been the founder of missionary work in the province, and whom Dr. French wished to be appointed as his archdeacon, but the Secretary of State informed him that he could not have a non-Government clergyman as archdeacon. At a later date Bishop Lefroy elaborated a scheme for the self-government of the Church in India. He consulted the legal member of the Council, who said they could not have such an organization apart from the Government. Hence the scheme for an independent constitution of the Church in India, which was to take effect from March 1. This was intimately connected with the forces working towards a wider union, of which Dr. Paton had spoken. One of these was the work of the Bible Society, which belonged to all Christian people in India. In this men of various Churches had found they could work together in harmony and much to the benefit of the whole. This was illustrated in the revision of the Urdu New Testament. The Baptists justified their existence as a separate denomination by the doctrine that baptism must be performed by immersion. They held that the Greek term should be

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translated into a vernacular word meaning "dipping," and for that reason they had their own separate New Testament; but, finally, they agreed to put the word "dipping" in the margin of the New Testament, leaving "baptism" in the text, and now there was only one version of the book for all Urdu readers. Again, in presenting the gospel to Muhammadans in India, missionaries felt their work had suffered from insufficient acquaintance with the sacred language and theology of Islam. To help them in this study a school had been established at Lahore, which had been given the name of the famous missionary scholar Henry Martyn, and in it men of several denominations were teaching and learning with one object before them. Again, there was the work of training Indian ministers and clergy. In this, too, united work was growing. At Saharanpur a theological college was now established, in which several different denominations took part, each having provision made for the needs of its own particular Church. They had to choose between progressing towards unity or remaining behind as back numbers. They wanted to live the life of their Founder and to make Him known in the world, which they could not do without the union for which He Himself prayed, and it was for that reason that he was hoping and praying that the scheme advocated by Bishop Palmer would be carried through. (Applause.)

The Rev. E. S. Carr said that the extent to which the proposed union had progressed was amazing. He had been in South India for many years and had been in touch with the formation of the South Indian United Church from its beginning, having been a delegate to the annual meeting of the South Indian United Church in Travancore, and he had seen the Moderator's chair occupied by an Indian Christian. In the past he had felt it was impossible that the Church of England could join in such a union. The present position showed the determination and ability with which the bishops in India, and especially the Bishop of Bombay, had worked until the present position had been attained. In the past it had seemed to him that it would be impossible without some strong action, such as an Act of Parliament, for the Church of England to join, but now they had accomplished the impossible: the Act of Parliament had been passed and the union was within measurable distance of coming into existence, which reflected great credit on those who had put the matter forward. In the past they had foisted upon the people of India divisions which were absolutely unknown to them, and that state of affairs ought to be remedied as soon as possible. Every effort should be made by members of the Church of England and members of other Churches to promote unity. He criticized the name given to the new Church—namely, the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon. One of the reasons for carrying through the Act of Parliament had been to unite the other Churches, which in itself showed that it was not *the* Church of India, Burma and Ceylon; it was a branch of the Church. If some alteration could be made in the name to show that that was the position, he thought it would be of advantage. Another point was that the union had come from the foreign

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element in India and not from India itself. He thought such a movement should come from the people of India. He was struck by the fact that in the proposed constitution very wide latitude was given with regard to the various forms and ceremonies, and he thought it would be more likely to be a Church which the Indians would accept if they had the opportunity of themselves expressing more fully their desires as to the form that those ceremonies should take.

Sir LOUIS DANE said he wished to make a few remarks from a purely administrative point of view. A great many of them who had served in India must have sympathized very much with the view urged by the Rev. Dr. Firminger. A good many of them may have wondered what sort of services they might in the future be called upon to attend in the churches in India, but Bishop Palmer had pointed out that the position of the chaplains in India had been preserved. This should reassure all going to India from this country and should set a good standard. He personally had had experience of Christian gentlemen in India of various denominations, and he had always found that the divisions and hair-splitting differences which existed between the Churches in England were not so strongly marked in India. He had, for instance, known a Catholic priest who, in the stress of a great epidemic, buried soldiers not of his own denomination according to the Church of England service. There was also a Presbyterian minister who held a service in accordance with the Prayer Book of the Church of England, because all the people at the station in question happened to belong to that denomination. As long as a feeling of that character existed he thought they could make their minds easy that they would not be subjected to some form of liturgy which would be worse even than the so-called corybantic Christianity of the Salvation Army when it first started. It was a significant fact that most of the various Protestant denominations, aggregating about seventy, were trying to sink their differences and to combine. This was most satisfactory and should greatly help Christianity in India. Educated Hindus and Muhammadans had said to him: "You talk of Christians, but what sort of Christians do you mean? You will not even go to each other's churches or to a joint church." That, of course, was ridiculous, because there were much greater differences between Muhammadans and Hindu sects, but it was in some measure a stumbling-block. At the same time the proposed union might give rise to considerable difficulties which would only be met if the new Indian Church was deofficialized as much as possible, as it would, of course, be of the most active missionary type, and no one could predict what developments might occur in the course of years in a Church dominated entirely by ideas held by Indians, and Indians often belonging to the poorly educated classes. Persons connected with the Indian Church must not be put forward at official functions as representing the religion of the Government.

Mr. H. HARCOURT said he was astonished to hear Sir Louis Dane refer to the religious views of the Government of India. He had served in India for twenty-five years, and he always understood that the Government

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of India as such, consisting as it did of a composite body of Hindus, Muhammadans, and others, had no distinctive religious views. There were, of course, difficulties which stood in the way of the project outlined by Bishop Palmer. Those difficulties must be and would be solved if we believed in divine power. In his opinion, either Christianity in India outside the Roman obedience would perish, or they must proceed on something like the lines proposed.

The Right Rev. Bishop PALMER, in reply, said that Sir Louis Dane was a little more sanguine than he was in saying that all the denominations were trying to sink their differences. At present the scheme only comprised three sorts of Christians, if he might use that expression, whereas the Roman Catholics, the Syrians, the Baptists, and the Lutherans were outside it. The most important point regarding this scheme of union was that it was the first attempt to bridge the gulf between bodies holding the Catholic tradition and bodies holding the tradition of the Reformation. Mr. Carr had said that the attempts at union had been derived from Englishmen or Americans. It was true that the first part of his paper dealt with the liberation of the Church in India from its connection with the State and the Church of England, which no doubt had been thought of and carried through very largely by English people, but the scheme of union was of Indian origin. It was conceived at a meeting of thirty-one Indian ministers of different denominations in 1919, who had taken part in a joint evangelistic campaign and who had been so greatly encouraged by their joint action that they decided to have a meeting to discuss the question as to whether they could have one Church. Those men had drawn up the first outline which was the origin of the whole scheme. It was, therefore, not correct to say that the scheme was born in English minds. It was true that the organization of the Christian Churches in India was very largely Western, for the reason that when a person was learning he took what his teacher told him, and it was only when he became expert that he struck out on lines of his own. The Indian Christians had not come to the stage at which they could invent much for themselves. It was, however, important to remember that, when the matter was being discussed, there had always been more Indians than English or Americans present, and they had certainly been most desirous that an agreement should be arrived at, and the scheme, though in many respects Western in appearance, had been checked from point to point by Indians, which was as much as they could expect at the present stage. A question had been raised with regard to the name of the proposed Church. The reason why the Church had been called the Church of India, Burma and Ceylon was that it aimed at being a Church which should, on the one hand, represent the whole Catholic tradition of Christianity and, on the other hand, be adapted to the country of India, in the same way that the Church of England was the Catholic Church adapted to the needs of England. The justification for the name was that they were the only Christians in India who had the deliberate intention of founding such a Church. With regard to the remarks of Mr. Carr as to the union being accomplished, there were very

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serious objections still to be faced not only from Bishop Gore but also from Dr. Jones, the Congregationalist minister, and other persons in England. He therefore deprecated the expression that the union had been accomplished. With regard to Dr. Firminger's suggestion as to what would happen if his daughter went to India after the scheme had been carried, he would point out that if she wanted to attend English services she would find a clergyman with the same orders as Dr. Firminger ministering there, for the reason that the United Church in South India would be the successor of the Church of England in South India, and would take over all its obligations under the Indian Church Act, so that no member of the Church of England who was going to India need be in any way disturbed by the scheme. The only difference would be that the bishop of some diocese might be an American or an Indian.

Sir ARTHUR HIRTZEL, in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and the Lecturer, said he was sure they were all very grateful to Sir Leslie Wilson for taking the chair and to Bishop Palmer for his admirable paper and also his subsequent contribution to the discussion, in both of which he had displayed that great grasp of the principles and details which had made him so powerful a leader and so formidable a controversialist. He thought some such scheme as that which had been proposed was the only hope for the eventual triumph of Christianity in India.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of Bishop Palmer and himself, the proceedings closed.

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WHAT INDIA REALLY NEEDS

By C. F. Strickland, I.C.S. (retd.)

The preference of educated persons in India for an urban life, and the growing demand for more rapid industrial development, tend to draw the attention of distant observers away from the rural areas and create a danger that the interests of nine-tenths of the population, who live in villages, and the 73 per cent. who are directly supported by agriculture, may be seriously overlooked. In speaking, therefore, almost entirely of rural India I do not intend to imply that the towns are not highly important, but wish to confine myself to the subject of the overwhelmingly great rural majority.

It is not necessary to dwell at length on the defects of the rural situation, which are now generally known, and (except in moments of hot argument) generally admitted. Rural evils are found in England as well as in India, and those who hope by united effort to cure them will be wise frankly to admit their existence and their gravity. The Indian villagers, men, women, and children, are for the most part limited in their outlook and unprogressive, burdened by debt and without a real aspiration to shake it off, and hampered throughout their lives by both an inherited and an acquired weakness of health. More than 90 per cent. are illiterate, the average outturn of wheat per acre is one-third of that of Great Britain and Denmark, and while the rural death-rate (25 per 1,000) is double that of England, the infant mortality (175 per 1,000) is $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as great. The three needs of the villager are (1) a higher standard of living, in respect of both physical and social requirements, which will urge him to increase his income and his moral demands on life, (2) a longer economic view,

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showing him that real improvement (better crops, better cattle, and freedom from debt) are possible if he will make an effort, and (3) a truer balance of character, proceeding from a wider education and knowledge, which will render him a better and more intelligent citizen of his country.

The Unorganized Village

Several departments of Government are doing their best to help the villager forward and upward, and in recent years unofficial bodies have taken a more prominent part in the work. But since the old village organization is no longer strong enough to impose its will on backward or recalcitrant individuals, and each man is, in matters not concerning his caste or his religion, a law unto himself, it is difficult for either Government or private reformers to make an impression on the vast number of small men who are unaccustomed to discuss and act on a common idea. The village is unorganized, and the villager, despite his industry and other virtues, remains an uninspired individualist. What is needed is a new organization of the village, a bond which the people will recognize as uniting them for common action, not compulsorily as by law but voluntarily because they recognize its value. Without it the progress of rural India will continue to be slow, and many things will never be done because it will be too late, but in face of the swift changes which have swept over the country and are yet to come, I believe that the village community can be drawn together for its own good and for the advantage of all India, if Co-operation becomes the frame in which the professional and domestic life of the peasant are set.

Twenty-five years of experience have proved that the principles of rural Co-operation, as first worked out eighty years ago by Germans on the Rhine, hold good and can be applied in India, no less than in Java and Japan. The Co-operative Credit Societies Act of 1904 provided only for societies of the credit type, but the Act of 1912, omitting

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the word "credit" from its title, extended legal sanction to every kind of society based on co-operative principles. I shall refer later to several of the novel forms in which the co-operative idea has been expressed in India, and which serve to repair the disorganization and disintegration of the village community. In the first place, however, I must deal with credit.

Rural Credit

Critics are struck, and sometimes unfavourably, by the fact that 90 per cent. of the Indian societies have credit as their sole or primary object. In Europe and America other branches of the movement are equally advanced; and though credit societies continue to hold a large place, some of the bigger farmers and peasants may pass beyond their sphere, and become sufficiently prosperous to deal with a joint stock bank and sufficiently secretive to prefer to do so. If they discard the credit society too early, as seems to have happened in some parts of Ireland, they are starved of resources, and are forced to make a creamery or other agricultural society their banker, using it for a purpose for which it was not intended and embarrassing its operations.

In India few villages are ready to dispense with credit. The ordinary cultivator, whether owner or tenant, is already indebted to money-lenders, or is driven to them from time to time by crop failures and urgent ceremonial expenditure, and may suffer severely before he succeeds, if ever, in repaying what he has borrowed. I consider that in normal circumstances the peasant who becomes indebted to a money-lender for a sum equal to half a year's crop cannot hope to clear himself without sale of his land or without extraneous income from a son in service. He is a permanent debtor. Various estimates of the amount of India's rural debt have been made, and a figure round £500,000,000 has been mentioned in several books; it is, of course, only an estimate, but even a much larger sum might

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be harmless in a land which has more than 300,000,000 acres annually under crops, in addition to income from forest and other sources.

This would be a light and harmless debt if it were productive; but the chief evil in money-lender's credit—indispensable though the money-lender is, until a co-operative society is established to replace him—is not his high rate of interest, or the falsification of books which is practised by a minority of the class, but the fact that he grants loans for unprofitable as well as profitable objects and in amounts in excess of the borrower's means, and does not insist on prompt repayment on a good harvest. His ambition naturally is to see his money well invested and to live on the interest. The character of the peasant is not such as to use these facilities prudently. Ready lending is a new practice, which has grown up since under British rule a lasting peace was established, the peasant's tenure of his land became secure, and the recovery of debts through the civil courts was regularized.

By negligence or intention, through necessity or extravagance, the small landowner has entangled himself to such a degree with his creditors that he cannot escape by his own endeavours; and the essential point to note is that, so long as he remains thus afflicted, he will make little effort to improve his agriculture, will see no advantage in education for his sons unless to make them clerks in an office (and no advantage at all in education for his daughters), and will lack the spirit to keep those personal and domestic rules which, simple as they are, would make an enormous difference to his health. He does not care; why should he? He is in debt as his father was and as his son will be; no increase in the produce of his six acres can clear off the mass of principal and accumulated interest, so any extra income from extra labour or intelligence will only pass into his creditor's lands and will mean nothing to himself. Why then worry? Let the agricultural, educational, and health officers talk to the rich men who stand to gain, or to the

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headman, who must at least pretend to take them seriously. These things are not for him.

The Changed Point of View

Perhaps the greatest service which the co-operative credit societies, where they have functioned efficiently, have done to India is to alter this point of view. For some years the poorer peasants were incredulous and suspicious; but when Narayan in the next village is able to tell them that through an uncomfortable discipline of publicity at the time of borrowing and an inconvenient regularity in repaying he has really released his fields from mortgage and reduced his open debt to a few rupees in shop account, then Bishn Singh and Rahim Khan grasp that this is something new, and that conceivably a brighter day may dawn also for them. The result is not only that they proceed to found a society in their own village, but that they attend more closely to the expert who talks of better seed or cattle; to the schoolmaster, who points out that it would be helpful if a son could read the agricultural leaflets; and to the doctor, who explains that if a man's wife, being ill with malaria, cooks indigestible chupattis, *he* will handle his plough more clumsily, and *she* will be rougher in milking his cows. His entire outlook is altered and he becomes approachable and open-minded.

A few figures will be in place before I return to the moral and social aspects of Co-operation, which concern me most. A fair estimate for the present moment will be 110,000 co-operative societies of all kinds in British India and in the nine States which submit returns for inclusion in the Government of India's report. Perhaps 100,000 will be credit societies, and 700 of these may be central banks, financing the local and primary institutions. A membership of 4½ millions and a working capital of about £75,000,000 are only the first-fruits of a harvest which will cover the land; but the latter figure is particularly satisfactory, because no more than 2 per cent. of this consider-

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able sum is derived from Government. One-third of the whole amount consists of members' savings in the shape of shares and deposits, one-third of deposits from the public, and the remainder is money lent by central banks to their societies, and drawn for the most part from these deposits of non-members. The edifice has therefore been built up by the thrift and by the good reputation of the members themselves, with the careful guidance and favour of Government. State money is, however, as I have indicated, a small percentage of that total, and is granted (in British India at least) only for peculiar classes of society, such as those for housing or for mortgage business, which cannot safely operate on a basis of short-term deposits.

A School of Citizenship

It is clear, therefore, that the cultivator and the urban middle classes believe the movement to be beneficial and safe, and except where mistaken policy has temporarily shaken this belief, the present demand for the opening of new credit societies would exceed, if permitted, the capacity of the organizers to give thorough instruction to the would-be members. Hasty registration, before the uneducated have absorbed the real meaning and strictness of the rules which they are to observe, always leads to repentance. A society will only flourish if its members know one another and can trust one another. The liability is unlimited, and herein lies a valuable safeguard; thoughtful men will not pledge their little all on behalf of a dishonest neighbour, and he is excluded by their vote until he reforms. The criterion of admission is often homely and singular; an applicant may be rejected by the general meeting not merely because he is a drunkard, a gambler, or a thief, but because he spends too much of the day in prayer, or has married more wives than his land and earnings can maintain. The neighbours know who pays his way and who does not. The members of a society thus learn, in the course of its proceedings, to examine a proposal from all sides and to discern

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differences of character; to weigh the necessity of their own expenditure and to measure a man's ability to repay what he is borrowing; to elect a committee and (still harder) to control and to depose it; and finally to work cordially with men of other castes and religions for a common end. Can there be a finer school of citizenship, or one through which a newly-fledged electorate can with more benefit be passed?

Grading the Societies

It is impossible to pronounce an exact judgment as to the extent to which the credit societies of India are achieving their purpose. In several provinces they are now annually classified by the inspecting staff in four grades of merit, and my own feeling is that societies marked as A and B, say one-third of the whole, are definitely liberating their members from debt, and training them in thrift, judgment, and tolerance of an opponent's opinion. Many are weak, with members disloyal and unpunctual, some are bad and ripe for liquidation. When a society has been ten years on the register, the outside indebtedness of the members has sometimes been reviewed, and 25 to 75 per cent. have been found to owe only to their society. If repayments are punctual and faction is quiescent, it may ordinarily be assumed that good and thrifty work is being done. Many societies which are placed in the third grade as C, solely on the ground that having no literate member they cannot keep their own accounts, may dispense their little funds wisely when the itinerating secretary arrives to help them, and make their own collections before his arrival. Illiterate villages are very numerous; perhaps 20,000 societies in India are in this plight.

Naturally the money-lender is in a superior position in such cases, being able to finance a borrower at all times, and an illiterate borrower is seldom able to calculate the cost to himself of such dealings. It is for this reason that the contentious plan for a statutory regulation of accounts has been brought forward, and one province has passed an Act

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requiring a money-lender to keep books in an approved form and script, and to send periodical copies of his account to each borrower. The latter can then at leisure consult a competent adviser with regard to it. Such an Act will, however, only be effective if the penalty for failure to keep the books and send the copies is sufficient to constrain the moneylender to comply.

Before leaving the subject of credit, let me suggest briefly two considerations. In the first place, co-operative credit is not merely cheap money. The essence of the system is the control of the group over the borrowings and the repayments of each member—*i.e.*, it is *controlled* credit. It appears to me dangerous to press for more and more funds, as many leaders of public opinion and even some prominent co-operators are wont to do, and I am apprehensive of a new fountain of money being opened in consequence of the present inquiry into banking in India. There is no shortage whatever of money. A healthy co-operative bank and a sound society can already obtain all the funds they can safely utilize, and there has frequently been a surplus which tempts to unwise advances. Secondly, the basis of co-operative credit is character—not wealth ; and mortgage credit is therefore exceptionally difficult for co-operators, since the large sums concerned draw their minds away from character and towards material standards of assessment. Co-operative mortgage banks are on trial in Madras, the Punjab, and elsewhere, and are not yet proved. India is shouting for them, and if created without cautious experiment and the strictest administration they may cause the undoing of the land-owner and all who depend on him.

Agricultural Betterment

From credit, the road leads forward to co-operation in agriculture. It is in my opinion a mistake, in an unorganized community of simple men, to undertake the business of agricultural production, purchase or sale on co-operative lines before the character of the members has been strengthened, and the habit of team-loyalty has been developed in

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the field of credit. Unless the economic gain is immediate and considerable and continuing, a group of peasants will, in the great majority of cases, become either careless or disloyal. This has, I think, been the lesson of many Indian experiments. After training in credit, on the other hand, the peasant is, for reasons which I have explained above, more anxious to improve his position and much more ready to believe that improvement is practicable; various types of agricultural society have then found their place. Purchase of agricultural requirements is not so important as in Europe, since in most parts of the country an economic use of artificial fertilizers has not yet been devised by the experts. Some purchase of artificial manures is done in southern India, but the great waste of natural manure by the consumption of dung-cakes as fuel can only be avoided by the communal planting of trees or the supply of cheap oil or coal.

What is really needed, more than organization for joint purchase, is a changed attitude of the cultivator towards his agricultural adviser, and an arrangement which will facilitate consultation between the two. This may be secured by means of Better Farming Societies, registered under the co-operative law, in which the peasants pledge themselves to adopt any improved seed, implement, or method of cultivation on which their general meeting may resolve, and the committee impose a fine on a member who fails to carry out the resolution. Frequent guidance by experts is indispensable, and the experts will find before them a group of men who have already learned in their credit society to work together and are now bound by a promise to listen to advice.

The selected seed of the agricultural farms has hitherto passed into the hands of the richer rather than the poorer farmers, and the bigger men have bought new ploughs and harrows because they can afford to take risks. The small peasant will not travel ten miles to the approved seed-agent to obtain one bushel of special seed for his two acres of cotton or wheat, nor will he risk twenty rupees on an imple-

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ment which he may fail rightly to adjust. The expert on his side cannot spare time to instruct separately each lord of five acres, and it is only by grouping fifty such persons and pledging them to listen, that a reasonable contact can be arranged.

The old theory that knowledge will filter down has been found by experience to be untrue. The small man does not learn from the big, or imitate him, because he does not believe the conditions of a big and a small holding to be comparable, and there is much to be said for his view. Yet without converting the small man, Indian agriculture will never be revolutionized, as it must be if the potentially fertile soil is to support the growing population. The group method will achieve the conversion, though slowly, and the co-operative machinery, by enabling the majority to keep a sluggish minority up to their promises, makes the grouping many times more effective.

Cattle Rearing

The same co-operative organization is necessary for the improvement of live stock. The cattle of India include many oxen which are weak under the yoke, bulls which are unfit for breeding, and cows which give little or no milk. I cannot omit all reference to the difficulty of raising the standard, while forbidden by the religious feelings of the Hindu to eliminate those animals which are worthless. Where the slaughter of unproductive stock sets free the pasture or other fodder for maintenance of the best beasts, selection is easier; but everywhere an advance is still possible if a group of cultivators, who have learned to act in common, will bind themselves by co-operative bylaws, with a penalty to be imposed by their own committee in case of default, to use a pure-bred bull for their best cows, and to keep other bulls away, by castration and segregation, from this herd. The same method can be employed for creating fodder reserves and for the selection of cows by milk-recording.

In theory any and all of these practices, whether relating

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to crop or to cattle, can be followed by each peasant individually or by a group without the co-operative machinery; but it is open to everyone to see that the single peasant does not actually do so, and that the propaganda in India on behalf of non-co-operative seed unions or agricultural associations sets up bodies which pass excellent resolutions and seldom give them lasting effect. A keen local officer may stimulate them for a time, but they fall back when he leaves the district; moreover, their membership is drawn largely from the well to do. The small man needs the encouragement of his immediate neighbours, and is most responsive to a village institution, not that of a taluka or district; his entry to the society must, of course, be voluntary, but so long as he retains his membership his character is stiffened by compulsion, and laxity and procrastination are punished.

These are not mere theories. Co-operative societies of cattle-breeding, milk-recording, cattle insurance, dairies, fodder storage, irrigation, distribution of seed, demonstration and sale of better implements, the teaching of new rotations and new methods of cultivation are active in several Indian provinces; and though their fortunes fluctuate and their efficiency varies, they bring the agricultural and veterinary officer for the first time into real touch with the five-acre cultivator, whose education is the centre of the Indian problem.

Importance of Literacy

There can be no slackening in the struggle to raise the level of agriculture by direct attack, but the real crux of the question lies in the character of the peasant-cultivator. Some progress is being made; 10,000,000 acres, or 3 per cent. of the total sown area, were under improved crops in 1928; but the ground is slowly and painfully gained, nor have other forms of improvement kept pace with the work of distributing good seed. Literacy and formal school instruction do not in themselves make a better farmer, but they give the peasant access to the information contained in books

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and pamphlets, and familiarize his mind with the process of absorbing new ideas. Whatever faults there may be in Indian education as at present planned, few who have preached and argued in the villages will deny that the literate man is ordinarily more open to persuasion and less suspicious of the motives with which a novel course is recommended. He is less submissive, less pliant, but when convinced is more constant in acting according to his convictions.

Co-operators have, consequently, always looked on literacy and enlightenment as the main desiderata for rural betterment, and the educator as their chief ally. In credit no less than in agriculture, the peasant who can read and write is ordinarily quicker to understand a principle, and ordinarily (with distressing exceptions) an influence for good in carrying out the practice. His utility as a secretary or a member of the committee, on account of his literacy, is not to be forgotten, but is beside the present question. Though an educated village may at first be more heavily indebted than an uneducated, and its members are capable of equally bitter faction, the stability of a co-operative society among them is appreciably greater, and their efforts to shake off their debt and to cultivate with greater profit are less dependent on the supervision of experts and organizers.

Co-operators, then, have naturally taken part in the campaign for adult education and for compulsory juvenile education. Co-operative adult schools are perhaps undesirable except as an experiment of pioneers ; education is the duty of trained educators. Compulsory education societies, in which the parents bind themselves to send their children regularly to school for a stated period, and are fined by their committee in case of negligence, are an example of that moral Co-operation in which I consider that India has taught a lesson to the world. These societies will cease to exist when legal compulsion is applied in the rural areas, but serve in the meantime the purpose of giving heart to the progressive villagers and preparing the way for the application of the

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law. Two things would help rural co-operators in the field of education: a system of rural broadcasting in the local vernacular, with a programme not limited to nonsense and jazz; and a supply of women teachers, primarily for girls' schools and subsequently for the boys. The new Indian Broadcasting Board, with State assistance and control, offers hope of the first; the second lies in a more distant future.

The societies of compulsory arbitration, created in one province only, fall within the widest definition of education, and should be mentioned here. Members bind themselves to refer to arbitrators every civil dispute on a long list of scheduled subjects, and to accept the award of the arbitrators. Their committee is empowered to fine every member who either resorts to a court of law in defiance of his pledge or enters a legal objection against the enforcement of an award. Moral Co-operation is here striving to correct the tendency to idle litigation, on account both of its demoralizing influence on the character and of the economic loss involved. Many disputes concerning women, land, and debts are satisfactorily settled in this way, and money-lenders who join the societies are able to recover their dues both cheaply and without ill-feeling.

Health Work

The most sublimated spirit of Co-operation is, however, found in the sphere of health. A sick cultivator is a bad cultivator, a dirty village is a degrading village, and the anti-malarial societies of Bengal are close to the heart of the rural problem. Whereas credit societies in India number 100,000, and agricultural societies 3,000, co-operative health societies do not exceed 1,000. In the Punjab they are named "Better Living Societies," and impose the same penalty on a breach of the common promise, to which I have referred in other instances. Bengal relies on propaganda alone, and this is undoubtedly a greater force in the Punjab also than the fear of a fine. Better living Societies bind their members to comply with any rule laid

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down by the general meeting in respect of sanitation, thrift, or moral and social reform. A standard list of jewellery may, for instance, be drawn up, in excess of which no parent is to endow a girl on her marriage; or a maximum cost of a wedding may be prescribed for a certain tribe or caste. In such matters it is difficult for different tribes and religions to join a single society, but where the decision is to engage and pay a sweeper or to exclude dancing girls from the village, all castes and creeds can unite.

Anti-malarial societies, which dry up the breeding-places of the mosquito, produce stronger men and thereby heavier crops; better living societies aim not only at health, but at the restraint of extravagance and the removal of causes of quarrel. They thus touch on one side the arbitration society, on another the agricultural society, and on a third the question of credit and debt. When a practicable solution of the dung-cake problem is offered to the peasant, and he is able, by burning another fuel, to conserve his manure for his fields, these societies will be the ideal channel for conveying the new knowledge to him and an excellent means of enforcing the policy in accordance with it.

A specialized form of better living is seen in the thrift society, whether the savings be in cash or grain. In the villages, however, of which I am for the most part speaking, the contribution of share-instalments for ten years to a credit society is in itself an act of thrift, and most of the existing societies are for urban men or women of regular income rather than for cultivators.

The Co-operation in India which I have described is a movement of wider scope, and less immediately economic, than Co-operation in Europe and America. It is compelled by the emptiness of the field to undertake duties which elsewhere are left to other agencies, and while rural India remains uneducated and unorganized, I see no alternative to extending co-operative activity in this way. When the peasantry is literate, when metalled roads bring every hamlet in touch with the towns, and when an alteration in the minds of the people makes it possible for refined and

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educated women to move and live freely and without comment in the villages, we shall see women's institutes, such as are now spreading in Bengal, established throughout the country, rural libraries in every school-centre, and girl guides' troops, no less than boy scouts, ranging over every patch of hill or bush. There will then, ultimately and far hence, be less necessity for co-operative organizers to handle every kind of social problem, but so long as the country is undeveloped and the people are backward, organization must be very local and based on the village as a unit.

Rural Community Councils

The co-operative staff are continually among the peasants and enjoy their confidence; it is therefore simpler and wiser to work through them. I imagine in the future a multiplicity of rural agencies, for health, adult education, amusement, and agricultural instruction, radiating through the country, and co-ordinated by a semi-official body in each district such as the Rural Community Councils of England and the Punjab. The virtue of a semi-official council is that it holds the several agencies together and helps to prevent overlapping, while keeping officials and non-officials in touch with one another for mutual assistance.

The splendid work of Mr. Brayne in Gurgaon was carried out largely in the name, and partly by the means, of the district community council, and I suggest that the more an officer or organizer uses these institutions, the less his work will slip back when he himself is removed. On such a council the co-operative movement will always be represented, and both private and public associations will thus learn and realize the advantage of employing an organization which exists, not to aggrandize itself, but to forward the ends of others. Where a co-ordinating council is lacking or inert, or where—as in many parts of the country—there are as yet no active bodies for rural reconstruction which can be co-ordinated, Co-operation is the only means by which the peasants can be grouped and taught for their own benefit and for the making of India a nation.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Tuesday, March 18, 1930, Mr. C. F. Strickland, I.C.S., lectured on "What India really needs." The Most Hon. The Marquess of Linlithgow, K.T., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Michael O'Dwyer, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Edward Maclagan, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Lady Bennett, Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir William Ovens and Lady Clark, Sir Clement Hindley, K.C.I.E., and Lady Hindley, Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Philip Hartog, C.I.E., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Selwyn H. Fremantle, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Edward Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Cecil Walsh, Sir T. Carey Evans, M.C., F.R.C.S., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Colonel B. B. A. Patterson, C.S.I., C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. J. A. D. McBain, C.I.E., Mr. H. A. F. Lindsay, C.I.E., C.B.E., Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Mr. Vincent Esch, C.V.O., and Mrs. Esch, Mr. F. F. Lindsay, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mrs. Strickland, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Colonel W. G. Hamilton, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Colonel F. S. Terry and Miss Terry, Mr. and Mrs. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. P. G. Robertson, Miss Stacey, Mr. D. Scott Bremner, Mrs. Webber, Miss Corfield, Mrs. Martley, Mr. H. S. Noah, Mr. J. M. McKechnie, Moulvi Farzand Ali, Mr. A. H. Maynard, Mr. B. Dunlop, Mr. M. Hunter, Mr. and Mrs. O. C. G. Hayter, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Mr. E. E. Gunter, Mr. S. C. Gupte, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Miss K. L. Speechley, Colonel Goodenough, Major and Mrs. G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mrs. P. A. Weir, Mr. A. F. Fremantle, Miss A. J. Wills, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Mr. Bradley, Mr. A. Bhatt, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mrs. A. M. T. Jackson, Mrs. Plymen, Mr. McDougall, Mrs. Ameer Ali, Mr. B. M. Desai, Mr. Y. T. Desai, Mr. Frederick Wright, Mr. L. Sundaram, Mrs. Savern, Mr. G. Pilcher, Mrs. Latifi, Mr. Ghulam Qadir Khan, Mr. F. Grubb, Mr. Austin T. Young, Mr. Seymour Rouse, Miss Gaywood, Mr. K. C. Keymer, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The Chairman: Ladies and Gentlemen,—Amongst others who had hoped to be present today were Sir Atul Chatterjee, the High Commissioner, who unfortunately has been prevented, owing to his work on one of the numerous Committees on which he serves; and also Sir Horace Plunkett, who has been prevented from attending owing to indisposition. Those present who know the great work Sir Horace Plunkett has done for co-operation will be pleased to know that he pays a warm tribute to the work of Mr. Strickland and other Registrars of co-operative societies in India for the contribution they are making to the economic advancement of the country.

In introducing the speaker today I need only remind you that Mr.

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Strickland was a distinguished member of the Indian Civil Service in the Punjab, and that he held the important office in the province of Registrar of Co-operative Societies. No one is better equipped to give a lecture on Co-operation in India than is Mr. Strickland. He has prepared a paper which some of us in the room today have had the advantage of perusing. He asks me to say that he does not intend to read his paper through from end to end, preferring to make an extemporary address.

The Lecture was then given.

The CHAIRMAN: I congratulate Mr. Strickland on a most interesting address and a very valuable paper. I should like to say, first of all, a few words about two points, if I may be excused the irrelevancy, with which Mr. Strickland did not deal. He confined himself to the problems of the countryside. I think it is worth while pointing out that the urban and industrial population in India is of immense importance to agriculture and to the agriculturist. It goes without saying that the demand by the urban population and by industries in India for the food and for the raw material produced by the soil must be of the utmost importance to the cultivator. Agriculture and industry are complementary and mutually dependent, and a wise Government, concerned to promote the well-being of the farmer, will seek to expand the markets for his produce, whether for consumption in India or abroad. I should like also to be allowed to take this opportunity of saying a word about the very valuable efforts for rural betterment which are being made in the Indian States, notably in Mysore. In such matters as control of animal diseases and plant pests, the best results cannot be obtained unless procedure is uniform throughout India. It is much to be hoped that the Princes and the Durbars of the States may show an ever-growing readiness to co-operate for the solution of these problems in British India. In this connection it is, I think, appropriate to make reference to the public-spirited action of H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad in placing at the disposal of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research on its establishment the sum of Rs. 2, and undertaking to follow that up with an annual donation. (Applause.)

I very much hope the Government of India and the local Governments may entertain sympathetically Mr. Strickland's suggestion to use wireless broadcasting as a means of promoting rural betterment. There is good ground for holding that broadcasting, skilfully handled, would be an immensely powerful agent for good; but, if the plan be attempted, I do hope the experiment may be bold, thorough, and sustained.

Upon general considerations I should like to say that I for one, like the lecturer of today, am firmly persuaded that co-operation is the best hope for rural India. I am confident too that the single purpose credit society must for many years remain the chief instrument for extending co-operation and for teaching its principles. This is not to under-estimate the value of other types of societies, but it is quite clear that there can be no hope for the successful working of, for instance, sale and purchase societies where the cultivator's existing indebtedness compels him to conduct all his transactions through his creditor, the moneylender. When the time

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comes that the cultivator has been liberated from the greater part of his debt, then no doubt the other types of societies throughout India will play a great part in developing the countryside. It is impossible, I am persuaded, to overstress the importance of the educative function of co-operation, and, therefore, of the extent to which its virtue depends upon the health of the primary society. Quality, not numbers, is what counts. Let us make no mistake about it: co-operation may under certain circumstances be a very fertile field of what is called eyewash, unless surveillance is keen, and its direction in well-trained and high-principled hands. Flattering returns, year by year, showing increases in numbers of societies, in membership and in working capital, are worthless and worse, unless the primary societies are sound, and unless the members are benefiting in terms of knowledge and character from their membership. Mr. Strickland has said the basis of co-operation is character. There can be no truer words. Nothing is to be gained by pretending, and Mr. Strickland has not told us—there are no weak places in the co-operative structure in India. It is proper to point out, for instance, that in 1927 the position was that in the Central Provinces the movement was recovering from a severe financial crisis, the worst consequences of which were only avoided by financial assistance from the local Government. This crisis had been due to financial mismanagement, accompanied by a culpable failure to educate members in co-operative principles. In the United Provinces the so-called Oakden Committee reported that the village societies were mostly a sham; the principles of co-operation were not understood; and the staff appointed to teach was itself insufficiently trained and unfit for the work it was supposed to do. In that province a drastic overhaul of the movement is already producing promising results. In Madras in 1927 the overdue loans position was serious and giving cause for considerable uneasiness, while in Burma it was alleged that the movement was stationary, if not in some areas stagnant. That was the position in 1927. I must be a little careful, because it is alleged that those who have been to India are inclined on occasions to chew the cud of obsolete experiences, and to pass it off for a feast of wisdom up-to-date. I do not suppose things have altogether altered since 1927. No doubt commendable efforts are still being made to put these matters right, and I for one have no hesitation in affirming that if appropriate steps are taken they can be put right; nor for a moment do I forget or desire that anyone else should forget the great good that co-operation is today achieving throughout India, or the remarkable successes attained in extending the movement throughout the sub-continent during the short period of twenty-six years.

I hope those weak spots to which I have referred may serve as spurs to improvement and as lessons of what to avoid in the future. I hope that on no account may passing disappointments of that nature discourage fresh effort or shake confidence in the future of the movement. This great achievement, this spreading of co-operation during so short a period throughout the whole of India, has been an achievement possible only by reason of the devotion of those workers who, whether official or non-official,

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have fostered and directed this great enterprise. In this connection, I venture to stress the urgent importance of appointing as Registrars only those who, by nature and training, are adequately equipped for the duty (hear, hear), and also of giving sufficient technical instruction to inspectors, and other officials in the co-operative service, and where possible, I would add, offering opportunities for education in the technique of co-operation to those volunteers who are willing to give their services. Co-operation is not quite such an easy matter as some people who have not applied their minds to co-operation appear to think. No one acquainted with the facts is likely to under-estimate the value of the services of the many patriotic and public-spirited persons who are voluntary workers in the cause in India. But the day is not yet when the movement will be able to dispense altogether with official guidance. For the present, the services of trained officers for education, supervision and inspection are necessary.

Under existing conditions it is impossible to overstate the importance and value to the movement of the sympathetic interest and support of all those who are in public life in India. Time must elapse before the stimulus for rural betterment can reasonably be expected to flow from the normal working of any representative system of government. In countries in which constitutional evolution has been spontaneous, it is true to say that economic development has commonly preceded and, indeed, induced political change. In India that process has been reversed. That I believe to be a truth the profound significance of which is not lessened by the fact that the constitutional experiments we are witnessing today may, if successful, be expected to hasten economic and social changes. There is palpable risk that during the intermediate period political excitement may turn attention away from rural development, and weaken purpose and persistence in this great work. In this matter continuity of effort is vital. Without it you can achieve nothing. Sustain the effort long enough, and the desire for betterment will be communicated from those who seek to help the rural masses to the villager himself. When the impulse for progress, upon which all agricultural improvement must ultimately depend, becomes spontaneous in the breasts of the villagers, the battle will have been won. Desist now, and the faithful and patient labour of years will be thrown away, the jungle will move in, and the brightest prospect before rural India will be utterly effaced.

Sir Selwyn Fremantle said that he had listened, as he was sure was the case with all of them, with the greatest interest to the exposition of co-operative principles and the account of their adaptation to the Punjab which Mr. Strickland had given them. As a hardened co-operator he was not going to quarrel with what the lecturer had said, especially as he knew that it was based not only on his experience in the Punjab but in his studies of co-operation in pretty well all the European countries. He rather regretted that the majority of the audience had not had a chance of seeing the paper which Mr. Strickland was supposed to read, because it gave a most interesting description of the various forms of societies which had been started in the Punjab, and would be of great value to those who

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were only acquainted with what had been done in the rest of India. It was marvellous what had been done in the Punjab. The chairman had told them something of the state of co-operation in the other provinces. It was true that the defects had now been recognized and great efforts were being made, certainly in his province, with some success to put matters right. There was no doubt that in time things would come right. He had had occasion when writing an article on this subject to look up the old records of co-operation in the Punjab. In one report for about the year 1916-17 it was stated that 5,000 members had been expelled from the societies. At that time co-operation was in just as bad a condition in the Punjab as it was ten years later in some of the other provinces of which they had heard. To what was to be attributed the present position, which, as he had said, was very different in the Punjab to what it was in other parts of India? He submitted that the causes were very clear. In the Punjab there had been three picked men who had been working for co-operation for the last ten or twelve years, of whom Mr. Strickland was one, Mr. Calvert was another and Mr. Darling was the third. Those were the men who had made co-operation in the Punjab. If the other provinces had been far-sighted enough to give the services of three of their best revenue officers to the cause of co-operation in those particular years, they would have had a very different story to tell today. That revival of agriculture which was contemplated by the Royal Agricultural Commission would have gone further forward if the other provinces had been today in the condition of the Punjab. As representing a neighbouring and sometimes rival province he felt that he should congratulate Mr. Strickland and his associates heartily on the wonderful work that they had been able to do. He was struck by one passage in Mr. Strickland's paper in which he stated that "the old village organization is no longer strong enough to impose its will on backward or recalcitrant individuals, and each man is, in matters not concerning his caste or his religion, a law unto himself," because it corresponded so closely with his own experience. Mr. Strickland had told them that the way to remedy that was through co-operative organization, and no doubt there was a great deal of truth in that. In his opinion there was something that India needed beyond that, and that was the re-organization of local government so that it might be a reality and be brought down to the homes and the activities of the people, which certainly was not the case at present. What had they in the way of local government in India? They had a district board sitting at headquarters with thirty or forty members who deliberated on the affairs of perhaps a thousand or two thousand villages. They could not go into details in those matters, nor could the educational and other committees of the board. Except in a case where sectional disputes arose or in cases of personal matters the district board knew practically nothing about the villages and had to leave everything to their permanent staff. There was not in Northern India anything to correspond to our own rural district councils, which administered in this country roads, sanitation and public health, or to our parish councils, which administered commons and foot-

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paths, lighting and other small matters which were important to the village.

It was always a moot question as to what extent village punchayets were really effective in former days. But there was the possibility of reviving them, and in some provinces there had been an attempt at revival; but it had been a half-hearted attempt, and the panchayats had never been given any considerable powers, nor had they any organic connection with the district board. He did not say that it would be an easy thing to revive the village punchayats throughout the many villages of Northern India, neither was he quite sure that it ought to be done; but there was another possibility—namely, that of union boards such as had been formed in Bengal, which covered an area of sixteen to twenty square miles, and a population of 8,000 to 10,000 people. That was a very interesting development, and it was quite possible that something could be done through them. His point was that there ought to be some organization of local government to bring it down to smaller areas in order that the people might be taught to take an interest in their own local affairs. At present they were so apathetic, as Mr. Strickland had pointed out. If some thorough reorganization of local government throughout Northern India could be affected, it would have a most excellent educative value and would also stimulate that spirit of enterprise and enquiry without which any advance either towards co-operation or towards education or towards the improvement of agriculture or sanitation or towards anything else would only be very slow and painful. (Applause.)

Sir JAMES MACKENNA said that the fact that after twenty-six years' work there were, out of 110,000 societies, only 10,000 other than credit societies was not a position that could make co-operators feel particularly happy. He thought that the co-operative movement had had a shake-up during the last four or five years that was going to be all to its good. Official and departmental control must, of course, *ultimately* disappear, though it might be a long time before this would be possible. With regard to the central banks, a very large percentage of the money in the Burma Central Bank came from Europeans. That was not a satisfactory state of affairs. They were no doubt after the 7½ per cent. and 8 per cent., but he thought that most of them now wished that they had bought War Loan. In the development of the co-operative movement, the whole fabric should be slowly worked up from the solid credit of the village society up to the group or Union culminating in the district bank financed by the societies themselves or by residents trusted in the district who knew the management, otherwise he was afraid there was not much future for co-operation.

Mr. H. A. F. LINDSAY said he desired to add his humble tribute to what previous speakers had said in recognition of Mr. Strickland's paper. It was also the tribute of one who had known him for many years. He regretted to say he came to the meeting with none of the experiences of the previous speakers. He had no expert knowledge of co-operative credit in India, but he approached the matter entirely from the point of view of a commercial man. The fascinating title which Mr. Strickland

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had chosen for his address made one think that after all there was a good deal in common between the agricultural and industrial efforts of India and the general trade position in which we found ourselves now. Restating Mr. Strickland's conclusions in other words, he suggested that the co-operation which India was seeking was a co-operation which the whole world also required. It was a co-operation which meant greater confidence. Throughout the world and in world trade what we were suffering from was lack of knowledge of each other, and, therefore, lack of confidence. When Mr. Strickland suggested that co-operation was a cure for that, he was really suggesting that India should get together just as the other countries of the world in similar circumstances must always get together and know each other better and from that mutual knowledge should arrive at a position in which alone progress was possible—namely, from organization based on mutual knowledge, confidence, and respect. The desperate condition of world trade at present was chiefly due to the fact that all those delicate threads which made up the web of commerce had been torn by the war, and were now being reconstructed. We had to know each other better before we could trust each other. Was not that exactly the position which co-operation induced in India? That was to say, that every ryot was, through the medium of co-operation getting to know his fellow better, therefore getting to trust him, and therefore smoothing the way for the organization necessary for further progress. He was very much struck on a visit to India last year by the evidences of closer and better co-operation throughout India. He would like to remind Mr. Strickland of the organization of the Joint Development Board, which in one body supervised both agricultural and industrial progress in the Punjab. He would like to suggest also that besides broadcasting as a means of education, mutual knowledge, mutual confidence, and mutual respect, there was also the film, which would be increasingly used, he thought, as a means of agricultural education in India. Finally he would suggest another line of advance in the future of which certain signs were evident at present, and that was a closer relationship between the banking system and the co-operative credit system of India; not, as Mr. Strickland himself had said, in order to increase the volume of credit available, but to ensure the maintenance of those standards of account and audit which of themselves would ensure greater confidence in the system, and, therefore, closer co-operation among various members. (Applause.)

Mr. O. C. G. Hayter said still less than the last speaker had he any right to address the meeting on co-operative societies from the point of view of knowledge of the societies themselves; but in his experience he had learnt a certain amount about them, especially how very valuable they were to the men of the police force in the matter of their debts and of keeping them out of debt and keeping them straight generally. His idea, however, was to speak not as as one who, as their Chairman had said, might chew the cud of experience in India, but simply as a resident citizen in England today. In his opinion people in England should be very much indebted to men like Mr. Strickland, who gave of their experience to

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enlighten people about these very important matters in India. If he had never been in India at all, he would have been convinced by Mr. Strickland's paper of the very vast importance of the question of the improvement and welfare of the Indian villages which contained such an enormous proportion of the whole population. He had always felt that it was the villager who wanted help and support and everything that could possibly be done for him. Looking at it from that point of view, it was really astonishing to reflect how little was said among the huge volume of reports and discussions, newspaper writings and articles in magazines and so forth, of the welfare of the villages. There was very urgent need that those who lead the agricultural population and those who stand for them should come forward a bit more and put their views before the people in this country.

They had heard from the Chairman that the agricultural population could not be considered by itself; that the welfare of the cities and industries was all-important to the welfare of the villages. The trouble seemed to be that so far as information given to the people of England was concerned they were told everything, or a very great deal, about the interests and opinions and the views and the influences of the people in the cities, but not about the people in the villages. He would suggest that such information as Mr. Strickland, and men who had worked as he had done for the benefit of the villagers, could give them, should be put before the British people and very widely disseminated. What was wanted most of all was that men who represented the agricultural interests of India should come forward and speak up for those interests. (Applause.)

Professor R. K. Sorabji said that while he greatly admired Mr. Strickland's paper, he noticed that he said that the basis of everything was character. He could not see how character was to be put into people when they reached a certain age, merely by the co-operative system. At the back of India's great need was the greater need of education. It was one of his sorrows that education was a transferred subject. They ought to have kept it in the highest hands, not because India would not be capable of managing her own education some day, but that she had not had the advantage of training on the public school and old-time University system as Englishmen had. All scientists led us to a certain point, and then did not take us further. Some, for example, led us to electrons, but could not tell us what accounted for the life in the electron. So Mr. Strickland had taken them to the credit society, but not to what would create the character necessary for the success of the credit system. He did not know how these people were going to be trained to run these excellent credit societies in the various villages. It was education—an education to fit each for his particular vocation—that they needed, and a great mistake was made by allowing it to become a transferred subject. Sound education alone could create character.

Sir Louis Dane said he was Lieutenant-Governor soon after the movement was started in the Punjab, and he was glad to hear that it had done so well. They began on very small lines, and what was even more important, they took very good care with regard to the officers they

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selected for putting in charge of the work. There was no doubt that work of this kind could not succeed in India in present circumstances unless it was in the hands of absolutely independent and carefully trained officers, who were devoted to that particular class of work. Somebody had said that the paper that Mr. Strickland had read was a great credit to himself and to the service, but he was a little sorry to hear every now and then crop up—perhaps the sound of the word was so unpleasant that it appeared to him to be more ubiquitous than ever—and that was the word "fine." There seemed to be a good deal of fining of people for certain things. He had hoped that the enthusiasm of the officers in the co-operative movement would, as in Mr. Strickland's case, be tempered by experience. In India one had to go very slow and to avoid always stirring up the people with some new departure or department. Results might be disappointing, but they would come in the long run, and the foundation would then be secure.

There was one thing which the Chairman had touched on which he would like to emphasize. They had heard how difficult it was to carry out this co-operative movement in the villages and how difficult all village uplift was, but there was one absolute certainty. If the villagers were to be incited to refuse to pay rents and to cease to pay that share of the produce in the shape of land revenue which had been for centuries upon centuries the foundation of all government and administration in India, then it was absolutely certain that the co-operative movement would be the very first thing which would crash down to rack and ruin, as the peasants would certainly refuse to pay their debts.

On behalf of the Association he offered their thanks to Lord Linlithgow for his attendance and also to Mr. Strickland for his most valuable paper.

Mr. STRICKLAND: I have only one or two points to make in reply. There are so many questions which have been raised upon which it is impossible for me to touch without keeping you too long. I am sadly disappointed to find, in spite of all my plans, that I am put down as talking about the Punjab. I did do my best to avoid the Punjab, and my remarks were intended to apply to all India. You, my lord, pointed out that other provinces in some cases have not altogether done well, but I felt that it would be entirely improper for me, as a Punjabi, to draw attention to the fact.

I do not think Sir James MacKenna meant for a moment that official interest and guidance should be withdrawn all at once. In such a step one must be cautious. Although I fully agree with the ideal of a self-governing movement, yet so long as the bulk of the people remain comparatively uninformed and limited in their view, you cannot help giving them guidance from outside. We would gladly give them non-official guidance if we could find non-officials who are prepared to give their *whole* time, not their spare time, to the work, and, secondly, if they are prepared to travel all over the world in order to instruct themselves. I put those two tests to non-officials. If they will do that, they can replace official guides.

Mr. Lindsay attached importance to the audit of accounts from the banker's point of view. There, again, the urgent need of a trained staff is obvious.

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Then Sir Louis Dane speaks of fines. I think what he said was based on a misconception. The fines that are imposed are not imposed by the staff, not by the inspectors, but by the elected Committees, and if a Society thinks the Committee has fined a man unjustly it can depose the Committee. The method is quite democratic. It is not giving more power to the staff. I do not want the staff to have power, but I do want them to have great knowledge, training, and experience of other countries, so that they can go to the village as patriotic but broadminded friends, not to give orders, but to give guidance. I wonder how many people realize that under the Co-operative Societies Act a co-operative inspector in the first place does not exist, and in the second place he has no powers. He is purely a guide. That does not apply to a Registrar, of course. The training of the staff is the first essential to co-operative success.

Sir HENRY LAWRENCE in proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman said that he was sure that he was voicing the opinions of them all in saying how very grateful they were to Lord Linlithgow for having spared time from his many engagements to preside over them that afternoon. He also proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Strickland for his very valuable paper.

THE BRITISH INDIAN UNION

LORD ERLEIGH, Vice-Chairman of the British Indian Union, has intimated in a letter to the Hon. Secretary that the Committee are most anxious that everyone interested in Indian affairs should have an opportunity of attending the social functions arranged by the British Indian Union. To this end members of the East India Association will be eligible to apply to the Society at 10, Grosvenor Gardens, S.W. 1, for tickets for any function of the Union they may wish to attend.

Some of the functions being arranged by the British Indian Union from April to June are as follows:

April 24.—Dinner at the Taj Mahal Restaurant, 7.30 p.m.
May 1.—Luncheon at the Hotel Rubens, 1 p.m. (This is the birthday of H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught.)
May 15.—Tea at the Hotel Metropole, 4.15 p.m.
May 29.—Dinner at the Taj Mahal Restaurant, 7.30 p.m.
June 13.—Luncheon at the Hotel Rubens, 1 p.m.
June 17.—Tea at the Hotel Metropole, 4.15 p.m.
June 26.—Dinner at the Taj Mahal Restaurant, 7.30 p.m.

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THE INNER EAST

CONDUCTED BY W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.

THE SITUATION IN AFGHANISTAN

BY MUSTAFA CHOKAIEV

(*Introductory note.*)

[The author of this article has already contributed two articles to the ASIATIC REVIEW, in April, 1928, on "The Basmaji Movement in Turkestan," and in July, 1929, on "The Bolsheviks and Afghanistan." Mr. Chokaiev was President of the Provisional Government of Autonomous Turkestan, which was elected by the Extraordinary Congress of Turkestan Mussalmans in November, 1917, and which was suppressed as a result of the bombardment of Kokand by troops of the Tashkent Sovnarkom on January 31, 1918.

Mr. Chokaiev is regarded as one of the leaders of Mussalman political thought in the Middle East, and has numerous connections in Turkey, Persia, and Afghanistan, which enables him to form a particularly authoritative view on the problems of those regions.]

1. CAUSES OF THE FALL OF AMANULLAH

THE civil war which raged in Afghanistan for more than a year is now over. Bacha-i-Saqao, the conqueror of Amanullah, has, after a nine months' reign, disappeared from the horizon. On the Afghan throne we now have Nadir Khan. Nadir Khan is not an "arrivist," whose accession to the throne of Afghanistan can be interpreted as the outcome of his personal ambitions, for his accession resulted from, and was justified by, the course of events.

After the fall of Amanullah and the unsuccessful three days' rule of Inayatullah, after the nine months' "profanation" of the national feeling of the Afghans by the appearance on the Kabul throne of a water-carrier's son, the accession to the throne of Afghanistan of Nadir Khan—who is the most experienced and popular patriot in the country—is an act not only legitimate, but also unavoidable, if considered from the point of view of the interests of a country which is awakening to a new life. One must assume—and I am one of those who firmly believes in this—that Nadir Khan is just the man who can give the Afghans that which they themselves—while they have no clear-cut idea of what they want—are seeking in the darkness of their yet unawakened political consciousness.

And really what did the Afghans want when they decided to revolt against Amanullah in the autumn of 1928? What demands of political and social character did they put forward when embarking upon the horrors of a civil war that jeopardized even the existence of Afghanistan itself? Which of the reforms of Amanullah caused so great an indignation among the people that an armed resistance—the sorry results of which could not have been unforeseen by the leaders—became unavoidable?

Politically definite answers are difficult to find to these questions. The two official documents which express, so to speak, the *pia desiderata* of the revolted Afghan people do not contain a single paragraph that could be considered as of a political nature. I have in mind, in the first place, the Proclamation of the Clergy of the Northern Provinces, and in the second the Appeal of the Clergy of Kandahar.

Among the twenty-one articles of the first document (it was published on January 23, 1928) there is only one—namely, the fifteenth—which we might suspect as referring to what we call "politics." It is the mention of the stopping of allowances from the State Treasury to the Mullahs and

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"Muezzins and other servants of the mosques." Even this defence of the "earthly interests" of the clergy is placed under the cover of the "Sacred Shariat."

The clergy of Kandahar, the region where Amanullah had indeed sound personal connections, demand (Article 7) "the inclusion in the National Council and on the Executive Commissions of the Ulemas to the number of half, or in any case not less than one-third of the whole composition, to see that legislation conforms with the dogmas of the Shariat."

In all the other articles of both these documents, which enumerate so assiduously all the causes of the national discontent with the government of Amanullah, no mention, not even by way of hint, is made of politics. All the "crimes" of Amanullah are pointed out therein, "crimes" such as the sending of the Afghan girls abroad for higher education; the opening of girls' schools which daughters could attend without the formal permission of their fathers or their husbands; the order to wear the European dress and headgear; the change of the day of rest from Friday to Thursday; the abolition of the veil. . . . There is, too, an article accusing Amanullah of negligence in "observing the prayer ritual constituting one of the pillars of the Mussalman religion," etc.

Of the really great political or State reforms of Amanullah only one—namely, the reform of the military service—was opposed by the tribes of the Eastern Provinces. In the manifesto revoking the reforms (January 7, 1929) Amanullah states: "The recruiting was conducted by lots, for which purpose a census had to be introduced. This was in order that the entire population might be brought under military service for the defence of the country." But "as the population is not satisfied with this measure, the census will not be applied. . . . The recruiting will be carried out as before on a tribal basis—*i.e.*, the required number of recruits will be divided among the different tribes."

From this it is clear that the State reforms of Amanullah were subjected to attacks by the upholders of the interests of the tribal order. The defence of the Shariat and of the tribal system constituted the source of the "popular wrath" against Amanullah. We have, it seems, approached near enough to comprehend the causes of the Afghan tragedy. We have on one side the king-reformer considering the Afghans as a united, single political organism, as a unified state-nation; and on the other side the Afghan tribes, who, looking at the State, can comprehend it only from the point of view of the tribal interests, to defend which the principles of the "Sacred Shariat" are put forward.

Amanullah was in the end compelled to abandon his reforms. The girls who had been sent abroad to study were ordered to return; reintroducing the veils, he forbade the women to uncover their faces or hands. He closed down all the girls' schools, revoked the order about the European dress, transferred the day of rest back to Friday, although this measure was adopted according to his own interpretation as a "measure necessary for the regular attendance of the Friday prayers by the officials and the students." He permitted all those who had accomplished their studies at Dive-Bend (a high ecclesiastical institution in India) to return to Afghanistan and to resume their occupation as preachers and teachers. About the revoking of the orders for military service, mention has been made above.

It would seem that all the causes of disagreement between the King and his subjects had been removed, and peace should have reigned once more. But, alas! the recantation of Amanullah fell on deaf ears; he appealed in vain. Some of the tribes and the heads of the clergy continued to struggle. And this is comprehensible so far as the fight against Amanullah was begun in the name of the Shariat. According to the Shariat, even the repentant sinner must be punished as if offering an expiatory sacrifice. And Amanullah was to offer this sacrifice; he

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renounced his throne in favour of his brother Inayatullah. But even this sacrifice on the part of Amanullah did not quieten the country. Inayatullah also in his turn was obliged to abdicate. Amanullah now attempted to cancel his renunciation and to continue the fight. But his former authority had been already undermined. By dropping the reforms, he had, to put it mildly, cooled down the zeal of the staunch supporters of "Europeanization," while on the other hand his retreat appeared to confirm the justness of the insurgents' cause and thereby strengthened their position.

The path to the throne remained open, and the water-carrier's son—Bacha-i-Saqao—was assuredly approaching Kabul. The event was not "blessed with the class sympathy of the Afghan peasantry" as the Soviet Press attempted to interpret it. "The revolt in Afghanistan," as we read in the *Press Bulletin of Middle Asia*, No. 2, 1929, "was in its conception a peasant revolt. It was, indeed, the agrarian question that was the occasion of the revolt of the Afghan tribes of Khugiani and Shinwari and of the Kuhistanians, together with the other non-Afghan tribes of Northern Afghanistan." Such is the "class" stencil of the Bolsheviks. The revolt in Afghanistan they called a peasants' revolt only because the rebel soldiery consisted exclusively of peasants. But it could not have been otherwise, as the peasantry constitute an overwhelming majority of the population of Afghanistan. The army of Amanullah also was composed of peasants. One could call it a peasants' revolt only if the programme of the rebellion had reflected the needs and demands of the peasantry. All the "economic misfortunes" which the peasantry endured they attributed simply to the "chastisement" from God for the non-observance by Amanullah Khan "of the stern rules of the Sacred Shariat." When economic problems are explained by "a Divine will" and are made dependent upon the observance of the "prayer-ritual," it is useless to speak of the "class-consciousness" or even of the "class-feeling of the Afghan peasants.

I shall quote a few more extracts from the above-mentioned Bolshevik source:

"The path which the Kabul government (of Bacha-i-Saqao) chose to follow created a certain disappointment among the peasantry, who expected the satisfaction of their immediate needs. . . . And it is in this disappointment that the *fundamental* (italics in the original) cause of the failure of Habibullah is to be found. Had the latter administered to the needs of the peasantry of both Northern and Southern Afghanistan, the movement headed by him would not only not have been checked, but it would have attained an expansion unheard of for Afghanistan."

The Bolsheviks anxiously waited for this expansion. They hoped that the expansion of the peasants' movement "led by Habibullah" would infect India and thus facilitate the expulsion of the British from that peninsula. But this hope could not and did not materialize. On the contrary, Bacha-i-Saqao "elevated to the throne"—according to the Bolshevik Press—"on the crest of the peasant revolt" restored feudal authority. Why did Bacha-i-Saqao turn so quickly against those who had placed him on the throne? The answer was easy to find. England was accused as being the plotter.

"The restoration of feudal authority means the creation of all the *necessary conditions for the English colonization of the country*" (italics are original) declared the *Bulletin of the Middle Asian Press* (No. 8). Thus, according to the Bolshevik Press, the English first incited the Afghan peasants against Amanullah, who could not check the feudalism which enslaved them; and when "the peasant movement" had won, the same English compelled Bacha-i-Saqao, the "leader" of the peasant movement, to restore feudalism in order to facilitate the colonization of the country by the English.

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What conclusion could one derive from this? The Bolsheviks themselves provide the answer. "The struggle against the Kabul monarchy"—we read in the above-mentioned Bulletin—"carried on by the population of the south with Amanullah at their head, is the struggle for the independence of Afghanistan." In other words, the Afghan peasantry is now behind the man against whom they had rebelled. Not satisfied with such a simple explanation of the "change of front by the peasantry," the Bolsheviks advise Amanullah to fight against England. "One must perceive clearly," write the Bolsheviks in the Bulletin, "that the struggle against the English Imperialism can be successful only if decisive measures are adopted for the actual improvement of the conditions of the peasantry such as the reduction of taxes, regulation of irrigation, etc." The satisfaction of the peasantry as suggested by the Bolsheviks under the conditions that prevail in Afghanistan would inevitably lead to a collision with the "principles of the Sacred Shariat" and of tribal government—the two most important pillars of contemporary Afghanistan, the seemingly unsympathetic and disrespectful attitude which alone brought about the disastrous rising against Amanullah. These two internal, so to speak, natural difficulties in the way of the modernization of Afghanistan are attributed by the Bolsheviks to the machinations of England. For the leaders of Afghanistan the struggle against England must be taken as the first step towards the establishment of the independence of Afghanistan, while to the Afghan masses the struggle against England is interpreted as something of absolute necessity which will lead to the satisfaction of all their needs. Without the victory over British Imperialism, argue the Bolsheviks, it will never be possible to reduce taxation, to increase the grant of lands, nor to develop internal trade.

This is one of the aspects of Bolshevik anti-British propaganda undertaken with the object of instilling into the conscience of the Afghan masses hostility against England. This aim is pursued by the Bolsheviks wherever there are British interests, not only abroad, but also within the Soviet Union in the countries adjacent to the British possessions (for instance, in Turkestan).

2. The Failure of Bacha-i-Saqao

The civil war had ended. Nadir Khan mounted the Afghan throne. The leader of the "peasant movement," Bacha-i-Saqao, completely disappeared from the horizon. Those of the Mullahs of the Northern Provinces who backed Bacha-i-Saqao, who called upon the Afghans to follow his banner, the banner of the "servant of the true faith," will hardly think of canonizing him and including him among the "shahids"—*i.e.*, the martyrs of the faith. Amanullah remained in Europe. After the repeal of his reforms, after his abdication from the throne, to return to Afghanistan might appear hard for him. It may even be impossible without some risk of a new civil war, the outcome of which would arouse no doubt in anyone. "The power is again in the hands of the sirdars and the Afghan nobility," write the Bolsheviks, disappointed with the result of the civil war, and the success of the new power they place in direct dependence on its ability to withstand and oppose the designs of England.

When Nadir Khan attained power, the Bolsheviks hastened to declare him to be the English candidate, the dupe of the Afghan feudals, and ready to place Afghanistan under the British colonial régime. But it so happened that Nadir Khan sent his envoy to Moscow much earlier than to London; and the Bolsheviks, pleased with this attention, proclaimed that England had miscalculated her chances, and that Nadir Khan was more cordially disposed towards the Soviet Russia.

Nadir Khan crushed the anarchy that reigned in the country and conquered Bacha-i-Saqao, the representative of "the poorest peasantry and proletariat"—not as a protagonist of the Afghan sirdars—the "hereditary

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nobility" but as a zealous patriot, who succeeded in placing the interests of the country above those of the nobility. Among the Afghan public men, two have always been conspicuous figures. They are Mahmud Tarzi Khan, at present residing in Turkey, and Nadir Khan. Both are, by the way, related to Amanullah. The wife of the ex-King is a daughter of Mahmud Tarzi Khan, and a sister of Nadir Khan was the wife of Amanullah's father. But the importance and rôle of these personages lies not in their relationship to the ex-King. Both of them—Tarzi Khan and Nadir Khan—are the real creators of contemporary Afghanistan. Nadir Khan held, however, moderate views both with regard to the internal and external politics of Afghanistan.

Having for some years commanded the armed forces of Afghanistan, which were the real emanation of the Afghan tribes, Nadir Khan, could, more than anyone else, know and understand the psychology of the tribal system of government. It may also be that the innate conservatism characteristic of the military career played no small rôle in the conduct of Nadir Khan. However it may have been, Nadir Khan while sympathizing with the reforms of Amanullah, never inwardly approved of the haste and methods of introduction of some of them. Hence the cooling of the relationship between him and the King.

In 1924 Nadir Khan was sent to Paris as an Envoy. Even then it was whispered that the appointment was tantamount to a peaceful exile. Soon after, all his brothers resigned their posts; of these one was the closest friend of Amanullah, and all were his relatives. . . . This change did not pass unnoticed in the country. Rumours went round that Nadir Khan and his relatives were removed for the reason that they did not approve of the reforms and the policy of Amanullah. And the rumours were believed.

The consequence was that Nadir Khan and his relatives remained outside the circle of "the general popular indignation," while the venerable Mahmud Tarzi Khan shares the fate of Amanullah and of his daughter the ex-Queen. Bacha-i-Saqao knew, of course, of the popularity of Nadir Khan. That is why he, after usurping the power, decided to invite Nadir Khan, offering him the Premiership of the newly formed Government. Sirdar Abdul Aziz Khan, the ex-Envoy of Afghanistan in Persia, relates in a Teheran newspaper, *Ettilat* (May 4-13, 1929), how he and Ahmed Shah Khan were sent by the new Kabul Emir to France to fetch Nadir Khan. Nadir Khan was then in a peculiar position. He was still respected to a certain extent; hence his success in his struggle against Bacha-i-Saqao. Nadir Khan is undoubtedly a great personality. He sympathized with the modernizing activity of Amanullah, yet he was not involved in the eyes of the people, who felt their religious feelings offended—in the "distortion of the principles of the Sacred Shariat." To this must also be added the circumstance that was created after the enthronement of Bacha-i-Saqao. This latter, having become Emir Habibullah, did not live up to expectations. In vain was he being praised by the Mullahs of the Northern Province.

The appeal of the clergy of the Northern Province previously referred to contains among others the following passage:

"We, all the Muslims, and particularly the population of the Northern Province, depose King Amanullah . . . from the present moment, therefore, we recognize ourselves in accordance with God's Will and the directions of the Great Prophet and his Fellow-Companions, as sincere subjects of the Emir Habibullah, who is a man of honour, the servant of the people, the defender of the pure faith of the Prophet, a man of crystal morality, brave and manly, who loves his subjects. We recognize him as the Ruler of Kabul on the condition that he conducts the affairs of State in accordance with the Divine Will and the Laws of the Shariat."

In this same appeal, Amanullah was accused of having compelled the

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Afghans "to learn reading and writing in English and to memorize the names of the unfaithful kings."

But, alas! the "defender of the pure faith," Habibullah-Bacha-i-Saqao, himself hastened to reopen the school for foreign languages: English, French, and Russian. At the opening of this school Kiam-ed-din Khan, a close collaborator of Bacha-i-Saqao, delivered a speech in which he emphasized the importance of learning "the languages of the Unbelievers," without the knowledge of which it was impossible to have normal relations with foreign states.

It cannot be said, of course, that Bacha-i-Saqao seriously offended his "sincere Muslims" by this act, but it is not to be doubted that the reopening of the school "of the languages of the Unbelievers" weakened one of the strongest arguments against Amanullah. Bacha-i-Saqao failed to restore order in the country. The civil war degenerated into anarchy. Those who expected "miracles" as a result of the removal from power of "the defiler of the Shariat principles" (Amanullah) began to feel the pangs of remorse. And if they did not think of now turning to Amanullah, they nevertheless lost their original zeal for the support at any cost of Bacha-i-Saqao. "The waves of the ocean of his glory" began to abate, and "the splendour of his rule" to dim, from the moment when, having sobered down from the intoxication with the initial victories, the insurgents found on the Kabul throne a man they considered a Tadjik instead of a real Afghan. *The offended tribal feeling now overcame all other considerations, and the struggle between the two principles became very conspicuous. In the name of the purity of the Shariat the majority brought Bacha-i-Saqao to power; while Nadir Khan, making the tribal pride the kernel stone of his policy, began to operate against the Tadjik*—called the "thief from Kuhimadan" who usurped the throne of Afghanistan. And in this struggle the Afghan tribes began to rally round the strong and patriotic personality of Nadir Khan.

I do not wish to say that Nadir Khan wanted to kindle the inter-tribal differences in Afghanistan. He called upon the Afghan tribes to unite in the merciless fight against the "thief of Kuhimadan" inviting them to unite in the cause of the restoration of the Afghan State and the Afghan Government. Yet at the same time he appealed also to the population, or, as he called them himself, "the brethren from Kuhistan and Kuhimadan," with the words of exhortation:

"The Almighty God sees"—writes Nadir Khan in his appeal to the latter—"that I do not understand what has become of you! Only for pleasure and greed and for the strengthening of the tyranny of thieves have you dishonoured and vilified yourselves, you who were thought honest, diligent, and faithful." And further, he threatens: "*And for the future you bring on yourselves and on your future generations the enmity of all the Afghan tribes.*"

3. The Prospects of Nadir Khan

There is no doubt that in this differentiation of Afghan and non-Afghan tribes lies one of the hidden moving forces in contemporary Afghanistan. However progressively-minded be Nadir Khan or any other Afghan public man, and however quickly they may want to eradicate the tribal boundaries, it is impossible for them not to feel "nationally" offended at the fact that the throne was ascended by a non-Afghan. Hence the different character of Nadir Khan's appeals to the Afghan tribes and to the population of Kuhistan and Kuhimadan.

We must remember that even Amanullah, who did so much for the eradication of the tribal differentiations, was compelled to turn for support to his own tribe, the Durranis. Nadir Khan won the fight. Although he had no pretension to the throne, he found himself King of Afghanistan. What hopes does his government hold out to Afghanistan? Does his assumption of power mean the abandonment of the reforms and the

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Europeanization of the country begun by Amanullah? The victory of Nadir Khan is not an event of a casual character, or one of the episodes of a civil war. It is an end of the Afghan tragedy.

The path taken by Amanullah, the path of progress and towards the Europeanization of Afghanistan is a right path. The method and some detail of Amanullah's reforms could and should be criticized, but in their essence, in their principle, they are indisputable. The Afghans are still in a stage of political infancy. They became afraid of the European dress; their wild primitive caprice made them antagonistic to the learning and the memorization "of the names of the kings of the Unfaithful," but at the same time they could not have failed to see and to comprehend the advantages of the reign of Amanullah over that of his predecessors.

The fault of Amanullah lies in the fact that he failed to take into account the psychological infancy of his people, and also in his over-confidence in his own personal authority. Amanullah chose to follow in the footsteps of Ghazi Mustafa Kemal, but he forgot that the Turks had been for centuries in contact with the cultured world of Europe, and that the governing class in Turkey had been long since Europeanized. Amanullah forgot also that Turkey knew not the tribal régime, and that she has a comparatively well-ordered centralized apparatus of power, such as did not and does not exist in Afghanistan. Turkey possessed—and Mustafa Kemal in particular—a real army subordinate to a united State authority; an army which under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal had created contemporary Republican Turkey, an army that was loyal and devoted to its leader. Nothing of the kind existed in Afghanistan.

Contemporary Turkey accepted as a matter of fact the abolition of the Khilafat and the Sultanate. . . . Amanullah, anxious to modernize his country, chose to follow the path of Kemal Pasha without possessing any of the data (excepting his ardent desire and personal enthusiasm) which enabled Kemal to carry out a complete revolution. These lessons of Amanullah, Nadir Khan has learnt well enough. He will, of course, continue the work of modernizing the Afghans begun by Amanullah, but he will not leave out of sight the peculiarities of the country and the people.

Nadir Khan will not run after the European fashions either for men or for women. After he has healed the wounds received by the country as a result of the civil war, he will direct all his energy to the improvement of the Government and of the central apparatus. I do not doubt that Nadir Khan will take steps to convert the separate tribes into a united state-nation, but this work will take many years to complete. He understands fully well that the really constructive State work can be undertaken only after and through the creation of a unified central authority. It will be remembered how Nadir Khan disapproved of the measures of Amanullah's government during the rising in Khost (1924). He voiced his disapproval, not because he sympathized with the insurgents, but on account of the fact that the unregulated system of administration was the real cause of the trouble.

There is yet one department in which the government of Nadir Khan will differ from that of Amanullah, and that is the Department of Foreign Affairs. As far as it is possible to judge from the scanty news which is at present coming from Afghanistan, Nadir Khan will guide himself differently. The present state of affairs in Afghanistan would suggest the necessity for caution in the choice by the Head of the State of the object of his external sympathies.

According to the Soviet official Press, Afghanistan can only become completely free and independent if English Imperialism is crushed. That is why the Bolsheviks so forcefully invited Amanullah and the Afghan peasantry to begin to fight England, and to turn the internal civil war into a war against British Imperialism. Let us hope that this appeal will not take root in Afghanistan, and that the new head of Afghanistan will be able to find the right means of regenerating his country.

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ARMENIAN THOUGHT AND LITERATURE SINCE 1828

By Arshak Safrastian

[Introductory.—The author of this article, who was born at Van, was before the war attached to the British Consular Service in Turkey. He served with both the Russian and British forces during the war, and was subsequently one of the Armenian delegates to the Peace Conference. He has lectured on Armenia and Kurdistan before many learned bodies, including the Oxford International Congress of Orientalists, and he is the author of sections dealing with his country in the last issue of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.]

"Yesterday we were an ecclesiastical community, tomorrow we shall be a nation of workers and thinkers."—Grigor Artzruni, in 1872.

Looking at the economic and social conditions of the Armenian people in 1872, Artzruni, one of the thoughtful Armenian writers of that time, was probably as much right in his anticipations as he was true in his characterization of the past. The general prospects of the Armenian people at the time, both in Russia and Turkey, were satisfactory and full of promise. Since the occupation of the Ararat Plain, and most of the north-eastern corner of old Armenia in 1828, Russia had opened up great possibilities for progress. A comparative order of law and stability in the past half-century (1828 onwards) had given an impetus to economic and moral development the value of which no impartial student could overlook. For several centuries all the Caucasian peoples, including the Tatar Khanates and the mountain tribes, had been distracted by the Turco-Persian antagonism and the consequent anarchy; whereas since the beginning of the nineteenth century a mighty Western power had settled down south of the Caucasus chain, and established the rule of the written law and uniformity of administration. It cannot be denied that, except for some mountain chiefs, all the peoples of the Caucasus welcomed Russia at the time; particularly the Georgians and the Armenians helped Russia in conquering Transcaucasia, although a few among them who had known Germany and France received the new régime not without misgivings.

It is a historical truism that nowhere new political conditions affect more the outlook of a people or of its thinkers than in frontier regions of conflicting social systems. In regions like these, changes of political order impose themselves very forcibly upon the daily life of the people and on the minds of thinkers, and slowly dictate the outlook and ways of literary expression of the people concerned.

These many-sided reactions to the Russian occupation of Armenia find their full expression in Khachatoor Abovian (1804-1848), the first Armenian writer in a modern sense who, apart from the problem of language (with which I shall deal below), was the true portrayer of the sharp contrasts of his time. Abovian was born in Kanaker, a large village near Erivan (the capital of Soviet Armenia today), under the Persian rule, which, during the chaos preceding and following the establishment of the Kajar dynasty, was at its worst at the beginning of the nineteenth century. He had witnessed the scenes of that anarchy, and in his classical work, "The Scourges of Armenia," he gave a vivid picture of the Persian rule. He was a young man of twenty-four when

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the Russians occupied his birthplace in 1828. The joy of the "Christian rule," however, did not last very long. Disappointment set in when the Russians tried to impose their system of land tenure upon the Armenian and Tatar peasantry. Serfdom in its proper sense had never existed in the lands owned by the noblemen of those two peoples, as it had existed in Europe and in Georgia during the period of feudalism. The Russian system tended towards the legal enslavement of the peasantry of the old Persian Khanates, who under the old customary laws had been treated fairly and honourably. In veiled literary form Abovian described the injustices of the new régime, and where the status of the peasantry was concerned he did not discover any social improvement. But the Russian censor detected "revolutionary tendency" in Abovian's writings. He was kidnapped by unknown persons in 1848, and he has never been heard of since.

As the first writer on social problems, Abovian occupies a primary position in modern Armenian literature. The moment the Bolshevik Armenians came to power, in 1920, they placed Abovian's name on the main street in Erivan.

For a long time, however, Abovian remained as a symbol. The entire Armenian people, both in Russia and in Turkey, remained mainly an ecclesiastical community. The written language in use up to 1850 was still the old classical language, *the grabar*, in which were written and preserved all the Armenian classics from the fifth century onwards. The all-powerful clergy and the noblemen who governed the people spiritually were the jealous guardians of the old language. Learning and scholarship, if any, were confined to them, and they monopolized the privileges of leadership and political representation *vis-à-vis* the ruling powers. They administered the convents, churches, and other national institutions as they chose.

The Catholicos of Echmiadzin (Transcaucasia), the spiritual head of all Armenians, and the Patriarch at Constantinople, held respectively high positions in regard to the Tsars of Russia and the Sultans of Turkey. They both held an unusual latitude of power *vis-à-vis* the sovereign States. They both held, particularly the Patriarch in Constantinople, power of life and death over their flock. Supported by an old hereditary nobility which were recognized by the authorities of both States, and a new *bourgeoisie* who had made fortunes in Russia and Turkey—these two ecclesiastical heads of the nation would not tolerate any interference from the people in the administration of communal affairs, although after the proclamation of reforms by Sultan Mahmud in 1839 the Armenian professional corporations (esnaf) in the Ottoman capital, as the result of a long struggle with the clergy and the grandees (Amira), succeeded in acquiring in the forties some representation on the church and lay councils of the Patriarch.

Small concessions like the above produced little change in the state of affairs until the end of the Crimean War (1856). The revolutionary movement in 1848 in most European countries and the triumph of Liberalism in the West occasioned the first rumblings of spiritual rebellion among the Armenians in Constantinople and to a lesser extent in the Caucasian centres. The Crimean War, which soon followed, resulted in the second reform charter issued by the Sultan of Turkey. The suppression of serfdom by Tsar Alexander II. in 1862 followed a few years later. The cumulative effect of these events succeeding each other at short intervals aroused great enthusiasm among the Armenian leaders on both sides of the frontier. The modernizing movement assumed such an irresistible character that the churches and nobility together were overwhelmed by the demands of the younger generation. Young men from the Caucasus had been studying in Russian and German Universities;

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many others from Constantinople and the Levant had been to France and England. On their return home they strongly advocated the cause of enlightenment and national regeneration.

A glance at the general conditions of the Armenian people in the fifties of last century will demonstrate the main lines of division. The Church, all-powerful and patronized by Turkey and Russia, fostered only an ecclesiastical spirit, an ascetic and strict rule of life in disparagement of all secular tendencies and moral weaknesses. Its favourite school-books were the Scriptures, highly mystical Armenian homilies like "Naregh" (tenth century) and patriotic histories like "Yeghishé Vardapet" of the fifth century, the main teaching of which, at least as the bishops and priests made it out, was self-sacrifice in the cause of the National Church and the next life. They invariably used the big stick in order to keep their faithful straight. As to the language, the Churchmen considered as a sacrilege the use of the colloquial dialect of the people as a medium of teaching or literature, and imposed the classical *grabar* as a divine boon—"the language in which Adam had courted Eve."

On the other hand, there were middle-aged men who had studied at the European Universities and had seen something of the Western countries. They were out for modern education and "democracy," for the secularization of national institutions, for the teaching of the natural and physical sciences, for the abandonment of the classical language, and finally for the management of the people's affairs through mixed councils of elected clergy and laymen. Some intellectuals went as far as to suggest furtively that in the "enlightened" nineteenth century the clergy literally still clung to the old bad traditions, such as the plaintive tone of their writings and sermons; that the ecclesiastical historians were still inclined to detect the finger of Providence in the ordinary misfortunes common to all other nations; and that it was a silly mistake to ascribe more sins to the Armenian nation than it had been guilty of. The modernizing movement went ahead in scope and in volume with increasing force. The intellectuals carried the day in 1860. They introduced a radical change in the curriculum of the primary schools. The colloquial language was substituted for the classical as a medium of education; and the Church party, with its back to the wall, was almost compelled to patronize the drafting of a "democratic constitution" which the Patriarch submitted to the Ottoman Porte for ratification. To the amazement of any political student, the Ottoman Government, in fact, ratified it in 1863 as the *Statut Organique* of the Armenian *millet* in Turkey.

On the Caucasian side, the Armenian modernizing movement followed a slower but surer course, owing, as it may easily be understood, to the bureaucratic régime of the Tsars. Yet the modern phase of Armenian literature began almost simultaneously in the sixties on both sides of the frontier. And so when Grigor Artzruni, founding his great daily newspaper *Mschak* (Labourer) in 1872 in Tiflis (Georgia), pronounced his dictum as set out at the head of this article, the Armenian people had just emerged, at least technically, from its ecclesiastical stage, and was entering on its course of "enlightenment" and the learning of the elements of Western civilization. In real fact, the general outlook of the masses of the people had undergone very little, if any, mental change. The reforms from above did not disturb to any degree the placid and static tranquillity of the Armenian peasantry on both sides of the frontier. From time immemorial and with very small variations, the peasantry has formed ninety per cent. of the Armenian people, just as it does today in the Soviet Republic of Erivan.

Since the loss of political power in Armenia proper, and owing to circumstances beyond control, the intellectual centres of the Armenian people had flourished outside that country. The Mekhitarist Fathers

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revived the old Armenian culture in Venice, and, later on, in Vienna. The Armenian colonists in India had established their churches and schools and a newspaper in Calcutta or Madras. In recent times Armenian writers and thinkers were concentrated in Moscow, Tiflis, or Baku; those in Turkey had their centres in Constantinople or Smyrna, all lying a long way off from the main body of the peasantry. This fact of social displacement gave an appearance of unreality to most progressive movements, which seemed flourishing in international centres. The revival was real and beneficial where the study and the publication of the Armenian classics were concerned, such as the great work done by Mekhitarist congregations in Venice and Vienna; it was instructive and inspiring, where the themes of literature were taken from the actual life of the people; otherwise it was deleterious and dangerous, as experience has proved since. These general tendencies were fully combined in Mikael Nalbandian (1830-1867), a strong character who left a deep mark on the thought of the Armenians in Russia. Born at Nor-Nakhichevan (near Rostov), Nalbandian as a boy passed through the local church school, like all Armenian schoolboys up to yesterday; became a chorist, read classics and psalms. At the age of discretion he revolted against the order of society then prevailing among his people. In his contributions to *Husisabail*, an influential monthly published in Moscow by S. Nazarian, another reformer of the period, Nalbandian described the utter "ignorance" in which the Armenian people were floundering. He carried on a substantial campaign with a view to the secularization of education and its liberation from the influences of the clergy. He advocated the teaching of modern Armenian, the translation of the classics and of the Bible into that dialect, and the education and liberty of women, and he fought the narrow nationalism of the Armenian leaders. In his chief work, entitled "Agriculture," he condensed his fundamental thought. In it he pilloried in severe terms the inclinations of his generation towards trading and State service and extolled the social virtues and national advantages of agriculture, which should form the basis of an Armenian renaissance. During a visit to Western Europe, Nalbandian came in contact with Herzen, Bakunin, and other Russian political fugitives. On his return home, owing probably to these interviews, he was arrested by the Russian police and thrown into prison, in consequence of which he died prematurely.

A stronger appeal to revolt against the old order was made by the very popular poet Raphael Patkanian (*nom de plume* Kamar-Katiba) (1830-1829), one of the originators of modern Armenian verse. He wrote beautifully and voluminously. Some of his songs and epigrams made a profound impression among his readers, and are still popular today. As may well be expected, his ideals were revolutionary and his motives confused. In one place he would exhort the Armenian *bourgeois* to sell their Russian decorations and buy powder and bullets with the proceeds; in another line he would advise the Armenian women to renounce everything "Frank" and enlist in the cause of national liberation. He was essentially anti-European and suspicious of everything European, and yet he did not propound any distinct idea or plan, except "to break the silence against the enemy." He left it to the reader to deduce for himself as to who "the enemy" was.

A more systematic literary school was created in Constantinople in the sixties. Two good writers produced real literary work in modern dialect. Beshiktashlian (1827-1868) wrote several plays, taking his subjects from the old Armenian kings and their achievements. His dramas were freely staged in Turkey up to recent times, and naturally roused intense patriotic enthusiasm. Beshiktashlian was a Catholic Armenian. As a popular poet, he wrote a song which promoted a great improvement in the relations

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of the two sections of the Armenian people in those days. Bedros Tourian (1852-1872), a poet of considerable spontaneity, died too young. There are striking resemblances between Tourian and Shelley, both in their ways of writing and modes of life.

In the collective life of an ancient people like the Armenians, the mentality and the trend of thought are unavoidably and closely bound up with the politics of the day. But they were not really a political people or politically minded. On the contrary, had they been sufficiently political, they would not have been in the position in which they find themselves today. From this angle of vision it is easy to imagine the deep impression which the Russo-Turkish War of 1877-8, and its political consequences, made upon the mind of Armenian leaders. Serbs and Bulgars rose, and Russia intervened on their behalf and liberated them. The Six Powers of Europe had introduced an Armenian Clause in the Treaty of Berlin. England had undertaken to carry out reforms in Armenia. Then all that remained for the Armenian people to do was to educate itself and be ready for the coming day. In fact, an intense effort for national education was organized throughout the breadth and width of the Ottoman Empire; gymnastics and games being items in the school curricula. The effort was particularly concentrated on the "backward" provinces in the East, which with a strange fate coincided with the "Six Vilayets" of the Berlin Treaty. Armenian thinkers in the Caucasus also turned their eyes more than ever to the "Homeland" in Turkey, because Russia was too mighty to permit of a revival of Armenia within the frontiers of the Empire.

On an intellectual *terrain* of this nature began the most recent period of Armenian literature. The foremost figure of the period was Raffi (1833-1888)—his real name was Melik-Hagopian, a prolific writer, a novelist in the Western sense. Raffi was born in an Armenian village in Persian Azerbaijan, but was educated in the Caucasus. The narrative style by which Raffi idolized his heroic figures of old and new, his keen psychological analysis of his heroes, and his fluent and rich language, possessed such a charm that he captured the youth of his generation. The heroes of his novels, such as "The Fool," "Sparks," "The Five Melikates" (the last dealing with the struggle for independence of the Armenian chiefs of Karabagh during 1721-1728), became the inspiration of Armenian secret societies during the eighties and the nineties of last century. Raffi wrote in the idiom of the Eastern Armenians, which differs from the Western in declensions and conjugations alone; but his novels were devoured equally on both sides of the frontier. Probably he never used any weapon in his life. His novels, however, worked a revolution in the outlook of his readers, and his art practically forced weapons into the hands of young men.

Not less productive, but less influential, was Dzerents (1838-1891) from the Caucasus, who by his historical novels and graphic descriptions of Armenian princes, their family life, their castles and wars in the Middle Ages, gave new consciousness to the youth.

Berj Proshian (1837-1907) described Armenian rural life and the labour of peasants in native literary form, and several other poets, novelists, and rhymsters produced literature in prose and verse characteristic of the period, with a distinct motive of Nationalism.

In the meantime historical criticism and philology made unusual progress. Armenian students in Western Universities, instructed by well-known European scholars, brought to light new information on the past history, the language, and the classics of Armenia.

In Turkey the development of Armenian literature took an altogether different shape. The Levant had been for a long time past under the cultural influence of France, which, amalgamating itself with the remnants

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of the old Byzantine civilization, created an atmosphere uncongenial to the growth of national types. A good deal of historical criticism, and studies of national folklore, were produced by Armenian literary men in Constantinople and Smyrna. But their main literary effort was based on journalism and the translation of foreign authors. To the misfortune of the Armenian youth in the Levant, that influence proved misleading and dangerous. A number of able literary men—Matéos Mamourian (1830-1901), Mesrob Nubarian (1842-1929), and some others—translated into Armenian a large number of French romantic novelists, such as Victor Hugo, the two Dumas, Eugene Sue, and others. The average Armenian reader of those translations in the eighties, intent to advance on the path of "Europeanization," could not possibly avoid the impression that every Frenchman or European was a *Chevalier Bayard sans peur et sans reproche* ready to serve any and every human cause for the sake of chivalry.

The Armenian people in Asia Minor remained almost totally unaffected by these influences penetrating through the Levant. The literature of the other writers mentioned above, which had a distinct national individuality, strongly appealed to them and stirred their soul, but foreign types and names conveyed to them very little sense. I may be forgiven if I mention my personal experience because it is typical of Armenians, particularly in Eastern Anatolia and even in out-of-the-way districts in Transcaucasia. As a small schoolboy, in the middle nineties, we were instructed by our parents and priests to beware of any man or woman who wore a shapka (European hat). As schoolboys we expressed our sentiments by throwing stones or rotten fruit at any person with a hat, who rarely happened to pass in the streets. The Turkish authorities encouraged us in this stone-throwing. But when these European literary influences and, soon afterwards, political disturbances permeated the mind of the youth, the Armenians ceased throwing stones at the Europeans and began shooting at the Turks. It is a subject of great psychological interest as to how a staunchly conservative people like the Armenians may be detached from their old solid moorings through very subtle influences, of the nature of which they had no practical experience of any kind.

In the current century Armenian literature did not find any scope for development. Political restrictions both in Russia and Turkey made any expansion of national thought impossible. There have been, and there are today, poets and writers, many of them now living outside these two countries.

The prediction of Grigor Artzruni has been fulfilled, although at a fearful cost of blood and treasure. The Soviet Republic of Armenia has, in fact, become a "nation of workers and thinkers." Machinery, workshops, cotton-mills, and hydro-electric power stations are being worked by that nation. The prospects are not unpromising from an economic standpoint. But the thinking of the nation is not and cannot be characterized as yet, except that the young poet, Yeghishé Charents, who may be called the national poet of Armenia, or preferably "the poet of the Armenian proletariat," has been writing songs and poems to the glory of Naïri* people, the Naïri lands, and everything found in the Naïri country.

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* The Assyrian royal records in cuneiform mention the Naïri lands as lying north and north-west of Assyria. Yeghishé Charents means the Armenian Republic by the term Naïri lands.

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THE ASIAN CIRCLE

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THE EFFECT CHINA MIGHT HAVE IN HELPING TO SOLVE THE UNEMPLOYMENT QUESTION IN BRITAIN

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. ST.CLAIR SMALLWOOD

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THE present unemployment situation demands that every thinking man search his brains for a solution. Markets, markets and more markets is the cry of the manufacturer. More markets mean less unemployed—this seems to be a self-evident fact. Every British-manufactured split-pin, every inch of fabric from the looms of Lancashire or the mills of Bradford, means employment for somebody. Having granted the desirability of, nay, necessity for, increased markets, let us turn to China; here are more than four hundred and fifty millions of people; what can we produce which will appeal to this enormous potential market?

Before considering China as a market, however, let us glance for a moment at China's present situation. This unwieldy country is struggling to emerge from a condition of misrule and lack of government the like of which the world has seldom seen before. Since the passing away of

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the Imperial regime leader after leader has arisen, only to be speedily brought down by overweening ambition, by equally ambitious rivals, or even by his quondam friends. Each military leader feels the insecurity of his tenure and collects as much as he possibly can in taxes of all sorts. Arms must be purchased, and cash paid for them, in order to equip these armies. Arsenals are built, thousands of rifles turned out, and millions of rounds of small-arm ammunition. Work goes on at fever-heat, but is the work productive? Most emphatically, No! Not only is the well-known industry of the Chinese wasted in non-productive work, but instruments of war are made which are destined to destroy and to be destroyed. Revenue-producing departments are crippled owing to military interference. Before a tuchun decides to attack his neighbour, what does he do? He seizes the nearest railway for the transportation of his troops, guns and supplies. The railway ceases to earn anything. Rolling stock is damaged and locomotives are injured by incompetent military drivers. The all-steel Blue Train, delivered a few years ago from America and looked upon as the last word in passenger rolling-stock equipment, became the barracks for unemployed soldiery After these particular operations were over blue coaches were to be seen parked on sidings, with windows broken to allow incongruous stove-pipes to thrust themselves into the open air. This train, by the way, is, I believe, still unpaid for.

Apart from the earning power of the railway being impaired, sleepers are pulled up for firewood, rails are removed, the permanent way is damaged, and after a few months of such treatment the railway is rendered nearly derelict and its capital value seriously reduced.

Our tuchun practically commandeers the telegraph line; commercial and other messages are subject to delay and non-delivery. The posts only struggle along, and much to their credit postal-runners with their mail-bags make their way through the lines of hostile armies, taking their lives in their hands. Every form of conveyance, every draught animal is seized throughout the countryside. Farmers with their carts and mules or ponies are pressed into service without hope of pay or compensation.

While the British merchant in China suffers in pocket, the physical and financial suffering experienced by the Chinese people themselves is little realized by the resident in England. Taxation has reached heights as yet undreamt of in more settled countries. In one province in North China it was estimated a short time ago that taxes on

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twenty tons of necessities exported eight thousand dollars (*i.e.*, about £33 a ton). The transport charges on one picul ($133\frac{1}{3}$ lbs.) of wool amounted to more than twice its value, and other commodities pay two dollars for the transportation of one dollar's worth of goods. On one railway line costs of transportation, including all local taxes, have gone up eight hundred per cent. in three years. What is the result? Goods cannot stand the cost of transportation, railway receipts diminish, and transport goes "back to the barrow." The Chinese press paints a gloomy picture of life in China today—for the Chinese, be it understood. Bitter complaints are voiced of new recruiting offices being opened, of the Government raising new divisions in direct conflict with Government-fathered Disbandment Conferences. Peking is described as resembling "a ruined mansion in the last stages of decay." The desperate plight of Canton and Hankow "can be seen at a glance." Tientsin's wealth is "centred in the concessions," and Shanghai's brilliance is "only on the surface." Brigandage, floods, famine, civil war, crushing taxation and forced loans are only a few of the disabilities under which the Chinese people are labouring.

One of the inevitable results of these years of misgovernment and provincial strife has been a drop in China's credit abroad. She now finds it impossible to borrow in the markets of the world except at ruinous rates of interest. International financiers point to the unpaid railway and other loans, and until China puts her financial house in order and funds her loans she will find the money-bags of the outside world strung tight against her. One of China's most vital needs is undoubtedly improved communications. But where is the money to come from to build the roads and railways she requires? She cannot raise it internally, and her foreign credit is not sufficiently good to enable her to raise it abroad. This lack of money undoubtedly holds her back, and lacking the funds to institute productive works her purchasing power remains stationary. This undoubtedly reacts adversely on the trade we wish to do with her.

Since the Nationalist Government has been in power in Nanking (May, 1927) she has raised some four hundred million dollars in the form of domestic loans. The service of these loans has been promptly met, but this has, to a certain extent, still further damaged her foreign credit, as foreign loans of earlier date are allowed to go into default, while these more recent loans are promptly paid, both as regards interest and principal.

That is the dark side of China today—possibly the efforts

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of the Nationalist party may, in years to come, evolve a satisfactory form of Government which will govern, not a few provinces adjacent to the seat of government, but the whole country.

During the last six thousand years of China's history she has been torn by some form of internecine strife for four thousand, and it is obvious that trade and business has not been standing still during all that time.

In comparatively recent times large British concerns have become established, princely merchant houses which have had a large share of China's trade and shipping, but more must be done in developing our trade in China for *manufactured* goods before we can expect any effect on our own unemployment problem. Two of the largest concerns in China today are British in character and registration, but one distributes American tobacco and the other Dutch oil, neither of which commodities can be said to employ many people in England, except of the administrative class.

To understand China's needs one should refer to Sir Harry Fox's recent able report on economic conditions in China. Great Britain's share of China's import trade of about twelve hundred million taels is only about one hundred and thirteen million, or rather less than 10 per cent., and it is in increasing this percentage that the hope for bettering unemployment in Britain lies. China imports in foodstuffs more than double the total value of Britain's exports to China ; some two hundred million taels' worth of her imports therefore can be of little assistance to our manufacturers—in fact, one has to take five hundred million taels as roughly the value of China's imports of manufactured goods, and it is this figure which we have to attack, as this may be said to be the figure which directly affects our problem of unemployment.

To the uninitiated it seems rather amazing that considering the disturbed condition of China generally any trade can be carried on at all, but the fact remains patent that trade does exist, and that in increasing volume. A reference to the published customs returns confirms this. While acknowledging that trade is increasing, the contention that it might increase faster is a reasonable one, and therein our hope lies.

The Chinese is essentially a trader, and though he may be hampered by grinding taxation, bullied by marauding armies, and the product of his cultivation diverted to the support of a predatory soldiery, he still strives on and endeavours to come out on the right side in the struggle for existence. The merchant's fears of capital levies and of

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the kidnapping of his children may cause him to hide his wealth, but the wealth is there, as Chinese balances in foreign banks show, and as it is more widely distributed so we may hope that the purchasing power for British goods will increase. This increase is, of course, limited by the fact that payment for the necessities of existence account for most of the spending power of the peasant classes. The margin between existence and starvation is a narrow one, and few of the people on the land have any spare money to spend on manufactured articles, which is what we particularly want to sell them. Success has crowned the efforts of the large tobacco companies, and it is on the lines of taking our goods into the interior direct to the markets of the consumer that success would appear to lie. The difficulties are enormous—difficulties of transport, of trading in the interior, of unexpected internal provincial taxation, of opposition from Chinese traders, and of boycotts organized for political purposes; but by giving the Chinese trader a share in successful sales these difficulties will in time be overcome.

What are the essentials for improved trade in China? (1) Good government—or I would rather say any form of government which governs. (2) Improved communications, which would automatically follow good government. (3) A settled tariff. (4) Improved selling organization. One, two, and three, are unfortunately outside our control, and we have to evolve a form of selling organization which is effective in spite of bad government or lack of government. One, two, and three are in the hands of the Chinese, but "in the hands of the Chinese" does not mean in the hands of the Chinese Government. I believe that the Nationalist Government would be deliriously glad to see the abolition of likin and of other forms of internal provincial taxation, but though likin has been abolished by word of mouth on several occasions, it is still an ever-present evil. The Tuchun has to maintain his province. He gets little or no assistance from the Central Government, so he institutes his own taxes.

It appears, therefore, that studying China markets and improved selling organization are the only means we have whereby we can help ourselves. Improved selling means learning the language, studying the wants of the Chinese, and making friends with a race who are by no means disposed for friendship. The British manufacturer has been criticized for not having paid sufficient attention to the Chinese market, and the criticism is to a certain extent justified. The manufacturer is inclined to pay most atten-

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tion to those markets which send him the largest orders, quite naturally; but in the case of China it must be borne in mind that though she may not be purchasing much at the moment, her purchasing potentiality is enormous. At present each Chinese spends less than a penny a year on British manufactured articles. Surely that sum can be increased by better selling methods. I agree that this is starting at the wrong end, and that the basic difficulty is one of Government, but here we are powerless. China has to work out her own salvation.

From China's exports we cannot hope to improve unemployment conditions on any appreciable scale. We purchase our share of hides, skins, egg products, furs, bristles, silk, tea, etc., but the purchase of these commodities does not help our factories to any large degree.

After many years' residence in China and much travel from Canton to Outer Mongolia I am convinced that Manchuria holds out the greatest hope for *increased* trade in manufactured goods. Here we have mines (coal, iron, and gold), agriculture, and a comparatively settled country in which to trade. Manchuria's imports consist largely of iron and steel manufactured articles, machinery, cotton and woollen piece goods, and vehicles, of all of which we should be able to secure our share. In point of fact, Manchuria's total imports in 1928 exceeded twenty-six million pounds sterling, and our share was less than one million. Granted that Japan has a special position here, but they are committed to the policy of the "open door." It may be that the door is a little wider open to Japanese goods than to others, but with the door only slightly ajar we ought to be able to push more goods through it. Our trade will go on, and let us hope increase in the south; but here in Manchuria one feels that the earth is going through a new awakening, of which we should not be slow to take advantage. The soil is virgin and fruitful, soya-bean cultivation is increasing by leaps and bounds. Railways are creeping over the land; population of an industrious kind is pouring into the country year after year, in ever-increasing numbers, from the famine-stricken, war-torn provinces further south. "Manchuria, the Land of Promise," is the slogan, and land of promise it certainly is. Here we see the progress resulting on settled conditions and good government. The South Manchurian Railway and the railway zone administered by the Japanese act as a main artery which feeds and nourishes the rest of the country. Small railways, Chinese constructed, feed the main line and tap the

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land farther afield. Here we do not find the local military power seizing railways and paralyzing trade. The railway remains open and trade moves along it. Here is a field for milling machinery, mining machinery, all the demands of modern civilization. Here surely is a market for our manufactured goods!

In Mongolia, too, there are untapped markets. Every year the Chinese cultivators on the edge of the Gobi Desert reclaim another mile of country, increased population follows, and with it markets.

It may be freely acknowledged that the problem bristles with difficulties; but where in the world are we not faced with keen competition? We can no longer say, "This is British, therefore best; buy it!" and think that we have reached the apex of perfect salesmanship. We must manufacture to suit our markets. The American motor-car has taken possession of the Chinese market, and the owner of a British car is faced with difficulty in obtaining spares. The manufacturer may say: "But there are not a sufficient number of cars sold to warrant my sending supplies of spares." The answer is that there never will be until an adequate supply of spares is on the spot. The standard British cars suited to European roads, of low horse-power and little clearance, do not appeal to the Chinese, who likes to drive his car anywhere and over any sort of obstacle.

Another difficulty which the merchant has to face is the drop in the price of silver, and the consequently low purchasing power of a currency based on that metal. Every fall in silver is a blow to the Chinese purchaser, to the British supplier, and particularly to the Chinese Government, which has to meet Chinese indebtedness in gold. The more the Government has to pay, the more it must squeeze out of the people in taxes, and the less the average citizen has to spend.

The arms embargo, whereby certain countries agreed to refrain from exporting arms to China, has recently been lifted, and whether its removal is desirable from China's point of view is an open question. It is a matter, however, which may affect unemployment. For several years practically no British aircraft was sold to China. The sale was discouraged as the machines were alleged to be so easily converted from commercial aeroplanes to weapons of war. The result of this self-denying ordinance was that large numbers of French, Italian, and American makes were imported. These foreign machines captured the market, and when the embargo was removed it was found extremely

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difficult for British machines to oust their well-established rivals The same situation existed as to guns, small arms, ammunition, and field equipment. The Chinese Ministry of the Navy were anxious to buy warships some two years ago, but the armament firms' agents were precluded from selling.

I think I have said enough on the subject of the difficulties which face the British merchant, whom one may describe as the "agent for employment"; but surely the genius of our race to overcome difficulties will come to our aid now as heretofore. To keep our people employed we must produce manufactured goods. It is no use producing the manufactured article unless we can sell it. We cannot sell it unless we can persuade the buyer that he must have it, and that its cost is within his power to pay. He will not be persuaded of these facts until the manufactured article is presented to him in an attractive manner. The manufacturer must employ an agent who can present his goods in the most favourable light. For this he must have an agent who knows the Chinese customer and who can talk his language.

Another method of selling our manufactured goods is to establish factories in China to deal with the raw material produced in the country. The Japanese are following this policy to a certain extent, but there are objections to such policy. If, for instance, a cotton mill were established up-country, it might be the prey of the military leader or bandit who was "on top" at the moment. It is doubtful whether British capital would be available for the erection of such mills unless situated inside concessions. The assistance to British unemployment would only come in the making of the mill machinery. It therefore appears that it is better to foster the selling side of the goods manufactured in Britain rather than to make the machinery for erection and working in China.

No royal road to employment exists, I am convinced, except the one of supplying what the buyer wants; this, and this only, will keep our factories and mills at work, so employing our idle thousands.

I have kept strictly to the materialistic side of things in the foregoing remarks, because I feel the subject under discussion calls for a practical, though perhaps selfish, outlook.

If the Chinese were disposed to allow us to assist them with their governmental problems, there is no doubt we should be attacking the matter fundamentally and properly, but this, since the days of the self-determination of peoples, is no longer a matter of practical politics.

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BY RAIL DIRECT FROM MADRAS TO DELHI

By E. Rosenthal, F.R.G.S.

The completion of the Kazipet to Balharshah broad gauge link of H.E.H. the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway has materialized the project of direct railway transport from South to North India, first contemplated over thirty years ago. In the chain of Imperial communications, this new direct route from Madras to Delhi is of paramount importance, for it effects an economy of 208 miles and twenty-two hours on the journey. The through trains run over the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway (M. and S.M.) from Madras to Bezwada; the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway (N.G.S.R.) from Bezwada to Balharshah and the Great Indian Peninsular Railway (G.I.P.) from Balharshah to Delhi. The Nagpur to Itarsi link recently constructed by the G.I.P. is particularly beautiful, for the line crosses the foothills of the Vindhya Mountains, the barrier between Northern India and the Deccan or "South Land." The luxury of a through train service from south to north can only be justly appreciated by travellers who, before the completion of the direct route, spent seventy-one instead of forty-nine hours on the Madras to Delhi run, with tedious changes and waits at Dhond and Manmad.

The cost of the 146 miles of line from Kazipet to Balharshah was approximately 245 lakhs of rupees or £1,837,500, and the ceremonial opening was performed by H.E.H. the Nizam of Hyderabad in December, 1928.

Close to the eastern frontier of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions the Delhi-bound train passes Kondapalli, a one-time famous hilltop that has sunk into undeserved oblivion, for many were the mediæval dramas in which Kondapalli played lead. Muhammad Bahmani Shah of Bidar (1463-82) altered the course of Kondapalli's career by wresting the fortress from the Raja of Orissa. Encouraged by this success, Muhammad raided Kanchi or Conjeevaram, for the reports he heard at Kondapalli of the wealth of Conjeevaram's temples stirred in his breast that too-light sleeper avarice. So swiftly did Muhammad move southwards from Kondapalli that the Hindu inhabitants of the "Southern Benares" were taken unawares, and Muhammad was enabled to sack the place with thoroughness worthy of

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a better cause. On Kondapalli's heights, we are haunted by visions of Muhammad, intoxicated by success, lending a willing ear to the backstairs gossip of sycophants spoiling for the ruin of that great minister Mahmud Gawan, whose fearless loyalty they regarded as a menace to their own double dealing. The historian Firishta informs us that after a drinking bout Muhammad resigned his reason to fury, and ordered the execution of his faithful adviser. With gruesome swiftness, however, Nemesis overtook the monarch, for less than a year later Muhammad expired as a result of his excesses, agonized by the hallucination that Mahmud Gawan was tearing him to pieces.

In 1531 Sultan Quli Qutb Shah of Golconda commenced another chapter of Kondapalli's life-story by seizing the mountain stronghold, which was transformed by Abdulla Qutb Shah, a descendant of Sultan Quli, into a royal residence, sumptuous with terraces, colonnades, and pleasure grounds. Abdulla's structure has withstood time's onslaught right bravely, and of recent years a portion has been transformed into a travellers' bungalow. To spend a night in this ancient castle encircled by virgin jungle, with oil lamps arranged along its verandas to scare away such uninvited guests as tiger or panther, is a weird experience not easily forgotten by even the most steel-nerved sportsman.

Six miles east of Kazipet junction, where the new line takes off, lies Warangel, once the capital of an important Hindu kingdom. In 1309, however, rumours of Warangal's treasures reached the ears of Sultan Ala-ud-Din Khilji of Delhi, making that monarch's eyes water and his fingers itch for sight and feel of them, so he dispatched his right-hand man, Malik Kafur, to investigate. The rejoicings at Delhi, when the trusty general returned with a cavalcade of camels bearing precious metals and costly merchandise, spelt speedy doom for Warangal's independence. Less than two decades later Warangal kingdom was annexed by Sultan Muhammad, the second Tughlak King of Delhi, and subsequently became an outpost of the Qutb Shahs of Golconda. Warangal's monuments testify to their maker's artistry, and the ingeniously planned fortifications compensated to a large extent for the stronghold's lack of natural defences, and its exposed position upon an open plain. Near the kernel of the citadel stand four mighty arches that recall the majesty of Sanchi's noted gateways. If the size of these Warangal structures be any criterion, the temple or palace to which they led must have been colossal,

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worthy of a great metropolis and industrial centre where were manufactured, according to the thirteenth-century tourist Marco Polo, "the best and most delicate buckrams (cotton stuffs) and those of highest price," such as any king and queen might have been proud to wear. Since the foundation some fifteen years since of the Hyderabad Archæological Department, attention has focussed on Warangal's monuments, judicious repairs have arrested decay, while fragments of exquisite sculpture, which for centuries lay disintegrating in field and byway, have been collected to form the nucleus of an archæological museum that promises to be of supreme interest. When the Mussulman victors of Warangal sought to strengthen the defences they wrought havoc amongst shrines and temples, utilizing finely chiselled deities to fill breaches in the ramparts, or to provide support for watch-towers.

Midway between Warangal and Kazipet, the "Thousand Pillared Temple" of Hanamkonda emerges triumphant from the ordeal of comparison with the world-famous Hindu sanctuaries farther south. The Hanamkonda cathedral, which dates from the year 1162, is dedicated to Siva the Creator and Destroyer, the Lord of Life and Death. His *nandi* or sacred bull, from times prehistoric the symbol of procreation, is of black basalt, hewn with consummate skill, while the entrance to the *linga* shrine is adorned with row upon row of well-carved *devadasis*. These garlands of graceful dancing girls, paying homage to Siva Nataraja, the Lord of the Dance, suggest the poetry of movement, for their creator has energized the stone until every figure appears to be swaying to the rhythm of a musical accompaniment.

Between Goyalwada and Mancherial stations on the Kazipet-Balharshah section the line crosses the Godavari; and the railway bridge, the longest in Hyderabad State, consists of forty-four spans of 80 feet. Despite complications and setbacks caused by the deep-well foundations of the piers the bridge was completed in the short space of two working seasons, and the girders were lowered into position by a specially constructed crane at the record speed of one per day. The Godavari is one of India's holiest rivers, and the faithful maintain that every twelfth year Mother Ganges herself seeks spiritual refreshment at its source. On these occasions pilgrim traffic to the numerous bathing ghats on the river banks is 50 or 100 per cent. above normal, and the K.-B. line is likely to be well patronized by the devout who, in every part of India, gladly avail

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themselves of railway facilities. During the construction of the Godaveri bridge the Hindu workpeople seized the opportunity of purging themselves from sin in the sacred stream, and rarely do passengers cross the river without witnessing one or more persons engaged in ceremonial ablutions.

North of the Godavari the new line enters the Gond country, whose rulers stepped into history's limelight about A.D. 1240, when Bhim Ballal Singh assumed the title of king. Sirpur station was once the site of a capital which, under the rule of the seventh Gond monarch, Dinker Singh, developed into a famous literary centre, the resort of poets and philosophers. Surja Ballal Singh, a successor of Dinkar, was a *preux chevalier* and soldier-singer who distinguished himself at the courts of Delhi, Benares, and Lucknow. As a mark of appreciation, his title was altered by the ruler of Delhi from "Ballal Singh" to "Ballal Shah." Hence the name "Balharshah" bestowed upon the capital founded by Khandkia Ballal Shah (1437-62), which is now the headquarters of a large coal-mining area. Ballarshah fort, close to the railway station, is picturesquely situated on the Warda River, the northern frontier between Hyderabad State and British India. It is said to be connected by a subterranean passage with Chanda citadel, several miles distant, another creation of that master-builder, Khandkia Ballal Shah. Chanda, the "Moon Town," bears the imprint of royalty, for its every facet is stamped with the Gond rajas' crest, a heraldic lion trampling upon a trumpeting elephant. Chief amongst Chanda's monuments is the "Achaleswar Temple." Khandkia Ballal Shah owed a particular debt of gratitude to Achaleswar, for through the Holy One's intervention he was miraculously cured from a skin disease that had disfigured him for years. Mindful of Achaleswar's favours, the king spared neither time nor expense in erecting, both at Chanda and Balharshah, sanctuaries that did honour to his patron. They are amongst the finest specimens of Gond architecture extant, and rival in dignity and ornamental detail the cenotaph of the great Bir Singh who was assassinated in 1672. The same cult of the delicate that inspired the marble trellises of Delhi and Agra produced the perforated stonework of Bir Singh's memorial, which is further embellished with exquisite bas-reliefs.

Bhandak, in the vicinity of Balharshah, is believed to be superimposed on the ruins of Bhadravati, an ancient Buddhist settlement visited in the seventh century A.D. by

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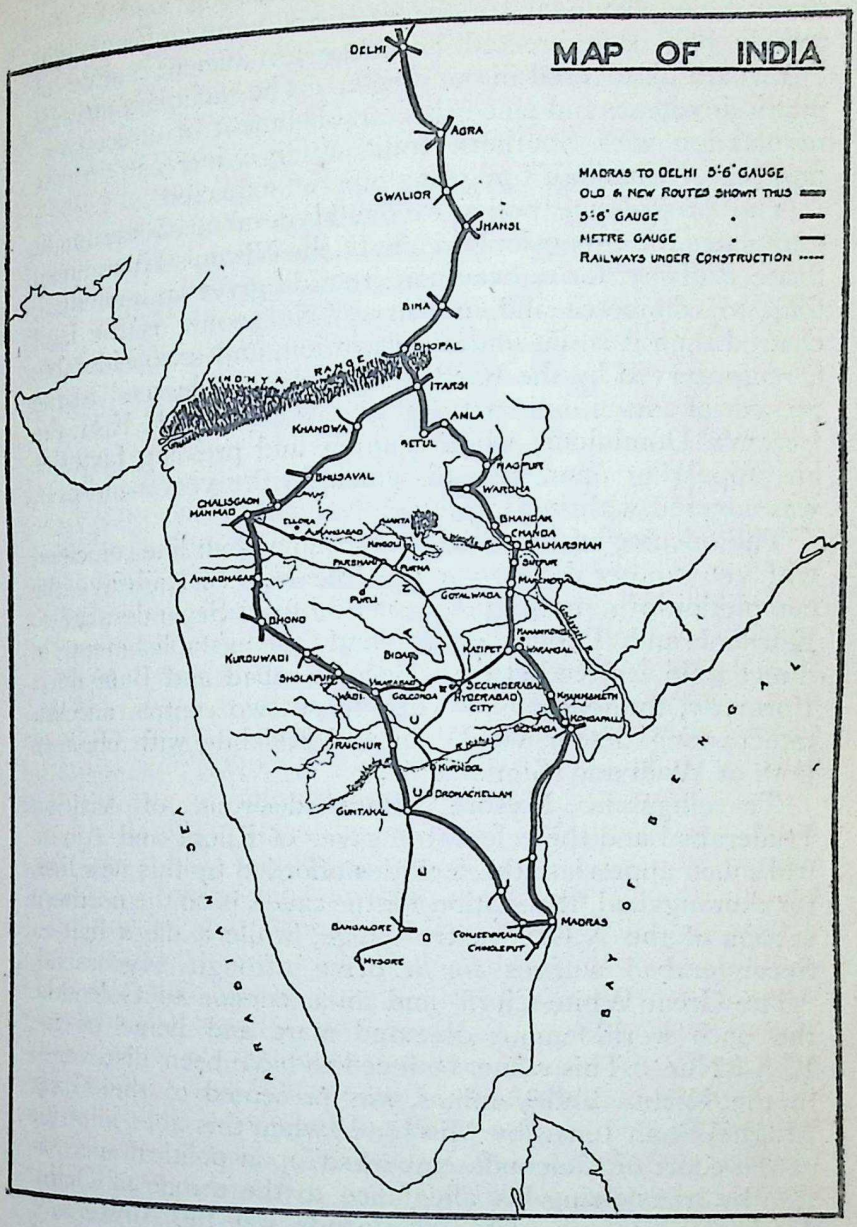

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the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang. The district is rich in archælogical remains, and a most interesting field for research. At Bhandak, of recent years, a magnificent Jain temple has been erected to house an ancient statue of Parasnath discovered in the jungle. The sanctuary attracts many devotees, and since the establishment of direct communication with Southern India a large increase in the number of Bhandak's pilgrims may be expected.

The progressive policy of the Hyderabad Government stimulates the expansion of H.E.H. the Nizam's Guaranteed State Railway, for railway construction gives an immediate fillip to commerce and industry. No sooner is the land cleared than it is put under cultivation, and a considerable acreage served by the K.-B. line is already devoted to the growth of cotton, one of the staple products of H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, while ginning and pressing factories are appearing upon ground which, in the very near past, was covered with virgin jungle.

The opening of the Kazipet to Balharshah line coincided with yet another development of the N.G.S. Railway—the completion of a metre gauge section from Secunderabad to Kurnool and Dronachellam, and the establishment of direct train service between Secunderabad and Bangalore. Formerly, the journey between these two centres necessitated a long détour via Wadi and Raichur, with changes both at Wadi and Guntakal.

Travellers in Mysore State desirous of visiting Hyderabad and the celebrated caves of Ellora and Ajanta will much appreciate the facilities afforded by this new line, for Aurangabad, the station for the caves, is on the northern section of the N.G.S. metre gauge, while a day's halt at Secunderabad suffices for a drive through Hyderabad, "The Great White City," and an excursion to Golconda, the once world-famous diamond mart and home of the Koh-i-Nur. This stone, believed to have been discovered in the Kistna Valley mines, was presented to the Great Mughal Shah Jehan by Mir Jumla when this able minister at the court of Golconda embarked upon political speculation by transferring his allegiance to the throne of Delhi. In the seventeenth century Golconda was the Amsterdam of Asia, and the magnificent diamonds on sale there lured jewel merchants from east and west. The gems have long since vanished for the Kistna mines are exhausted, yet Golconda's charm remains, and the grand old fortress, an interesting blend of Hindu and Muhammadan architecture, rises from the plains like some mammoth liner in dry dock.

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Golconda, there is music in the name and romance in every corner of its crumbling halls! Here some light of the harem made merry with her lord and banished from his brain the dull care of war and rumours of war; there some gallant warrior fell at his post, for Golconda sustained many a siege. So skilfully did masonry supplement the natural fortifications, however, that Golconda earned the reputation of being impregnable, and in 1687, had not a sentry turned traitor and opened the gates to the armies of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb, the succeeding chapters of the stronghold's history might have been written very differently. The postern through which a handful of picked Mughal soldiers effected an entry still exists, so does the "Door of Victory" through which Aurangzeb made his triumphal progress. Until 1724 the kingdom of Golconda remained tributary to Delhi. In that year, however, Nizam-ul-Mulk, an ancestor of the present Nizam, and one of the most gifted politicians of his day, declared his independence and made Hyderabad his capital. The tombs of the Qutb Shahi kings at Golconda are imposing specimens of Mussulman architecture. The mausolea are situated on terraces from whence beautiful views are obtained of the fort, with glimpses in the background of Hyderabad, the new capital, founded in 1589 by the fifth king of Golconda, Muhammad Quli Qutb Shah. Residence and seat of Government of H.E.H. the Nizam, Hyderabad is the fourth largest city of India. The modern buildings, erected during the reign of the present ruler, are no less imposing than such famous monuments of the city's youth as the *Char Minar* or "Four Minaret Gateway," and the *Mecca* and the *Jami Masjids*. The palaces of "The Great White City" are legion. For the most part they are surrounded by high walls that invest them with an air of mystery. Should the traveller be so fortunate as to visit Hyderabad when it is *en fête*, he will depart convinced that that oft misused description "A City of the Arabian Nights" is never more appropriate than when applied to the capital of H.E.H. the Nizam. The crowds that throng the streets are uniquely picturesque even for India. Scarlet-bearded Muhammadans, ash-smeared *fakirs*, fair-skinned Persians, swarthy Southerners, these are only a few of the sharply contrasting humans who surge around the *Char Minar*, for the complex of a Muhammadan ruler and a Hindu people makes of Hyderabad one of the most interesting cosmorama in Asia.

At the time of writing two further branches of the

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N.G.S. Railway are nearing completion—a broad gauge section from Vikarabad to Bidar, the first sod of which was turned in June, 1928, and a metre gauge extension from Parbhani to Purli. Bidar, the ancient headquarters of the Bahmani Shahi dynasty, is a purposeful city that still retains the dignity it acquired when a leading metropolis. With railway facilities it should attract the attention of tourists, for it possesses some of the finest mediæval buildings in Hyderabad State.

> "Should my heart ache, my remedy is this
> A cup of wife and then I sip of bliss."

This motto, associated with Bidar's founder Ahmad Shah Wali Bahmani, sounds the keynote of this creative genius. In A.D. 1430 Ahmad Shah transferred the seat of government from Gulbarga to his new city, which became famous in its golden age as one of the gayest capitals of India. The red-hued fort is still cheerful of aspect as though warmed by the fire of Ahmad Shah Wali's enthusiasms, and was accounted unassailable by reason of its rock-partitioned triple moat. Mahmud Gawan, the martyr of Kondapalli, sponsored Bidar College, whose fame attracted scholars from every quarter of Asia. The spacious building is embellished with Persian tiles which, like those on the mosques in Sind, have retained their original brilliancy of colouring, The care bestowed by the Hyderabad Archæological Department upon Bidar's monuments has invested the ancient Bahmani capital with a new lease of life that will receive stimulus from the advent of the railway.

Of the 1,200 miles of broad and metre gauge track of the N.G.S. Railway, no section is of greater utility to the general public than the Kazipet-Balharshah short cut from South to North India, and a through express train from Mangalore to Peshawar, via Madras and the K.-B. Railway, was introduced on April 1, 1929.

The pictures accompanying this article will be found in the Illustrated Supplement; *cp.* the ninth and tenth pages therein.

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THE ROAD TO ISFAHAN—II

By Sir Arnold Wilson

[The author remarked in the first part of this article (published in the January issue): "The road from Ahwaz to Isfahan offers such difficult problems alike to railway and road engineers, and is of such intrinsic commercial importance, that it will perhaps be longer in use exclusively as a mule track than any other main road in Persia, and on this ground alone deserves a fuller account than the exigencies of space will allow to other routes which traverse the area dealt with in this volume."]

8. *Gudar-i-Balutak*, or 21/129; *Pul-i-Sha'lu*, 2,650 feet, 7½ hours.

But we have wandered from our track and we must go on our way to Isfahan—diagonally across the Malamir plain for 4 miles,* then round a spur and south-south-east to 7½ miles. Then up the Gardan-i-Sarrak, 2 miles of stony but not difficult track, till the summit is reached at 4,000 feet. This pass is situated on the north-western shoulder of the great Kuh-i-Mungasht—a majestic range rising to a height of 10,887 feet and composed of massive Cretaceous limestone. The transition is very abrupt, from the foot-hill type of country hitherto traversed, where the geological formations are mostly soft sandstones and conglomerates or gypsum and shales, to mountain country proper. The road actually passes over a comparatively low saddle, but looking to the south one can see how Mungasht rises precipitously from the foothills, presenting a magnificent rugged limestone scarp to the west. The descent begins along an ancient paved road of great cobbles, polished and slippery. It is known as usual as the

* The writer has good reason to remember this piece of the road. He was hastening to Ahwaz from Isfahan, in January, 1911, insufficiently clad, having been looted by tribesmen, when he was caught in a violent rainstorm just outside Deh Diz and soaked to the skin. A bitter wind came on—to have stopped would have been death from cold, the caravan was miles behind, the escort had trailed away: he reached the Malamir plain after dark, and nearly dead of cold, and spent the night with his horse in a byre lying down between two cows.

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Jadah-i-Sultani or Jadah-i-Atabeg, but is in all probability Kayanian or Sasanian. At 15 miles a refreshing spring, the Chashmeh Khatun; the road here turns south-east to Qal'eh Madraseh, the ruined buildings being traditionally one of the many rest-houses mentioned by Ibn Batutah. The road passes through well-wooded country abounding in chickan, the French red-legged partridge, and rises to 3,500 feet at 19 miles along the side of the Kuh-i-Parr, a spur of the Mungasht, amongst glorious scenery, crosses the Gardan-i-Gachi, and descends steeply to the bridge-head at 21 miles. There is a caravanserai (built in 1911) on the hillside above the bridge, but no certainty of supplies or of fuel. The bridge is of the suspension type, and was erected by the late Mr. A. B. Taylor, of Lynch Brothers, for the Bakhtiari Khans in 1902. The river here is swift, and in colour a glassy green when not in flood, 30 yards wide, and tolerably deep. On the left bank there is a very well-defined old river terrace at about 200 feet above the present river level.

9. *Deh Diz*, 11/140, 5,000 feet, 5¼ hours.

The road follows the general direction of the valley—namely, east-south-east all the way to Deh Diz, crossing the Karun at the bridge at 2,500 feet and rising at once to the Gardan-i-Gil or Rakkat (2,850 feet) at 3½ miles, passing the village of Rakkat (a Dinarani village) at 4 miles and Kirkul at 6 miles. The track then rises to the summit of the Gardan-i-Kulmut (3,800 feet) and then to the village of the same name at 7 miles, Deh Kuhneh 9 miles. At 16 miles there is a small fort and a tolerable caravanserai. Behind Deh Diz rises the main eastern ridge and the loam-covered, oak-studded hills round the village are almost level with its middle slopes; the oaks are larger than on the higher levels, and the country has the appearance of an English park. The country to the south of the track throughout this day's march is of a highly dissected type, known to geographers as "bad lands" topography—named after the typical "Bad Lands of Nebraska." It is formed of soft red sandstones and conglomerates of the same age (Miocene to Pliocene) as those of the foothills, which were deposited in an isolated basin and now remain surrounded on all sides by great limestone mountains.

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10. *Shalil*, 14/154, 3,900 feet, 7½ hours.

The road runs immediately from Deh Diz to a height of 6,500 feet to the summit of the pass, reached at 2 miles, thence through thickly-wooded rolling country, crossing the Gardan-i-Ruar at 7½ miles (6,300 feet). After dropping to 5,700 feet the descent of the formidable Gardan-i-Marwarid commences, the track winding down a dip slope of hard limestone at an angle of 30°. The descent takes a full hour over a stony steep track till Shalil bridge is reached at 3,400 feet. The suspension bridge is most picturesquely situated, especially when viewed during the descent. The Ab-i-Bazuft, a tributary of the Karun, flows in a pleasant well-wooded narrow valley, but below the bridge it enters a gorge. The bridge is actually situated on an old river terrace 95 feet above the present level. The river has excavated a narrow gorge in the massive limestone, and the eastern end of the bridge rests on an island of rock between the present channel and an older one which had become blocked with great fallen limestone blocks. Half a mile further, 500 feet up, is the caravanserai, where supplies can be had at a price, but no village exists. There is snow on the Marwarid in winter, but not enough as a rule to stop traffic; when the Kuhgilu raid the road, as has not infrequently happened in the past, it is generally between Shalil and Gudar-i-Balutak.

11. *Sarkhun*, 14/168, 4,900 feet, 5 hours.

Up the Ab-i-Shalil to water mills at 3½ miles. At 5 miles we pass an old graveyard (5,400 feet), situated, as are so many burial-grounds, far from the nearest habitation, in spots chosen of old by nomads; uncouth stone lions, rudely carved, indicate the grave of chiefs. Some bear on their sides crossed swords, gun, spear, or powder-flask, to indicate the prowess of the departed; other tombstones show by conventional sign the sex, and, more rarely, the name and family of the departed. A woman's grave is indicated by a double-sided, a man by a single-sided, comb; often the traveller, as he passes a graveyard near a village will see a group of women, sometimes beating their naked bosoms, but more often weeping quietly and calling upon the deceased by name. Convention demands the continuance of such mourning ceremonies for at least a year; often they continue much longer. It was at such a graveyard, in a remote oak forest in the Mungasht, that I once heard, at dead of night, the pitiful wailing of some poor woman at

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a grave near by; she was repeating, not loudly, but in pitiful despair, a refrain which I could not catch, raising her voice slightly from time to time as she called, as I subsequently ascertained, on her husband who had died some years before: "*Ai Haidar—Ai Haidar janam—Ai Haidar azizam*" (O Haidar—my own—my dearest). It was an hour before her mournful dirge ceased, to be merged in the rhythmical sloshing sound of churning* last night's milk, which every housewife in the encampment seemed to start simultaneously, as if by an agreed signal.

But we must get back to our road, which runs, from this graveyard, through thickly wooded country, to the summit of the Laghamgir pass at 8¾ miles (7,000 feet), whence Sarkhun is visible in the valley below, surrounded by rice-fields.

* The churn, throughout Luristan, consists of a sheepskin, or *khik*, made up of the entire skin of the animal, untanned, with the head and legs cut off and the orifices sewn up, leaving only the neck open. This is hung over a slow fire of hot ashes, on a wooden tripod, and is swung jerkily backwards and forwards to the accompaniment of a droning lullaby by the dairymaid seated on the ground alongside.

(*To be continued.*)

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BURMESE ASPIRATIONS

By W. A. Graham

[The author, who has already contributed to the Asiatic Review under the name of "Pyinya," was in the Burma Civil Service, and proceeded later to the Siamese Service.]

In the cold weather of 1928-29 the members of Sir John Simon's Royal Commission on Indian Affairs were on tour in the principal Indian Provinces, collecting local evidence, and in due course they visited Burma. There they found that, while the Burmese are quite as anxious as anybody for a change from a form of government they have lately been taught to call cruel and degrading, they would rather go on as they are than accept an arrangement that may some day place them in a condition of subordination to a government of India by Indians. In fact, Burmese witnesses spoke, almost to a man, for separation of their country from India in any case, while only Indian merchants and other foreigners settled in Burma advocated its future continuance under the Indian Government.

That this call for separation made an impression on the Commission seems borne out by the fact, duly recorded in the English Press, that, after their return to India, some time was devoted to hearing Indian politicians advancing ostensible reasons why this Burmese nation of fifteen or so millions should be denied the exercise of self-determination that they claim for themselves as a sacred right.

One underlying reason for this opposition of views is no secret. It protrudes from the recent Report of the Indian Committee appointed to co-operate with the Simon Commission, where the members, after deciding that separation is not to be thought of, proceed to state that under the new conditions of government for which they hope, each Provincial Government will be obliged to pay to the Central Government "such contributions as may be fixed by impartial tribunal." For the fact is that, for many years, Burma has been the milch cow of India, and Indian politicians have no desire to forego this source of wealth.

It is, of course, not known what arguments against separation Indians have put before the Statutory Commission, nor is it easy even to guess at them, for in the

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present administration of Burma Indians have an entirely subordinate part, and there seems no particular reason to suppose that existing commercial intercourse would suffer by the establishment of governments independent of each other and both under British suzerainty or protection. Apparently there remains little more than the argument that the conquest and settlement of Burma were carried out from India and with the assistance of Indian troops and money, but it is almost inconceivable that Indian politicians could so disregard their own situation as to advance rights to control based on conquest! Certainly the land frontier of upwards of a thousand miles, where the two countries in theory touch, is no argument for unity, for it consists of vast stretches of mountains inhabited by Kachin, Naga, Lushai, Chin, and other wild tribes hitherto practically uncontrolled, and affords no means of intercommunication.

On the other side there are many and weighty arguments, all of which the Statutory Commission has doubtless heard. In the first place the Burmese, in racial descent, language, and appearance, have nothing in common with the inhabitants of India, while their religion, literature, and many of their customs, though derived from Indian sources, are vastly different from anything found in India today. Secondly, there have never, within the last thousand years and more, been political dealings between Burmese and Indians except such as the British have recently brought about by the inclusion of both peoples under their Central Government. The connection, in fact, is purely one of convenience to the British Government of India, and is such that had it appeared desirable during the last half-century or so to constitute Burma a Crown Colony or other separate entity, the British Government would without hesitation have hived it off as they did Ceylon and the Straits Settlements.

In the All India Congress recently held at Lahore, when it was decided to work for total severance from the Empire, Burma does not appear to have participated actively, and similarly, at the rival assembly of the National Liberal Federation convened at Madras, where a motion for Dominion status was adopted, no Burmese name appears in the list of the committee appointed to draft a Constitution.

In education, general prosperity, and true political consciousness, the people of Burma as a whole have advanced under foreign tuition as far as the people of India, than whom, owing to absence of caste prejudice and to the freedom of their women, they are socially more united and more

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imbued with genuine democratic spirit. Though never slaves to bigotry, they have always had a lively sense of nationality, an overweening vanity, and an inextinguishable belief in their superiority over all other races. They were brought to a measure of subjection only by hard knocks received from the British, and knocks being no longer in fashion, their national spirit, for a time subdued, is now as much in evidence as ever it was, and is enhanced by the knowledge they have acquired under foreign guidance. They yearn for emancipation, but they do not look for it as an appanage of an Indian Free State, whether autonomous or under British protection.

What they want is a measure of self-government approaching as nearly as possible to Dominion status, directly under the Crown without the intermediate Government of India, and certain enthusiasts have, indeed, drawn up a Constitution for their country on the lines of some already in existence in the Empire.

The demand of Burma for separation from India is no new thing. Starting long before there was any question of self-government, it has been pressed with growing eagerness for many years, and an incorporated society exists for the purpose of forwarding the change, of which most Burmese politicians and some Europeans associated with the country are members, while many past and present British officials are in sympathy with the movement. With the prospect of devolution of the powers of government the matter assumes a somewhat different and even more urgent aspect, and at this juncture it is interesting to note that the Governor of the province himself, in the course of a speech on a recent public occasion, remarked that, in his opinion, Burma could not properly be included in a self-governing India except by consent of the Burmese people, a remark which, taken in conjunction with the reference by His Excellency the Viceroy, at the recent Lucknow Durbar, to Britain's declared purpose of giving India her true place amongst the great Dominions, with full membership of the British Commonwealth, has the air of an encouragement to Burmese hopes.

On the question how far the Burmese are now fitted to govern themselves there is diversity of opinion. Burmese politicians and patriots maintain that they are fit, provided a certain modicum of power to restrain and a duty to protect remains with the British Government for a period more or less extended, while many English officials and others who know the people consider that they are not.

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The experiment of Dyarchy has been tried on the country for some years, and not altogether without success if allowance be made for the Oriental conception of efficiency, which allowance the English official mind is not, however, over disposed to concede. But the spirit now alive in Burma does not willingly accept government imposed from outside, and it would seem rather as though the Burmese are going to have much more to say in the administration of their country than has hitherto been the case, and that, whether the Oriental conception of efficiency be desirable or not, it will have to be to some extent accepted.

In considering Burma, the influence of immediate proximity of the kingdom of Siam, to the eastward, seems to have been not much noticed, although it has considerable bearing upon the matter. The Siamese and Burmese have much in common. They both belong to the Mongol division of the human race, are both more or less crossed with Shan, Karen, and Talaing blood and consequently resemble each other in outward appearance; while, being co-religionists, living in the same kind of country, enjoying the same sort of climate, and eating the same sort of food, their mental equipment and their philosophy and mode of life are also very much alike. Moreover, having been neighbours, with a long land frontier, for seven or eight hundred years at the lowest computation, frequent wars and mutual invasions have brought them well acquainted and to a certain extent related.

Eighty years ago there was practically nothing to choose between the two nations. Both were in a state of blissful ignorance of Western civilization, and perceived but dimly the existence of a world beyond the confines of Further India. Each was ruled by an Absolute Despot, whose people considered him the most important personage in the universe, accepted as right and proper the yoke that he placed on their necks, and had no ambitions to emerge from conditions of life that seemed to them ideal.

But about that time circumstances intervened and drove both peoples on the beginnings of the steep and difficult path of modern development, the motive force being, in the one case, the impact of Western civilizing power, and, in the other, the coming of a native ruler of perspicacity, who saw that only by self-development could his people escape a similar subjugation. The ascent has been a laborious one in both places, marked by popular resentments, reluctances, mutterings, even rebellions, with now and then a backward slip on the part of the propelling

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powers. But progress has been more or less continuous, and now, after many years, has produced significant results.

It is scarcely surprising if the Burman, viewing these results and comparing his present state with that of his neighbour, finds small reason for personal satisfaction. For he beholds himself today still in a condition of tutelage, with little say in the management of his affairs, and sees his country still loitering on the threshold of emancipation, while his neighbour has established himself amongst the free and independent Sovereign States of the world.

The Burman feels in his heart that he is as good a man as any Siamese. History tells him that in the ancient wars Burma was as often the conqueror as not. In the English schools of law, medicine, and engineering, the fields where he nowadays encounters Siamese rivals, he acquits himself as well as they do. In agricultural pursuits, in manufactures and the arts, they cannot beat him. And yet, if he goes to Bangkok, he finds himself in a city with a King and a Cabinet of Ministers, all Siamese, capably administering a prosperous and peaceful country by approved Western methods. He sees an enlightened Court where Representatives of all the Powers vie with each other in extolling the working of the institutions and of the achievements of the Siamese nation, with no reservations as to the inadequacy of the Oriental conception of efficiency. He sees signs of active economic development everywhere and a growing commerce in which all nations freely and peacefully participate; and he hears of a financial organization that, without undue taxation, produces an annual surplus calling forth encomiums from the foremost European financial experts. And when, returning home, he waxes querulous regarding the discrepancies between Siamese and Burmese achievements, he is told that this is a state of affairs only to be expected because his people, unlike the Siamese, are still far from ripe for the assumption of the cares and responsibilities of self-government.

Naturally he looks to his rulers for explanation of these phenomena. At any time during the last forty years or so he has been told that one of the chief reasons for the presence of the British in his country is in order that the Burmese may learn how to govern themselves, and whether he altogether believes in that statement or not, he has been given a perfect right to do so. He may therefore, perhaps, be pardoned if, contrasting the unripeness of the Burmese, fostered by British care, with the maturity of the Siamese,

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inspired entirely from within, he exhibits signs of impatience with his lot and a lack of gratitude towards his instructors. Considering the activities of agitators, always at his elbow, it is rather to his credit that he admits a degree of honesty of intention in his rulers. He knows that, whatever may have been their sentiments in the past, they are now aware that the secret of the preservation of the Empire lies not in coercion but in freedom; that they are honestly, if clumsily, striving towards that freedom and believe that through political education it will be attained.

It is in the methods adopted for this education, and the poor results obtained, that the chief trouble lies; of which trouble, Separationists think, the connection with India is the cause. They feel that, a late addition to the Indian Empire, they have not received that individual attention to which, as a considerable nation, they are entitled; but have been treated as the youngest and least important member of the family as it were; fed on scraps and dressed in garments left over from the other members and not necessarily suited to their peculiar digestion or figure; judged by standards set up for others and restricted in their ambitions by the limitations of their elders. They think that as a separate entity under the British Crown they would have progressed further than they have done, and by now might have been better prepared to enter the comity of self-governing nations within the Empire than is at present the case. They fervently hope that the outcome of the Statutory Commission and of the coming Round Table Conference may be, for them, a setting forth, untrammelled by the Indian connection, upon a journey the end of which shall be an honorable position amongst the free peoples of the Empire, and a full realization of their own national individuality.

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PITCAIRN ISLAND OF THE SOUTH PACIFIC OCEAN—II

By Mrs. C. M. Salwey

Among the objects useful for barter and exchange by the people of Pitcairn there is a species of sea-bird, which is highly prized and sought for. This is a red-tailed tropic bird, already mentioned, whose generic name is *Phaëthon rubricaudus*. Its peculiarity is in having two bright crimson and green mid-ribbed, unadorned tail feathers, consisting only with just a suspicion of growth on either side. These featherless mid-ribs are sixteen or more inches in length, and constitute the only show of tail from which the bird derives its name. But at the base there *is* an indication of ordinary feather, which is half hidden by the crossed wings when the bird is at rest on the ground. The body is covered with beautiful soft feathers of many light tints, greyish-white and palest yellow in places. By the long red beak and the extended black circle round its keen eyes this distinguished South Sea ornithological specimen can be recognized. It finds a home and congregates in and around the uninhabited island of O-in-ō, 75 miles from Pitcairn, to which perilous trips are occasionally undertaken.

Pitcairn has been called the "loneliest island of the vast Pacific Ocean." We can state on good authority that a means of communication has now been arranged for, in order that the inhabitants may get in touch with ships passing at a great distance that would not otherwise take any notice of Outlook Rock, which is the chief feature of this island. It is with pleasure that we are able to state that the Marconi International Marine Communication Co. have presented the islanders with a wireless transmitter, which was shipped from London in July by the New Zealand Shipping Co. in their s.s. *Ruahine*.

This magnificent present has lessened considerably the isolation hitherto experienced. The narrowness and rocky nature of the entrance into Bounty Bay preventing ships from entering, heroic deeds formerly undertaken in little open boats used to be the only means of learning news from the outside world.

Through the courtesy of the Marconi International Marine Communication Co. Ltd., a photograph of this

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instrument is here given for the interest of those who understand its wonderful machinery (Fig. D).

It was in 1921 that the islanders obtained a simple crystal receiver which provided the first means of breaking down their extreme isolation. Then a group of Pitcairn men began labouring to learn the Morse keys and buzzers lent or given to them by the Marconi operators aboard the ships that called.

By the aid of the crystal receiver the men were able to pick up from passing ships messages, greetings, and news of the world's happenings; also information in advance from the far ships that called from time to time, particularly those of the New Zealand Shipping Co. A further stride forward in the wireless history of the island was made in 1926, when they were again given a Marconi Type 31 ship's crystal receiver.

With an aerial 180 feet long, supported in the middle by a single mast 70 feet high, they have obtained excellent results with this set, and on one occasion they received messages over a distance of 400 miles from a ship approaching on the side of the island which is screened by a large hill (Outlook Rock).*

By means of this valuable gift the inhabitants of Pitcairn Island not only receive messages from passing ships, but they can now reply and send their own messages. This idea being a possibility, inspired Mr. F. McCoy to qualify himself for the working of a wireless transmitter. With this intention he started on a voyage of 3,000 miles to New Zealand in order to carry out his wish to study and qualify for such a post, knowing it would prove a blessing to the whole of the community. Never resting after his examinations were passed successfully, he worked his way out to England in order to see the electrical machinery of this wonderful wireless transmitter, as well as the world beyond his lonely sea-girt home!†

* This information has been placed at my service by the Marconi International Marine Communication Co., and the kind permission to reproduce in this monograph a photograph of the wireless transmitter accompanying the above information.—THE AUTHOR.

† *Description of the Photographic Plate of Instrument.*—"Marconi ¼ kilowatt rotary spark transmitter with crystal receiver has been presented by the Marconi International Marine Communication Co. Ltd., to Pitcairn. The instrument case is divided into three compartments. The receiver and the control for the motor are in the top, the high frequency tuning circuits and power transformer in the centre, and the motor with a rotating spark discharger is in the bottom of the cabinet."

This description is from a letter of explanation from the above Company received by the author, September, 1928.

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Work on the island is undertaken very early in the morning. Those who understand the cultivation of food-producing trees and other vital matters make an early start, and are followed later by the women with the breakfast. The men who are not employed in this cultivation of the land stay at home and manipulate hand-made goods for selling to passing passenger ships when they call—walking-sticks, fans, boxes of all kinds, model ships in full sail, and such-like articles. The women, also, who remain, contribute their share to the list of saleable goods when not busy in the homes. The women weave pretty little baskets, string shells and beads or seeds for curtain requisites or necklaces, and other little gifts are made as "A present from Pitcairn." The work of sawing and felling the trees is heavy, being effected by simple hand labour. The men, who are half-castes, are strong and sturdy. Some of them are, however, fair with blue eyes and light hair; others are very dark and good-looking.

The temperature is warm and enervating, especially for women who have to work.

June is the busy month requiring all hands for labour. It is then that the preparation of sugar is undertaken, and the people are required for cutting and grinding the sugar-cane. When prepared in this way it has to be boiled with molasses before it is fit for use. Arrowroot is their next consideration, for this also has to be dug and ground and carefully stowed away till requisitioned; but it is also sold, and realizes a considerable sum if in good condition and quality.

The people make their own grinding machines out of heavy timber and empty nail drums. They make their own salt from boiled sea-water. But the most interesting industry of all is the making of tee molasses. It is like wheat honey. Tee is extracted from the large roots of a certain tree.*

These roots are cooked for two days in very large ovens. When sufficiently tender, the roots are cut up into shreds and slices, and then placed in boxes packed tightly, or pressed between two boards, until all the juice is extracted; afterwards the tee is dried and packed ready for use.

This form of tee is thus produced in a primitive fashion, but the juice of oranges and lemons, which are abundant, together with the milk from the cocoanut, afford a variety wherewith to quench thirst, even for such a large popula-

* The tee plant is a native of Panama district.

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tion dependent for liquid nourishment on an island where water is so scarce and which covers such a small area.*

This tee is quite different from that which we enjoy from Ceylon, Assam, India, China, and Japan, and cannot be so palatable derived from roots instead of leaves. Nevertheless much labour and interest are expended on bringing it to perfection.

But we may surely include among the many wonders of the world of Nature the manner in which these isolated and bare islands, scattered over vast seas, become in the first instance capable of producing and nourishing vegetation. It is a question often puzzled over, and one that many enquirers would like answered. This, however, has been explained to us by those explorers who have investigated the matter and solved the seeming mystery for our benefit.†

Small islands, in the first place, are generally the result of earthquakes—viz., upheavals from beneath the sea. Ejected from the deeps and built up from beneath, they possibly develop eventually into a hard molten state on the surface of the water. A cool atmosphere turns these erupted masses into many dense, rocky platforms. In this state they are naturally barren. The other alternative substance or primary foundation is, as is well known, the work of myriads of coral insects—or the labour of minute life in the sea. This goes on year after year, age after age, the structure ever tending upward to the light and air, until it finally appears above the water-line sufficient to form a foundation. This has to be necessarily strong enough to battle with the elements, maintain its appointed place, and finally receive the benediction of the sun, the "useful trouble of the rain," and the fierce onslaught of the rolling waves and typhoons. Then against this coral obstacle, or formation, the debris of jetsam and flotsam of the vast expanse of water is washed up and borne along by tide and strain of weather, when it finally drifts to the coral floors. Broken shells, decaying seaweed, driftwood, bones of fishes and marine monsters, lumber from shipwrecks, torn branches of decaying vegetation, all find an anchorage. These, with many other substances too numerous to mention,

* This information was contributed to the author's MS. by a New Zealand lady, Miss Harriet Ross, who has been a resident on Pitcairn Island for some time. This scarcity of water—which is only procurable from springs, not rivers—proves that Pitcairn is not a coral island. There is no lagoon in its centre, only fertile, humid valleys between the high rock ridges on either side, and, in fact, around its circumference.

† "The Cocoanut Palm," by W. B. Lord, Royal Artillery. Nature and Art, vol. ii. Day and Son, 1867.

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amalgamate in process of time into a highly nutritive substance of soil, suitable for producing new and living plants. Then, carried along by the swell of the tide, a fallen cocoanut or seed from some far-away island drifts to the coral elevation or is dashed against this foundation by the fury of a gale; battered by the waves, it takes root and germinates.

Surviving storms and hurricanes, it grows upward into a stately tree producing nuts of its own which, when arrived at perfection, ripen and fall with a thud into the soil by their own weight, until these palms become a forest in themselves, bearing and providing food as well as other requirements for the use of man. Eventually, into these palm-trees at intervals at certain times of the year migratory birds come to roost when passing from one country to another in search of rest for their weary wings, or for shelter if overtaken by inclement weather. Some die of exhaustion; then, from the undigested food in their crops, other seeds spring into life. Nature in her economy finds the way to continue her plan of regeneration, for the bodies of these winged wanderers in death and decay add nourishment that the seeds and ultimate plants therefrom require to sustain vitality and gain perfection!

The cocoanut-palm is found growing in many of the islands of the Pacific. It is most prolific in the coral group, but in Pitcairn it thrives and every portion of the tree is of use. Formerly it provided clothing. The fibre of the outer shell was beaten and woven into a coarse material; some writers have also described the inner bark of the paper mulberry as being useful for this necessity. It is called Tapu cloth.

It takes from fifteen to twenty years at least to bring a small cocoanut-palm to perfection, capable of producing fruit. The shell is used for many purposes. Drinking-cups are made from it. In New Guinea spoons are carved out of the smaller shells, and in these, strange as this may read and stranger still to believe, *pearls* have been found. These, of course, are rare and very valuable. Sir David Morris, in a lecture given before the Natural Science Society in Bournemouth in September, 1928, remarked that these pearls are almost identical in chemical composition with pearls found in oysters, except for their brilliancy. They are egg-shaped, but not so very small.

Copra, which is another ingredient of the cocoanut, is a most useful item on account of its waxy substance, which is not only employed for producing light and feeding it, but

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also enters into the composition of varnish and furniture and wood polish.

Cocoanut-oil is a great addition to the articles of commerce from the Pacific seas. From 100 nuts 2 gallons of oil can be extracted. In America it is used in the preparation of soap, cosmetics, and other toilet dainties. The long leaves of the cocoanut-trees that cluster at the summit are used for thatching, the bark for palings, torches, ropes, and an endless variety of domestic articles which neither ourselves nor the dwellers of lonely islands can possibly do without. So our beautiful little possession, this fair spot, is blessed indeed, and her wants are provided by Nature. The island produces the daily necessities for the inhabitants, who are grateful, God-fearing people who have passed from a state of darkness, treachery, and abandonment to perceive the Light of Light. They are described by those of other lands who sojourn among them as living in perfect peace and contentment though of different nationalities, working for and with each other, relying on the goodness of an ever-watchful Providence. They only occasionally lack suitable clothing, and have to rely on passing vessels or the thoughtfulness of friends at a distance to supply this necessary comfort. However, the photograph lately received will show that clothes *have* been provided and secured, and that the ladies as well as the rest of the community are not behind the fashion as regards their costume. Now that the gift of the Marconi International Marine Communication Co. has been received, it will be easy to secure all that is required from New Zealand and elsewhere.

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INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE—I

A RETROSPECT

By Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M.A., Ph.D.(Lond.), F.R.Econ.S., F.R.Stat.S.

Thirty years after India had passed from the hands of John Company to the care of the Government of Great Britain, her place in the British Empire underwent a thorough change. This transformation was due to a large extent to the work of the old Colonial Conferences which gave place to the Imperial Conferences of the present century. It is my intention here to sketch as briefly as possible this unique feature of British statesmanship.

The origin of the Colonial Conferences was not at all fortuitous. In her speech proroguing the Houses of Parliament in 1876, Queen Victoria drew attention to "the interest which, in an increasing degree, is evinced by the people of this country in the welfare of their colonial and Indian fellow-subjects," and indicated the necessity for closer consultation between the home authorities and the governments of the self-governing colonies.* The first Colonial Conference of 1887 was the direct result of this speech.

The functions of the Conference were purely consultative and intended to secure unanimity in matters of common interest to the Empire, such as military defence and commercial facilities in their widest connotation. The Conference was presided over by the Secretary of State for Colonies, Sir Henry Thurston Holland, who had recently succeeded Edward Stanhope, who was responsible for the original communication to the colonial governments intimating the organization of the Conference. On April 4, 1887, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Premier, welcomed the Governors of the self-governing colonies; and Viscount Cross, G.C.B., Secretary of State for India, was formally present along with other members of the Cabinet. On May 4 the delegates proceeded to Windsor and presented

* *Edward Stanhope to the Governors of Colonies under Responsible Government*, November, 25, 1886, in *Proceedings of the Colonial Conference*, 1887. Vol. I., p. vii. C. 5,091.

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an address to the Queen and offered their felicitations on Her Majesty's fifty years' prosperous rule, which "witnessed the number of your . . . subjects of the Asiatic race in your Indian Empire [increase] from 96 millions to 254 millions,"* but no official representation for India was secured at this Conference.

But the question of Indian interests immediately presented itself to the delegations to the Conference. The point that gave occasion to considerable anxiety to the Conference centred round the plea for exemption of Australia to contribute towards the maintenance of cable communications in the Empire traversing the Indian Continent. Edward H. Rea, Joint Assistant Secretary to the Post Office of Great Britain, submitted a memorandum to the effect that Australia need not contribute on account of the Imperial Contract for the India and China services. The Conference then made a reference to the India Office with a view to elicit their opinion in regard to the Indian transit rates for telegraphic communications.† The India Office, at this time presided over by Lord George Hamilton, simply forwarded to the Conference a copy of the Dispatch of the Government of India of February 2, 1886, which gave a remarkable exposition of the Indian interests in regard to the proposed concessions to Australia in the matter of the Eastern telegraphic communications.‡

In a masterly survey of the question,§ Lord Dufferin's government pointed out that Australia was entirely dependent upon the Eastern Extension Company for its telegraphic connections, and that the tariff on messages was "so high as to be almost prohibitive." Of the 12·90 francs charged for every word, the Eastern Telegraphic Company, which controlled the route between England and India, secured 3·50 francs, the Government of India ·75 francs, and the Eastern Extension Company administering the route between India and Australia 8·65 francs. The Australian governments' plea for a reduction of the Indian transit rates, the Government of India contended, was "unfair." They further pointed out that the Australian governments have made a "bad bargain" with the Eastern Extension Company and were "not in a position to secure fair treatment for themselves except on the Company's terms."

They then asked the question, "How far should we be

* *Ibid.*, p. xiii.

† *Conference to India Office*, April 20, 1887. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

‡ *India Office to Conference*, April 21. *Ibid.*, p. 342.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 342-46.

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justified in risking the interests of this country in order to extricate the Australian governments from their dilemma and to secure for them an advantage for which they have no claim on this country, but to which they are certainly in equity entitled?" They observed that, even though India was entitled to a tariff of a franc per word, they were contented with the existing rate of ·75 franc, and argued for the retention of the latter on grounds of moderation in equity, the amount of the work done by the Indian department, and of policy. They finally rounded off their dispatch in the following remarkable manner:

> "India is not now in a position to make any gratuitous sacrifice of revenue whatever, still less would it be politic to yield to a demand which is openly declared to be made with a view to eventually wresting from this country the whole of its revenue."

Sir Arthur Blyth, Agent-General for Southern Australia, recognized that the Government of India would "very much deprecate any interference with the revenue of India," and the episode ended in a signal victory for the greatest dependency of the Empire.

The second Colonial Conference was held at Ottawa in 1894, and no problems concerning India were discussed.*

The celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of Queen Victoria's accession in 1897† brought the premiers of the self-governing colonies to London, and their presence was made use of for the third Colonial Conference.‡ The great statesman Joseph Chamberlain was Secretary of State for the Colonies, and his idealism and genuineness were put at the service of India during the deliberations of the Conference. Already the activities of the recently established Indian National Congress might have had their echoes in Great Britain and might have produced a profound effect upon Chamberlain. Again, Mr. M. K. Gandhi's work in South Africa on behalf of the Indian domiciled community there also had its repercussions on British statesmanship and policy. In a memorandum presented to this Conference, Chamberlain surveyed the recent legislation passed by the legislatures in some of the self-governing colonies against Asiatic and particularly Indian labour, and delivered one of his finest perorations in the cause of humanity in general and India in particular. I do not hesitate to quote the particular portion of his speech in full, since it shows the lofty idealism of the departed

* See C. 7,553 and C. 7,824.
† See C. 8,596.
‡ C. 8,596, pp. 13-14.

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statesman, even though it did not have any immediate effect on the Conference.*

"One other question I have to mention, and only one; that is, I wish to direct your attention to certain legislation which is in process of consideration or which has been passed by some of the Colonies in regard to the immigration of aliens, particularly Asiatics.

"I have seen these Bills, and they differ in some respects one from the other, but there is none of them, except perhaps the Bill which comes to us from Natal, to which we can look with satisfaction. I wish to say that Her Majesty's Government thoroughly appreciate the objects and needs of the Colonies in dealing with this matter. We quite sympathize with the determination of the white inhabitants of these Colonies, which are in comparatively close proximity to millions and hundreds of millions of Asiatics, that there shall not be an influx of people alien in civilization, alien in religion, alien in customs, whose influx, moreover, would most seriously interfere with the legitimate rights of the existing labour population. An immigration of that kind must, I quite understand, in the interests of the Colonies, be prevented at all hazards, and we shall not offer any opposition to the proposals intended with that object, but we ask you also to bear in mind the traditions of the mind, the traditions of the Empire, which makes no distinction in favour of, or against, race or colour; and to exclude, by reason of their colour, or even all Asiatics, would be an act so offensive to those peoples that it would be most painful, I am quite certain, to Her Majesty to have to sanction it.

"Consider what has been brought to your notice during your visit to this country. The United Kingdom owns as its brightest and greatest dependency that enormous Empire of India, with 300,000,000 of subjects, who are as loyal to the Crown as you are yourselves, and among them there are hundreds and thousands of men who are every whit as civilized as we are ourselves, who are, if that is anything, better born in the sense that they have older traditions, who are men of wealth, men of cultivation, men of distinguished valour, men who have brought whole armies and placed them at the service of Queen, and have in times of great difficulty and trouble—such, for instance, as on the occasion of the Indian Mutiny—saved the Empire by their loyalty. I say you, who have seen all this, cannot be willing to put upon those men a slight which I think is absolutely necessary for your purpose, and which would be calculated to provoke ill-feeling, discontent, irritation, and would be most unpalatable to the feelings not only of Her Majesty the Queen, but of all her people.

"What I venture to think you have to deal with is the character of the immigration. It is not because a man is of a different colour from ourselves that he is necessarily an undesirable immigrant, but it is because he is dirty, or he is immoral, or he is a pauper, or he has some other objection which can be defined in an Act of Parliament, and by which exclusion can be managed with regard to all those whom you really desire to exclude. Well, gentlemen, this is a matter, I am sure, for friendly consultation between us. As I have said, the Colony of Natal has arrived at an arrangement which is absolutely satisfactory to them, I believe; and remember, they have if possible even greater interest than you, because they are closer to the immigration which has already begun there on a very large scale, and they have adopted legislation which they believe

* C. 8,596, pp. 13-14.

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will give them all that they want, and to which the objection I have taken does not apply, which does not come in conflict with this sentiment which I am sure you share with us; and I hope, therefore, that during your visit it may be possible for us to arrange a form of words which will avoid hurting the feelings of any of Her Majesty's subjects, while at the same time it would amply protect the Australian Colonies against any invasion of the class to which they would justly object."

But Chamberlain's efforts were not crowned with definite results, and the Conference in a cryptic resolution recorded their views in the following manner:*

"On the question of the legislative measures which have been passed by various colonies for the exclusion of coloured immigrants, a full exchange of views took place, and though no definite agreement was reached at the meeting, as the Premiers desired to consult their colleagues and parliaments on the subject, Her Majesty's Government have every expectation that the natural desire of the Colonies to protect themselves against an overwhelming influx of Asiatics can be attained without placing a stigma upon any of Her Majesty's subjects on the sole ground of race or colour."

Actually the position of the Indian domiciled in different parts of the Empire was considerably modified during the early years of the present century, and this in the face of the above resolution. But Chamberlain's idealism triumphed to a great extent during the post-war period.

The fourth Colonial Conference was held in 1902, but once again India was left out of its purview.†

The fifth Colonial Conference was held in 1907. In 1905 efforts were made to put the Conference on a permanent footing, and several suggestions were put forward for its better organization. Paragraph 13 of the Circular of the Secretary of State for Colonies of April 20, 1905, states that "India, whenever her interests required it, would also be represented."‡ Thus nearly thirty years after the birth of the Colonial Conference, which at this moment was renamed the Imperial Council, India was able to secure representation in a very perfunctory manner.§ When the Conference was presided over by the Earl of Elgin in 1907, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Premier, informed the delegates that Sir J. L. Mackay of the India Council will intervene "if any question should arise with regard to India."‖ The time was still to come when India was able to secure representation on a broader and more popular basis.

* C. 8,596, p. 18.
† See Cd. 1,229; Cd. 1,597; and 1,723.
‡ Cd. 2,785, p. 3.
§ See also Cd. 3,337 and Cd. 3,340.
‖ Cd. 3,404, p. 4.

(*To be continued.*)

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THE INDIA OF SIXTY-FIVE YEARS AGO

By F. R. Bagley

The conditions of life in India sixty-five years ago were so different from what they are now that it may be of some interest to the younger generation to read of what their fathers had to undergo in the days before railways, electricity and motor-cars, and unlimited ice.

It will be simplest, perhaps, to sketch some of the details of my own life when I joined as an assistant engineer in the Public Works Department in 1871 at the age of nineteen years.

My first post was on the construction of the Saugor Road in the Central Provinces. My establishment consisted of a tent, a horse or two, and the usual seven servants, who in those days cost me altogether about £2 a month. I pay more than that now to one of them.

Food was cheap, grain for the horse was procurable at forty to sixty-four seers to the rupee. Fowls were twopence each. The country swarmed with small game so that one could live on one's own gun. One lived on chupatties instead of white bread, but was none the worse for that. Life on the whole was primitive, but comfortable and healthy, and pleasant beyond words.

The country was a sportsman's paradise, swarming with black buck, chinkara, and small game, such as partridges, peafowl, and jungle fowl, all over the place, and a rare tiger, a few bison, and many sambhar in adjacent jungles.

One lived for shikar and riding, to hunt the jackal and hare with two or three "long dogs."

I was out at dawn every morning with my gun and rifle after jungle fowl or sambhar or small deer making their way home to the jungle after feeding in the fields during the night, and generally finished up every evening with a similar stroll when peacock or flighting wild fowl were to be looked for. No big bags, of course, but enough to shoot at to keep one keen and alert. All day, while riding out on one's work, a gun and rifle accompanied on the chance, and were often used on animals one met casually.

Every week-end there was a big game shoot in the adjacent reserved forest, arranged for by a shikari, who was engaged permanently to get khabar, and do the "tying out," and make all arrangements for machans and beaters.

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And the point of it was the cheapness of it, which put such first-rate sport within the reach of young men starting in life. Money went such a long way in those days. A competent shikari could be had for six rupees a month (and an occasional douceur on successful results), and beaters would come out for two annas a day and a share of any meat that was shot, and the fun of it.

It was one of the chief attractions of India to a keen young man that he could get an open-air life of riding and shooting so easily. Things are very much changed since those days. There is very much less game, and one has to go a long way for it, needing elaborate and expensive prepartions and "bandobast," and time and money only within the reach of the few.

On the other hand, the use of the motor-car makes things much easier for the man out after big bags of wild fowl or snipe or partridges, as he can get from one "hot corner" to another so quickly and easily, but that is not exactly the same thing.

At that time, in 1871, railways had made some progress in India, and machine-made ice was procurable where they were within reach, but my earlier recollections are of ice made in many thousands of small earthenware saucers laid out nightly on the ground in nests of straw. This was more or less frozen by the morning, and the results collected and tamped tightly in underground pits called "icehouses" for use months later when the hot weather came on. This ice was dirty and too full of straw to mix in drinks, but was used in the icebox of the day, a "pitara" or wadded conical-topped basket, in which bottles of water or beer or wine were cooled to a very satisfactory extent.

The three innovations in particular which have made India a different place to live in are ice, electric fans, and motor-cars.

Of course, the elder generations made their efforts to ease the heat conditions by various cooling arrangements. Besides the dirty ice in pitaras, there was snow obtainable at places not too far from the hills, and various cooling devices of more or less efficacy.

The abdar in the verandah with his freezing mixtures twirled about in a great bowl during meals supplied cool drinks satisfactorily, and "Khas Khas tatties," or screens of scented grass, kept constantly wetted, made a very cool and fragrant atmosphere in the shut-up house as long as the dry hot winds blew, as they did regularly all the hot weather, and there were dark and cool underground

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"taikhanas" for a reatreat during the time of scorching heat, when all those not working in offices retired for a siesta, till the comparative cool of the evening allowed of life in the open air.

At the offices were thermantidotes, or mechanical fans blowing in air cooled by passing through Khas Khas screens, and, of course, there were punkhas everywhere.

But these luxuries were not for the poorer classes, and the constant sleepiness of the punkha wallas was an exasperating trial, annoying beyond belief to those who have not experienced it.

But, with all these palliatives, life was very trying in the hot weather before the common use of ice and the electric fans changed the two most objectionable of its conditions to a much more tolerable state of things.

The introduction of the motor-car has also materially changed the conditions under which we live, but has not been an unmixed blessing. In many respects one of the chief joys of India was the horse or pony in universal use for duty, or pleasure, or sport.

The poorest young subaltern or budding official could afford to keep one or two ponies and a "tum-tum," and play polo, or go pig-sticking on cheap mounts, or enter his pony in the mofussil race meeting, or go out hunting with the "bobbery pack."

Early morning riding parties were fashionable and very pleasant functions, and all but long journeys were made usually on horseback. Horses, in fact, made a great part of our lives and conversation.

Bringing up the animals to be fed twice a day under the master's or mistress's eye was an almost sacred rite, and to see the horses properly groomed and looked after was a primary duty of the careful housekeeper.

All that delightful part of life for the younger generation has now almost entirely departed.

For longer journeys beyond a day's march, we had the "dakghari" or the "palki dak," which were slow as compared with rail or motor-car, but had their picturesque and adventurous aspects, not without charm. What we should call a waste of time in these days mattered little when nobody was in a hurry.

There is, of course, polo and pig-sticking still to be had, and racing is going stronger than ever, but the price of horses has quadrupled, and they are now luxuries for the rich man.

It is astonishing to see the extent to which the motor-car

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has displaced the horse. In a large civil station of about twenty sahibs, where thirty years ago every man would have had one horse at least, and probably two or three, there is not now an animal kept for riding, except one by the Forest Officer (bound to maintain one quadruped to draw his allowance), and he rarely using it. Every man now possesses a motor-car instead, and it means a much less healthy and manly life.

The fashions in food and drink and smokes have also changed considerably.

When I was a boy the hookah was in common use for the older men, and was brought in regularly after meals, served with much ceremony and discussion of the brand of scented tobacco in use. The younger men rejoiced in "Trichay" cigars at 1s. (rupee) a hundred! or smoked a pipe. The particular men who could afford it indulged in "Manilla" cigars.

It was amusing when talking recently to my bathchair man, an ex-Tommy who served his seven years in India fifty years ago, to learn that his chief recollection of the country, and the pleasantest, was the cheapness of the "smokes" available. Incidentally, I found that he recollected with special appreciation the long route marches that were customary in the days before railways or cars, when troops changed their stations.

Regarding food, it is growing to be the fashion nowadays to approximate the menu to what it would generally include in England, with a certain "killing of tins" to provide fish and fruit not available locally. It was far different in those days, when Oriental forms of cookery were highly appreciated and canned food almost unknown.

Pilaus and curries (thirty-six kinds of them) appeared frequently on the bill of fare, and a good curry cook commanded high wages.

The difficulty of getting good beef in a country where the cow is sacred led to the discovery that "grain-fed" mutton cannot be beaten, and with the domestic fowl in cutlet or curry or "spatch cock" formed the staple of the dishes appearing on our tables.

Fowls were phenomenally cheap, about a penny each for "curry chickens," and are still only 2d. each in jungle places.

I was once fed very cheaply on a chicken a day, with dal and rice, for nearly a fortnight, half of it as stew and curry for breakfast, and the other half as cutlet and curry for dinner! On another occasion, when I lived for two years

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in Burma where we could get neither beef nor mutton, my stable-companion, who was a statistician and kept careful accounts, calculated that we had consumed (with our guests, who were numerous) an average of seven chickens and ten eggs a day for the whole period!

There was an idea that hot curries were conducive to livers and bad temper, but this was a groundless superstition. In every tropical hot country the inhabitants are given to pungent and fiery spices in their foods, and there can be no doubt that these suit the climate and are the best for health, as well as very good eating, once the palate is educated up to them.

The English in India at the present moment lose a great deal by their neglect of Oriental dishes. Anyone who has had a "curry lunch" at the Madras Club, with its twelve kinds of chutney, will remember it as a dream.

Of fish we have the hilsa in Bengal, Burma, and Sind, which compare well with the salmon; and the seafish procurable in Karachi, Bombay, and Calcutta cannot be beaten, but in the inner districts of India away from the sea there is little fish consumed.

India is supposed to be wanting in good fruit, but, as a matter of fact, there are most delicious mangoes, grapes, lichees, mangosteens, oranges, bananas, and pineapples for indigenous fruit, and apples, pears, and strawberries, the cultivation of which is being extended in suitable tracts.

On one occasion when in Cooch Behar, when I found myself unexpectedly in a country where it was impossible to buy any food except milk, bananas, and rice, I got along very well for a fortnight till I got up tinned supplies from Calcutta. So much for the changes in diet during the last half-century.

As to drinks, there have also been considerable changes in the fashions. The Indians themselves are on the whole very temperate and drink little but cold water. The British in the old days drank little but beer and "brandy-pani," both very heavy drinks for the climate, and the "livers" of those days were due to excesses in this direction much more than to the use of hot curries. The poorer men drank rum or arrack in place of the more expensive brandy.

About 1874 Scotch whisky, "Daniel Crawford," began to come into use and mineral-waters to be largely and cheaply manufactured, so that a "whisky-and-soda" took the place of "brandy-pani," and light beers (Pilsener) and wines came into fashion in place of the heavy English beer that was the universal drink in earlier days.

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Another incentive to temperance came in with the great success of the plantations of Indian tea in Assam, Darjeeling, and Southern India, which soon ousted the more expensive and less palatable China tea, black and green, which we drank in the pre-Mutiny days.

The ease with which one can get cheaply the best tea in the world (from Darjeeling) is one of the present assets of Indian life.

The English in India now are distinctly as temperate as anybody elsewhere, and health statistics have improved proportionately. More sensible clothing has, of course, a great deal to do with that result, and in that connection the invention of the "sola topee" and of "shorts" were really epoch-making discoveries. We see from the old pictures that the original British for the first fifty years of their life in India adhered to thick European clothes, and even to top-hats! all most unsuitable to the climate. They even went tiger-shooting and pig-sticking thus equipped! The first headdress meant to guard against the sun was a cap with a flap down the back to protect the spine, and it was not until some years after the Mutiny of 1857 that the light pith helmet we call a "sola topee" came into use. The enormous comfort of "shorts," leaving the knee free and cool, was not discovered till about twenty-five years ago. They are not suitable to mosquito-infested districts, but everywhere else add signally to the amenities of life.

So far it will be seen that the life of the British in India has changed on the whole for the better, in the way of health and comfort, though it has not quite the same attractions in shikar and equine amusements; still—

> "For a man with pride and an empty purse
> It is easy to live in a land that is worse."

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LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

WOMEN IN HEROIC LITERATURE

By Stanley Rice

[After an unavoidable interval, we are glad to revert to Mr. Stanley Rice's leading article in this section. He is well known to readers of the Asiatic Review, and is the author of "The Challenge of Asia" and "Tales from the Mahabharata," etc.]

All national self-expression is most clearly manifested in its art. And this is true not only of the civilized nations but of those we call uncivilized; it is true, too, of the various periods of time at which any given art had reached a particular stage. Nor in using the word "art" are we confined to the visual arts of painting and sculpture; the national character may be expressed equally in music and the dance, in prose, poetry, and the drama. It is, however, perhaps most in literature that such character can best be deduced because the spoken or written word speaks more clearly to us than either music or the plastic arts, and there is less chance of misunderstanding the message or of quarrelling over the interpretation. We are less in danger of *a posteriori* conclusions by which we read the known character of the age into the art instead of deducing the former from the latter—probably one of the most fruitful forms of error in criticism. We are, in fact, no longer dealing with tastes and tendencies so much as with the universal qualities of human nature. Not that the national character and the spirit of the age are entirely submerged; on the contrary, they perhaps stand out all the more clearly because, recognizing the qualities to be universal, we are able to differentiate between the points of view of various ages and times. Eve, it is said, is simply an English girl in a garden; "Paradise Lost" itself could only have been written in a sternly religious age which was equally incapable of producing the "Morte d'Arthur" and the "Decameron."

It was not, then, by chance that the Epics of Germany and France, of England, Rome, Greece, and India assumed the forms they did or adopted the subjects with which they deal. Each is characteristic of the age and country so far

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as we know it. Four out of the eight deal with war, but though the general subject is the same the treatment is entirely different. The remaining four, the "Morte d'Arthur," the "Odyssey," the "Æneid," and the "Ramayana," may be said to be episodic in character, though the episodes are grouped round a central theme, in the first case an order of knighthood held together by the king, in the remaining three the wanderings of the hero.

Of the war group the "Iliad" shows the greatest directness of purpose. Much thought has been expended in trying to interpret the inner meaning of the Trojan War as it has upon the inner meaning of the "Ramayana," but with such interpretations we are not here concerned; for whether they be justified or not, the presentation remains characteristic, just as does the "Ecce Homo" of the fifteenth and of the twentieth centuries. The "Iliad" is the history of a war conducted on an orderly scale for the definite object of the capture of a city; the motive for it is usually kept out of sight, and, indeed, seems to be wholly inadequate unless the abduction of Helen has a deeper meaning than appears on the surface. It celebrates a political war as surely as the "Song of Roland" celebrates a religious war, for here we are never allowed to forget that Roland is the champion of Christendom against the heathen. The subject is not so much war as a crusade. On the other hand, both the "Mahabharata" and the "Nibelungenlied" deal with tribal war, the former no doubt as an organized conflict and the latter as a stupendous brawl, but in neither of them is the war the real essence of the Epic as it is in the "Iliad." The "Nibelungenlied" is founded upon the motif of revenge; the "Mahabharata" upon that of renunciation. From the moment when Hagen drives his spear into Siegfried up to the moment when Kriemhild exults over the head of the brother whose life she had promised to spare, you are never allowed to lose sight of the spirit of revenge. In the "Mahabharata" the whole origin of the war is the compulsory renunciation by the Pandavas of their rights to the kingdom; the noblest figure is Bhishma, the only real perfect epic hero who is the embodiment of renunciation, having renounced in turn the kingdom, his own natural appetite, and, finally, by a special favour of the gods who had granted him the power to choose the time of his death, life itself.

Of the second group the "Æneid" is characteristically Roman. Unlike the "Odyssey," which, of course, it copies in some respects, it is not so much the tale of a wanderer

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seeking his home as the great adventure of an exile who comes to found a new state. The theme is no longer local; it is that of the foundation of the Empire which already under Augustus had grown to be the greatest in the world. The Fourth Book is in a special degree Virgil's own, and the allegory is transparent. Modern criticism, looking only to the story, has condemned Æneas for his desertion of the infatuated Dido, and has wept literary tears over the fate of the queen. But did Imperial Rome so regard the Fourth "Æneid"? Consider it in conjunction with the Sixth, especially with that pæan of triumph that closes it:

> Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento
> (Hæ tibi erunt artes) pacisque imponere morem,
> Parcere subjectis et debellare superbos.

Dido is the embodiment of hated Carthage, for whose fate after the lapse of a century it was permissible to heave a sigh, just as we may now, secure from the terror of his name, sympathize with the fallen Napoleon. The great destiny of Rome diverted to Carthage, here indeed was a vision to appal:

> "With Teucrian armies," says Anna, "at its side,
> To what a pinnacle of pride
> Will mount the Punic State!"

The awful thought of what might have happened if "Latium's empire" had been drawn "to Libya's favoured coast" would have been present to the minds of the Imperial Romans, and the humanity of the story would have been tempered by the political reflections. Dido is thus the personification of Carthage, and the dagger thrust upon the funeral pyre typifies the victories of Scipio as surely as Shakespeare in the familiar words of John of Gaunt reflects the patriotism of Elizabethan England. But if Dido was a symbol of Carthage, she was also a woman, and in her abandonment of love and her suicidal dagger the age of Virgil may well have been reminded of the passion of the Eastern Cleopatra and of the stoic fortitude of Cato's daughter. Both the "Odyssey" and the "Ramayana" have a double theme, one for the hero and one for the heroine. In the "Odyssey" we find the essentially Greek idea of Man in the grip of Fate; but it is not so fully developed nor so stedfastly in view as in the Greek tragedies, for Fate is not the abstract impersonal force which never appears but is always in the background. Odysseus is the object of the implacable hate of superhuman beings and especially of Hera. The "Ramayana," like its companion

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Epic, is based upon renunciation. Rama is driven from his kingdom by the intrigues of a woman; he accepts his fate and refuses to return even when entreated to do so by his brother. Here, then, there is no similarity, but the women draw nearer together. Sita has been compared to Helen, because both were separated from their husbands and both dwelt for a while in the palace of another. But the likeness is quite superficial. Helen is never held up as the embodiment of virtue; she is not ravished, but seduced from Sparta, and she lives in Troy not as an unwilling captive but as a willing and honoured guest. We may, however, find a marked contrast between Greek and Indian conceptions of chastity, for in the "Odyssey" Helen is back again in Sparta as if nothing had happened, whereas the actually blameless Sita is spurned first by Rama and later by his people upon the mere inference that during so long a sojourn in Lanka she could not have preserved her chastity. We should, indeed, be justified in placing India far above Greece, if this crude idea of marriage by capture could be taken as a type. But the true parallel to Sita is Penelope. Both are living alone in imminent danger and exposed to great temptation; both are loyal and chaste, and it is this loyalty and chastity which supply the leading idea of their characters. In marked contrast to these are the women of the English Epic, for since the theme is the chivalrous deeds of the individual knights, the women always occupy a subordinate place. The Guineveres and Iseults reflect the character of a looser and more artificial age when we compare them with the heroines of more ancient times.

It has been necessary to say thus much about the groundwork of the Epics, because it is only by understanding thoroughly that the conceptions are conditioned by place and time that we can properly appreciate the portraits of the women characters. All except the Roman, which, having a special intention, introduces gods as part of the setting, but gives them no particular importance, bear strong traces of the religious atmosphere in which they were born. It is true that the "Nibelungenlied" belongs to the age of chivalry, to the time of Etzel and Dietrich transformed to suit the later age, but in the saga which is the foundation of the German Epic speaks plainly the blood of the wild Vikings of the North. Only the men who worshipped the rugged Thor and could create the splendid and barbaric Valkyries could also have conceived Brünnhilde, the stormy queen of Issland, and Hagen the traitor, who nevertheless was the greatest of them all, except the incomparable

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Siegfried, who conquered the redoubtable conqueror of Gunther. The religious atmosphere of Homer is not so striking; but the national gods were still powerful and fought upon the Greek side, while the essentially Asiatic gods, Ares and Aphrodite, favoured the Trojans. Yet here there is a foreshadowing of the fate that was stronger than the gods, for when Zeus held out his balance, much against his will he was fain to pronounce the doom of Hector, "and," says Homer, "Apollo left him" because Apollo, too, was obedient not only to Zeus but to Fate, which was behind Zeus. But neither in Homer nor in the Greek tragedians to whom we must go for the most characteristic conceptions of women is religion as such strongly marked. In the latter especially it is rather philosophical ideas that take the place of theological doctrines. For religious influence proper we must look to the "Song of Roland" and to the Indian Epics. The former represents militant Christianity—history rather than ethics; Christendom is arrayed against the Muslim invader. The Indian heroes and heroines, on the other hand, are the outcome of a philosophy which has definitely arrived at certain conclusions and seeks to illustrate them ideally. External facts do not matter, still less does the impression of them left upon the reader. The leader of the Pandava host is renowned neither for special skill in war—though he, too, is a Kshatriya—nor for wise counsel, nor for physical strength. But he is the son of Dharma, god of Justice, and he personifies all that Indians mean by "dharma." Therefore it is that in the end he alone reaches heaven, while his more distinguished brethren and even his blameless wife have to endure the purifications of the Indian Hell. Bhishma, too, the embodiment of all that is chivalrous, respected by friends and foes alike, is on the losing side, which coincides with the powers of Darkness. Having regard to the essential religious tendency of all early Indian literature, we are surely justified in taking these two characters together as examples of what to the Hindu mind the perfect life ought to be. Neither Krishna, god-like but not yet a god, nor Arjuna, significantly enough the example of physical beauty, really illustrates the abstract conception so dear to the heart of Indian writers.

Upon this background thus determined by period, race, and religion, are thrown the characters, male and female, and of the two the female show the stronger contrasts and give the better grounds for analysis and deduction. In all ages and in all countries physical courage and skill in war are

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the leading characteristics of the men, and so pronounced are these that all others appear subsidiary, so much so that parallels can often be found when the Epics belong to widely different races. Siegfried and Roland, Lancelot and Rama, Achilles and Arjuna, are all primarily fighters, and this quality of warlike prowess is not denied to their opponents, for Hagen and Hector, Duryodhana and Ravana, and even the Muslim chiefs, are not less skilled if more unfortunate. So long as the Epic story is confined to war there is, of course, little scope for the introduction of women, and that is why in the "Song of Roland" we can discover little but the pale shadow of the gentle Aude flitting across the page. The strife of Christendom was not for women. The slight sketch that we get enables us to picture the lady of chivalry, virtuous, modest, and womanly, awaiting in hope the return of her brave knight, and finally dying of despair for love unfulfilled. It is but a glimpse, for she comes only for a moment to flicker out again into the darkness. The English Epic shows us rather more, but since we are again concerned with the deeds of knights, woman takes only a subordinate place. Guinevere and Iseult and Ettarre are not truly heroic figures; they do not stand out from the canvas with the stern and tragic reality of Greek tragedy, but rather as frail women subject to the passions of the body, who in their seclusion found no other outlet for activity. They are real, but with a realism that differs entirely from the Greek; they follow, they do not lead. One feels instinctively that when they departed from virtue it is the man and not the woman who is to blame. The age was a masculine age. Man is throughout the dominant figure, and woman stayed at home amidst her feminine surroundings. It is the prelude of an age in which woman, more and more shut off from the world, found in marriage the only object in life, and was content with the formality of prim walks in the morning and prim drives in the afternoon—the prelude of an age of artificiality against which we are today witnessing the revolt, for like most revolts its violence is measured by the degree of repression and subordination that went before.

Nothing of this kind is to be found in the heroic poetry of India and Greece. There it is generally the woman who leads, or if she does not lead at least supplies much of the driving power. Ruskin has said of Shakespeare that he has no heroes but only heroines; that his heroes "stand in flawed strength" and "fall by their vanities." His

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heroines are "all faultless"—conceived in the highest type of humanity." If this is true of Shakespeare—and we may take leave to doubt so sweeping a proposition—it is much more true of the Indian Epics. Sita is to Indians dearest of all, yet it is she alone who lapses into a fatal weakness. When Rama leaves the forest home in quest of the magic deer which has been sent to lure him away, he gives strict command to Lakshmana, his brother, not to desert his charge; but when time goes on and he does not return, Sita urges Lakshmana to go in search of him. He refuses because of Rama's strict injunctions, and she then taunts him with having evil designs upon her. That is the climax. For this single lapse she is condemned to become a captive in Ravana's palace in Lanka, to be coldly received by her husband after the final victory, to be forced to vindicate herself, and finally, when rumour is again busy with her name, to be received into the bosom of earth as the last remaining refuge from calumny.

Thus was her fault grievously punished. The vengeance of the gods, if one may import Greek ideas, seems to drive home the lesson of flawlessness which all the other great heroines—Draupadi, Damayanti, Savitri—inculcate. For here we have a strong contrast with the Greek conceptions. In the passage already quoted Ruskin remarks that "the catastrophe of every play is caused always by the folly or fault of a man; the redemption, if there be any, is by the wisdom and virtue of a woman, and failing that there is none." That exactly describes situation after situation in the Indian Epics; in Greek tragedy, on the contrary, the catastrophe is often brought about directly or indirectly by a woman. The single instance of a woman's share in the catastrophe is that already quoted from the "Ramayana," which, as was pointed out, was amply avenged, and which was prompted, not as in the Greek tragedies by revenge, by jealousy, by unrequited love, but by an unwise devotion to the husband. In the other notable examples there is no such flaw. Draupadi rescues her husband from the infatuation of the king, who had gambled away his kingdom and his own and his brothers' liberty. Savitri recovers her husband from the grasp of death, though here, as in the case of Admetus, the doom of the prince is not due to any fault of his. Damayanti, steadfastly searching for the Nala who had wronged and deserted her, at last by a subtle device brings him to the palace of her father and to reunion with her.

(*To be continued.*)

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

DUTCH IMPRESSIONS OF BRITISH INDIA

IN HET VOETSPOOR DER VADEREN (On the Trail of the Fathers). By Maurits Wagenvoort. (Holland: *C. A. Mees-Santpoort.*) Pp. 152. Illustrated.

ZWERFTOCHTEN DOOR BRITSCH-INDIE (Impressions of British India). By Dr. W. G. N. van der Sleen. (Amsterdam: *Querido.*) Pp. 236. Illustrated.

(*Reviewed by* JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

When foreign observers travel through the British Empire and relate their impressions to their countrymen, much in their tales is bound to be neither novel nor of especial interest to British readers. But M. Maurits Wagenvoort, the well-known Dutch writer, is so seasoned a traveller and so fine an observer, that one always follows the impressions of his recent travels through India with profit. Although his primary object was to trace the relics of the Dutch Settlements in India, his trained and open eye enables him to note many a characteristic feature of men and methods and things in India, both British and Indian. Familiar with conditions in the Dutch Colonies, M. Wagenvoort cannot help comparing the tasks which face both nations. That of the Dutch strikes him as "incalculably the more difficult," for "Hindustan is a geographical entity. The Netherlands Indies are an archipelago of islands, so numerous, so far-spread, many of them at present economically so unimportant and others so fabulously wealthy; islands moreover so rarely counted that the average Hollander does not adequately realize their value or the fact that their number reaches or exceeds ten thousand. The Indies are not a geographical entity, and, all the talk about a so-called 'Indonesia' notwithstanding, will never become one." . . . Reverting to the question of governing India, the author observes: "At a time when in the West the shortcomings of democracy are beginning to be appreciated, demagogic influences are penetrating among Oriental peoples who can only thrive under autocracies, especially when autocracy has been rendered supple by the modern spirit of the West. What a blessing it is for the supreme rulers of Hindustan that they allowed so many Hindu and Muhammadan Princes, at one time vassals of the 'Great Moguls,' to continue to exist. In them they find support for their rule. Upon them depends the future of British rule in Hindustan. Just as in the East Indies, tragic demagogic influences in India are sapping the power of the Princes, to the detriment of the Indian peoples, to the detriment of the ruling race, to the undoing ultimately of the whole Western world system. This movement the Indian Princes oppose. Let those who will, say that they do so from selfish motives. Better than any, they know that Oriental peoples are unsuited to be guided by Western demagogic ideas. Not primarily for themselves and their dynasties do they insist on holding the British Raj to the treaties

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concluded with them by three British sovereigns. . . . If they have begun to band themselves together, it is not against British rule, but against the latter's enemies."

On Indian monuments and their beauty, on the mysterious fascination of "Indian nights," M. Wagenvoort discourses with the skill of an artist, but never ceases to be a straight-thinking human being first, one who, whilst yielding to the overwhelming power of beauty in whatever form it appears, never allows his judgment on the practical needs of life to be warped by idle illusions. Thus having contrasted Gandhi and Lenin, the man of spiritual persuasion and the man of physical force, he shows how the former merely desires to return to that glorious past when—as Gandhi sees it in his dreams—"there were no plague and no famine; nor ceaseless war between ever combative princes—until the day when foreign invaders conquered and subjected all and everything; that past when all men's customs were gentle and innocent; when home-craft was a joy and provided ample food; when men were honoured and women safe; when brides were beautiful and pure and rejoiced whenever their parents led them into the arms of bridegrooms, all of whom too were young and strong and ardent. And all this ubiquitous bliss has only been spoilt by the British conquest, which is nothing but a miserable oppression which must be combated by 'non-co-operation' and brought to an end." And with equal vigour and sense the author exclaims: "No, no, no, such *fata morgana* cannot be turned into reality. This imaginary past is incapable of being realized in the future. Gandhi may be an exalted dreamer, and in the fullest sense worthy of our respect . . . but Western overlordship alone exists for Hindustan at present, and it alone can develop India towards her future destiny."

And how is this interesting observer impressed by the New Delhi, that outcome of the magnificent gesture of the modern Emperor of India in creating a new capital for his Empire? Of the old Delhi M. Wagenvoort depicts with zest the glamour, the brilliance and the downfalls that have studded its past as with jewels set against a background of dark recesses, until he comes to our day: "And now she has once again been resuscitated as an Imperial City. True, the 'Kaisar-i-Hind' thrones in London, but his vice-regent has at last returned to Delhi, once more to live in a brand-new palace. A brand-new show-city by the side of the ancient, destroyed cities: but nothing very much in the way of a town—except, perhaps, that the main street of the old town is interesting, a pleasing Oriental boulevard, the Chandni Chauk. It reminds one of the *Boulevard des Capucines* in Paris, which it resembles as a monkey resembles a human being." That is all; of new Delhi, of the grandiose buildings which embody the impressive gesture of the Emperor of India, not a word. From such a fine observer, from such a sensitive artist—what an indictment!

Nor does M. Wagenvoort's lack of appreciation seem peculiar to him. Another of his countrymen, Dr. W. G. N. van der Sleen, has also recently given us the impressions of his travels through India. Unlike M. Wagenvoort, Dr. van der Sleen is not foremost an artist. Living plants and

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animals and the living life of living men seem to stand out as the chief matters of interest to his observing eye. If his style of writing lacks the quality of M. Wagenvoort's, its very slanginess, though never an ornament, at times imprints his statements with the mark of sincerity. It is the busy life of the masses that fascinates him. He likes to probe into those symptoms which hint at inner characteristics. With great interest he watches his friends, the missionaries on the coast of Malabar, breaking the natives from their habit of lying and cheating at games, by introducing the exciting game of "volley-ball" which appears to be played by throwing a football over an eight-foot-high net. Of the endless plains of Central India, of the tropical rivers in the South, of palaces and tombs, of temples and processions, we get vivid word-pictures, and every now and again a bright light is shed on the homely sides of political and social problems. What is his final conclusion? "Home Rule, that self-government about which the English talk so much, is an absolute impossibility in this country. . . . If England were to withdraw from India, this country would within a year split up into a number of little states who would engage in ceaseless warfare with each other, like so many tribes of Red Indians. But first of all there would be wholesale massacres of Hindus in those districts where Muhammadans are in the majority. Never can there exist a great India under Indian rule. The Legislative Assembly . . . is the biggest mistake a colonizing country has ever made." What of the impression made by New Delhi upon this protagonist of British rule? "And now the Delhi of today: A big station, great activity, dozens of taxis. We rush through busy streets, teeming with Indians and Indian life. A fine park. A gigantic hotel; 120 degrees in the dining-room. In the bedroom, fortunately no thermometer." Having described the surviving beauties of old Delhi: "The new European section lies in a parklike quarter outside the old city. The great shopping street, the Chandni Chowk——." And that is all. What is wrong with New Delhi, the new Indian capital of the British Emperor of India? How can these sensitive and intelligent observers fail to see the vastness of the conception, when confronted with its concrete realization—or should one say its realization in concrete?

Perhaps a young Englishman who recently made his first visit to India has adequately summed up the situation. This is what he wrote: "On Thursday morning I saw Shah Jehan's palace in Delhi, and read, 'If there be a Paradise on Earth it is here . . .' and agreed. In the afternoon I saw New Delhi, and tried to think what corresponding slogan the architect would have cut in the stone, if he'd dared, over his new Imperial Delhi. Perhaps: 'If there be a place of restrained good taste and temperate "refainement" on earth, it is here; it is here, it is here!'" And the gallant ex-warrior who was wounded during the war without, perhaps, realizing that thereby he was supposed to be making the world "safe for democracy" went on: "After all democracy's democracy, I know, and M.L.A.'s ride bicycles instead of elephants, and the Viceroy is not expected to lounge while slaves keep off the flies with yaks' tails and peacock feathers. Even so, could nobody be found with enough

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exuberance to have gone for it with *lapis lazuli* and gold dust, and made the dry bones live?"

Perchance the answer is that several such could have been found. At any rate that was the cause pleaded at the time by Mr. E. B. Havell and his protagonists of the India Society. But "official India" both there and at home decided otherwise, and felt that the British master-builders who had so well served England in the past might safely be left to found an adequate capital in India. And there seemed good ground for this conception. Had not, after all, for a century or more, clean justice and frugal administration emanated from buildings erected in a style which may, perhaps, be dubbed "post-office Doric"? And was the administration any better in those foreign countries where the Government buildings follow the "neo-judæic" architectural style of the Continent? Then, again, London had never been built at all, and yet it was a jolly good capital to have, so why be eccentric about Delhi?

The trouble is that the founding of capitals, like most other things, is not the same in the East and in the West. If the purely British Dominion of Australia decides that it requires a new capital, one need not worry about it. Youth, enthusiasm, and energy are sure to make it look such as to satisfy the tastes of the British population of a British Dominion. The builders of Washington (I mean D.C.) had an even simpler task. They merely had to supply and still supply no more than a leafy and non-rectangular oasis in a treeless desert of rectangular American cities. The fact that, with the exception of the White House, its buildings are devoid of all inspiration does not matter in the least, not even in comparison with some of the architecturally excellent "sky-scrapers" of modern days. After all, however good the latter may be, at best they stand out among the dreary streets like the pinnacles of sandstone rocks in a parched sandy desert, and leave the beholder interested, but athirst. The buildings in Washington are succulently enframed by luscious and varied verdure. Washington then is easily a suitable capital for America, even though it be neither American nor British, but a friendly rhapsody on French motives.

But in India? Is it sufficient safely to have eschewed Chelsea and placated Peckham, and to have made South Kensington and Golders Green feel at home in Delhi? Did the King-Emperor not enjoin a nobler task upon the governers of his Empire, when he bade them build an imperial city that should be worthy of his beneficent Imperial rule on the spot where other imperial cities had blossomed before and had remained noble, even in the dust of their ruins?

I wonder—yes, I do wonder, whether the R.I.B.A. and the India Society would have the courage and the humour for the education of the people of England, jointly to organize a two-roomed exhibition. In one would be displayed plans, models, photographs, and ornamental details of New Delhi. In the other a similar collection, relating exclusively to Indian buildings constructed by Indian master builders since, say, 1890. At the end of the show the two Societies might organize a public debate between a few experts to bring out what India has gained by New Delhi—and what it has failed to achieve, politically and artistically. Perhaps, with the permission of the

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Lord Chamberlain, the public might at the conclusion be made to file out through two exits only—one of honest British concrete, the other of *lapis lazuli* sprinkled with gold dust. Tellers could then crystallize in figures our national predilections.

A SURVEY OF RECENT BOOKS PUBLISHED IN INDIA

By A. L. Saunders

Malabar and the Portuguese. By K. M. Panikkar. (Bombay: *Taraporevala.*) Rs. 6.

Mr. Panikkar tells the story of the Portuguese in Malabar with the literary skill and political insight which have won him so high a place among Indian men of letters of the present day. It is a most interesting study. The author does not fall into the usual error of historians, of undue admiration for the men he describes and their exploits. The Portuguese adventurers, according to him, showed but a moderate degree of daring and enterprise in their winning to the East, certainly nothing to compare with the heroic plunges into the unknown of such men as Columbus and Magellan or even the later discoveries of Cook and others. India was a civilization known to Europe, the South African route was well understood, and there were competent pilots enough in the Arabian seas. The Portuguese were usually courageous, but they were not better sea fighters than the Asiatics they met. An Egyptian fleet routed them in the first serious naval engagement, and even the indigenous Indian vessels met them on equal terms. They were sometimes treacherous, often atrociously cruel, and in governing quality or political foresight their standard was low. The term Empire, as applied to their conquests, Mr. Panikkar regards as a misnomer. They stockaded a few places on shore, they fomented quarrels among the Indian princelings, and they plundered as they could by sea and land. Their administration was of indifferent quality; appointments were sold or given to girls as dowries; discipline was lacking, any official could write home in denunciation of his equals or superiors. Mr. Panikkar admits greatness in one man, Albuquerque. The other name famous in this history, Vasco da Gama, is so only by accident. "It is indeed strange that this inhuman, greedy, and uncouth sailor should have, in the popular imagination of Europe, become one of the heroes of the age." This is a severe verdict, but not unjustified.

The relations of the Spaniards of the sixteenth century to the Catholic Church were those of a knight to his lady; those of the Portuguese were those of business partners. They had but a small share of the religious fervour which the Spaniards' fierce struggle, first against the Moorish infidels, then against the English and Dutch heretics, heated to a glowing flame. A people of seafarers, with little liking for the Inquisition and little aptitude for discipline of any kind, and with a strong Jewish infusion, they accepted the Papal donation of the East and made use of the Papal authority, but to their own ends. Only very indifferent Catholics could

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have mistaken the goddess Kali for the Virgin Mary. On the Malabar coast they found the only indigenous Indian Christians, whether of apostolic foundation or later cannot with certainty be determined, and they availed themselves to the full of the footing this gave them. Mr. Panikkar gives a most interesting account of the relations between the Portuguese and the local or Syrian Christians, between the officials and the ecclesiastics, and of the policy of conversion and intermarriage. One cannot judge the latter to be wholly a failure. It has given India a permanent Christian community of mixed blood which has borne an important and respectable part in her national life.

The book gains by Sir R. Temple's introduction. It is welcome news that Mr. Panikkar is about to bring out a companion study of the Dutch in Malabar. A map of the Malabar coast would have been a useful addition.

MEMORANDUM TO THE INDIAN STATUTORY COMMISSION. By K. K. Kuppuswami Ayyar. (Tanjore: *Wallace Printing House.*)

Mr. Kuppuswami Ayyar, a retired Police Officer and Honorary Magistrate, prefers British to Indian administration, and has informed the Statutory Commission accordingly. Some of the incidents he relates in support of this thesis are quaint and interesting.

THE MYSTERIOUS KUNDALINI. By Vasant G. Rele. (*Taraporevala.*) Rs. 3.8.

This book treats of the control of bodily functions by the will through the agency of certain physical exercises. The meaning of Kundalini, a word found in Yogic writings, is obscure. The author identifies it with a particular nerve. Sir John Woodroffe, in his foreword, regards this definition as too limited, and explains Kundalini as an underlying substance which evolves into higher manifestations. The author alleges vast, practically unlimited powers as obtainable by Yogis through the methods he describes. We can hardly accept these as other than subjective sensations: they seem the effect of auto-intoxication. Students of Yoga, however, will find the book of much interest.

THE POLITICAL THEORY OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By M. Ruthnaswamy, M.A., Barrister at Law. (Madras: *Thompson and Co.*)

This is the first lecture under the Srinivasa Sastri foundation, delivered at Madras in two parts in February, 1928. Mr. Ruthnaswamy traces, with great clearness and ability, the development of the theoretical basis of British rule from benevolent paternalism to education for self-government, a temporary and limited process to end in complete independence. If the lectures of the foundation can maintain anything like so high a level, it will have abundantly fulfilled its object.

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HISTOIRE DE L'EXTRÊME-ORIENT. By René Grousset. Two volumes. (Paris: *Paul Geuthner.*)

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

It is impossible to peruse these two volumes from the pen of the *Directeur-Adjoint* of the Musée Guimet without being struck by the inherent advantage enjoyed by French historians over their English confrères in the presentation of Oriental history to the Occident. We in England are still obsessed by the methods of the German school, of which Stubbs and Acton were perhaps the outstanding representatives at the older Universities. We still realize only too imperfectly the distinction between historical writing and the materials for historical writing. And whether it be the latest Doctorate thesis of the admirable Manchester School of History, or whether it be the latest co-operative multi-volume enterprise of the Cambridge University Press, we seem unable to realize that the final form of presentation is at least as important as the collection of materials. To take an outstanding example, one has only to compare the Cambridge "History of India" with Lavisse's "Histoire de France" in order to understand the distinction between the English and the French methods. The former is a collection of essays by specialists, bound together within covers; the latter is a planned and ordered unity, in which each contribution has plainly owed as much to the general editor as to the specialist contributor. I do not think I am overstating my case when I term the former "material for history" and the latter "history itself."

M. Grousset's two volumes exhibit in the fullest degree the advantages of the French method in its application to what must always be, to the general reader, the obscure and difficult subject of Oriental history. Writing as he does with a learning which is at least equal to that of any English savant, he succeeds in being not merely lucid, but interesting and readable. He does not burden the reader with the mental processes through which he passed before reaching his conclusions: he gives the conclusions themselves, while providing an admirable and exhaustive *apparatus criticus* for their verification. More concerned with the interpretation of events, and with the reasons for their occurrence, than with events themselves, he covers the ground in a wide sweep which is far more illuminating than the detail-laden pages of our own scholars. I may take as an example his treatment of the early history of India. In the course of one hundred and seventy-four fascinating pages, he not only covers the entire ground of the late Mr. Vincent Smith's portly volume, but succeeds in addition, as only an accomplished sinologist could, in making unprecedentedly brilliant use of Chinese evidence for the illumination of dark places. His powers of selection are admirable; I have failed to discover any "fact" of real importance to which he has not allocated its proper place and its calculated significance. Nevertheless, the whole narrative reads as connectedly and as lucidly as a brilliant essay. A very striking feature of his treatment is the amount of space which he allots to art, literature, and philosophy. His secret is to concentrate upon "the things that matter," the things that

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went to make up human life throughout the period with which he deals. To him, a battle is significant only for its results; although even here he is able, in a pregnant phrase, to show how and why it was lost and won. Further, his use of maps is admirable; and his identifications of ancient and modern place-names, while not over-burdening the text with speculations, are well supported by footnotes.

His treatment of the Mongol Empire and of China, his tracing of the cultural influences which made up the Oriental world of his period, are alike brilliant and illuminating. It is only to be regretted that considerations of space have compelled him to three omissions, each of which would have given his powers full scope. The first is Japan, which he does not touch at all. The second is the history of India subsequent to the establishment of Islam. This latter is particularly to be regretted, in that his profound knowledge of Chinese culture would unquestionably have enabled him to trace, as no other living historian can do, the Chinese elements in the arts of war and peace which became, through the traditions of Chingiz Khan and Baber, a significant if hitherto largely unrecognized constituent in the heritage of the Indian Mughals. The third is the economic aspect of history: the influence of climatic change and economic pressure upon the fortunes of nations and the migrations of peoples. Here again there is an element wanting to the perfect balance of an otherwise masterly design.

These pages abound with instances of the author's instructive faculty of looking below the surface of things and estimating justly their real significance. His exposition of the high level of scientific warfare which was the secret of Chingiz Khan's world-empire, brings to light a truth which has been too long overlaid by the common conception that the Mongols were merely a barbarous horde of innumerable savage warriors. His utilization of the evidence of art to throw fresh illumination upon contemporary life and thought is as scientific in method as it is brilliant in execution. M. Grousset obviously possesses one of those rare minds which is capable in high degree of synthesising and evaluating a mass of specialist studies. The range of his bibliography is extensive: but he is its master and not its servant. It cannot be said that he takes spade-work for granted, since he reviews its results and comments upon its methods. But he has the gift of the true historian, in that it is with the results and not with the methods that his business lies. In consequence, these two volumes take their place among the few real Histories, in the strictest sense of the term, which have been published during the post-war years.

The format of the volumes is excellent, and the reproduction of maps and photographs calculated to satisfy the most critical.

THE LACQUER LADY. By F. Tennyson Jesse. (*Heinemann.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* SIR JAMES MACKENNA.)

Into the life story of Fanny, the Lacquer Lady, Miss Tennyson Jesse has woven the history of the decline and fall of the Burmese Monarchy.

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So deftly is the tale unfolded that the adventurous and varied career of Fanny herself holds our interest, almost as much as the development of the historical tragedy in the culmination of which she took no small part.

We first make her acquaintance as a schoolgirl at Brighton; then we see her back in her home in Mandalay—outside the City of Gems—only catching occasional glimpses of the inward glory, when her mother, wife of an Italian weaver, had business within the palace. Wife and widow of an Irrawaddy flotilla skipper; then European maid-of-honour to a Burman Queen, and finally self-appointed Secret Service Agent—surely never had any girl a fuller life. Certainly, from her point of view, much fuller than that of her old schoolfellow Agatha, daughter of a missionary's home, whose crowning glory was the canonization of her husband; more picturesque than that of her Mandalay friends, Selah and Julie, though they, too, saw much of the Court.

But it is naturally on the history of the closing days of the Burmese Court that interest centres most. When Fanny first went to Court good King Mindoon was still on the throne, though his strength was failing, and age was creeping upon him. Intrigue on the part of Sinbyew-mashin, the Centre Queen, was already afoot, and Supaya-lat, though little more than a child, was beginning to dream dreams. In rapid succession followed the nomination of Thibaw as Crown Prince, wrung from the unwilling and feebly resisting hand of King Mindoon as he lay exhausted and delirious on his deathbed; the death and funeral of the great king and the accession of Thibaw, soon followed by the installation of Supaya-lat as the favourite queen. Then, to make his position on the throne secure, the wholesale palace massacres, probably with no parallel, save perhaps some of the escapades of Peter the Great, but with this distinction, that Peter was a man and took a personal hand in his atrocities, while Thibaw was not of the stuff that heroes are made of, and deadened his senses to the cruelties going on around him with drink and loud music. And so on, down the years of insecurity and bloodshed, till at last the end came and Thibaw left his palace walls, for the first and only time since his succession, as a prisoner of the British.

A woman again had been his undoing. Just as the evil influence of women had affected his weak personality from the day that Sinbyew-mashin by stealth secured his nomination as Crown Prince till his vile administration, dominated by Supaya-lat, culminated in his betrayal to the British Government by Fanny.

This is a great book—in my opinion by far the best that has been written about modern Burma, and it is not surprising to find that it has the *imprimatur* of the Book Society, and is now in its twenty-fifth thousand. Its outstanding characteristic is the atmosphere which it creates. As we drive with Fanny in her bullock cart from the Kala town to the palace, we see the dust thrown up by the bullocks as they trot along, and the disorderly squalor of the city without the gates; we feel the heat of the mid-day sun. Our eyes turn longingly to the restful peace of the lily-canopied moat encircling the rose-red battlements of the fort with its graceful pyathats, red dragons, and white bridges, and within whose walls are found

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green open spaces and umbrageous trees. Within the gates there breaks upon our vision the tinselled splendour of the palace buildings: the Centre of the Universe, the Queen's watchtower, and innumerable other glittering spires. It is difficult to realize that not fifty years ago these now peaceful retreats were the scenes of a carnage the brutality of which almost baffles description. Times may change, but nature is unchanging. Then, as now, the sun rose over the Shan hills, diffusing them with a wondrous light till, its course run, it set in incomparable splendour, bathing the Sagaing hills on the west in opalescent beauty. "Heaven's light for ever shines, earth's shadows fly."

THE ALL-INDIA MEDICAL CONFERENCE. Report of the All-India Medical Conference at Lahore, December, 1929.

(*Contributed by* SIR T. CAREY EVANS.)

Although the Hon. Secretary of the Indian Medical Association states that his Association has attempted to study matters in an unbiassed way, I cannot find much evidence of it in the above Report. Whatever the errors of the past and present, the history of the work accomplished by the I.M.S. and the Government of India in medical and scientific work is unequalled by that in any other country. Any errors that have been made have been made with the best of intentions, and surely a little more credit should be given. There are many questions which the Conference point out which are perfectly correct, and they will have to be carefully considered by all concerned: they are questions which can be put right. The question of any monopoly by the I.M.S. today cannot be considered; fifty years ago there was a monopoly for the simple reason that there was not any opposition. Since those days there has arisen a powerful and, in many respects, an able independent band of medical practitioners. Both categories together are quite insufficient for the needs of India. But the independent practitioners are too impatient; if they will bide their time, and if sufficient numbers of the right type come forward, it is only a question of time, and the I.M.S. will no longer be necessary. It will have done its duty, but that time is not yet. Meantime, the independent practitioners are a growing force and power, and it would be advisable for the Government to give them a just and fair hearing, and it is to be hoped that in that way they will constitute a loyal and contented body, ready to work side by side with the I.M.S. for the greater welfare of India.

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DEBATES IN THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES

1930 SESSION

Proceedings of the First Day, February 25, 1930

The Chamber assembled at the Princes' Chamber, Council House, at 11 a.m. on Tuesday, February 25, 1930. His Excellency the Viceroy presided.

On arrival, and after greeting the Ruling Princes and Chiefs present, His Excellency the Viceroy delivered his inaugural speech, which has been widely reported. The following extract is, however, reproduced:

"Shortly after I last met Your Highnesses in this house the Report of Sir Harcourt Butler's Committee was published and has been hitherto considered mainly in connection with the procedure to be followed for the most effective examination of its recommendations and proposals. It is too early yet to enlarge upon these, and indeed a minute and detailed consideration of them must await receipt of the Report of that other body, which has been concerned with the consideration of constitutional changes in British India. Meanwhile the views of Your Highnesses will be tentatively expressed during the present session in a series of Resolutions which are contained in a general item on the Agenda dealing specifically with the Report.

"With respect to these Resolutions there is one in particular upon which I would like here to make certain general observations. There are few of Your Highnesses who would not agree with me in saying that the rare occasions upon which the British Government has been obliged to intervene in the affairs of individual States during the past decade create a record in which all of us must feel some degree of pride. One cracked bell in a peal of bells can prejudice and often destroy the harmony of the whole. In these days of publicity the shortcomings of one unit in the body-politic almost inevitably have the effect of prejudicing the reputation of all the other units composing that body. The good repute of Your Highnesses' Order is a matter which I, no less than all my predecessors, have regarded as a peculiar trust. It has been the consistent endeavour of us, who have enjoyed the privilege of friendship with many of Your Highnesses' Order, to enhance the reputation of those States who occupy a distinguished position within the fabric of the Empire, and it is in pursuance of these sentiments that intervention has been resorted to in recent years in the few cases to which I have referred. To define the degree of discretion vested in the Viceroy in such delicate matters would be a matter of extreme difficulty. Intervention consists normally in an expression of views tending to relieve the effect of abuse of power. These views are generally expressed at a personal interview between the Ruler and either the Viceroy or his local representative, which in my experience is always of most friendly character. Speaking for myself, I have to acknowledge the invariable readiness with which Rulers have listened to any advice I have felt it my duty as a friend to offer, and the generous thanks with which it has frequently been received. In its more important aspect intervention will be resorted to only in cases where, in the interests

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of Your Highnesses, of Your Highnesses' subjects, of India, and of the Empire as a whole, no other course seems possible. I feel confident that in the future the occasions upon which the Viceroy will be called upon to exercise his discretion with regard to intervention will gradually grow more rare. It is the co-operation of the Rulers of States in the interests of good government and of their common good repute which have conduced in the past, and will conduce still more in the future, to this result."

There followed a number of Resolutions which are herewith quoted:

AGENDUM No. 1

"That the Ruling Princes and Chiefs represented in this Chamber request His Excellency the President of the Chamber to be so kind as to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor an expression of their deep and unfaltering devotion to the Throne, together with their profound happiness and relief at His Majesty's complete restoration to health."

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

AGENDUM No. 1 A

"This Chamber places on record its emphatic condemnation of the recent insensate and dastardly attempt on the life of Their Excellencies, and tenders its heartiest congratulations on their most providential escape."

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

AGENDUM No. 2

"That the Chamber of Princes records its heartfelt sorrow at the lamentable demise of Their Highnesses the Maharaja Sahib of Bharatpur, the Maharaj-Rana of Jhalawar, the Raja Sahib of Lunawada, and the Thakur Sahib of Rajkot, together with the sense of the loss thereby sustained by the entire Order of Princes; and offers its sincerest sympathies and condolences to the bereaved families."

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

AGENDUM No. 3

"That the Chamber of Princes offers its heartiest congratulations to Their Highnesses the Maharaj-Rana of Jhalawar and the Raja Sahib of Narsingarh on their assumption of powers, and welcomes them in its midst, wishing them a long and prosperous rule."

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

AGENDUM No. 4

To receive a statement from His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala reviewing the work performed by the Chamber of Princes during the past year.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—The Chancellor's responsibility of presenting to the Chamber the annual review of the work accomplished is never a light one; but on this occasion I approach it with more than ordinary diffidence. Since the last meeting of the Chamber, there have been so many developments in the political situation both in this country and in England, of a kind calculated vitally to affect the interests of Your Highnesses that

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were I to deal at any length with these events, I should occupy a much longer portion of the time of the Chamber than I feel justified in doing.

The first of these events of which I would take the opportunity of reminding you is, of course, the publication of the Report of the Indian States Committee. In view of the space which is being allotted in our agenda to a discussion of the Report, I will not attempt to anticipate that debate, but I feel I must voice even at this stage the general opinion of my Brother Princes that we regard that document as being, from the standpoint of the Indian States, a mixture of good and bad. Grateful as we are to Your Excellency, for the sympathetic statesmanship which granted our request for an enquiry into the relations existing between ourselves and the Paramount Power and between ourselves and British India, I cannot refrain from remarking that the work of the Indian States Committee was neither as comprehensive nor as clear-cut as, in our view, the importance of its task required. As Your Excellency is aware, an early opportunity was taken soon after the publication of the Report to elicit the views of a large number of the States represented in this Chamber in regard to the Report. A large and representative meeting was held at Bombay last June; and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing my deep obligation to my dear elder brother, His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, for the wise and statesmanlike manner in which he guided the deliberations, and shouldered the heavy responsibilities, which fell upon him in the unavoidable absence, due to ill-health, both of myself and of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Pro-Chancellor. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner's services to the entire Order of Princes are so well known, and so deeply appreciated by all of us, that I need do no more than say that his leadership on this occasion was part and parcel of that same great work in which he has always borne so prominent a part. Your Excellency was kind enough to grant an interview to the deputation of Princes and Ministers headed by His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner at Poona; and the tentative opinions reached in the Bombay meeting were informally communicated to you. I take this opportunity of laying on the table, for record, a copy of the Resolutions unanimously adopted at our Bombay Conference. These conclusions have now, as a result of the labours of the last few weeks, been reduced to precise and formal shape, and will, I hope, be regarded by Your Excellency as constituting the considered opinion of the States represented in this Chamber.

As Your Highnesses are well aware, the circumstances connected with the appointment of the Indian States Committee led us, last year, to set up a Special Organization in order to cope with the work entailed. I should like, as Chancellor, once more to express my gratitude to those Princes and Ministers who laboured so devotedly in this connection. We quickly found that the publication of the Report of the Indian States Committee did not place a term to the work which had to be done. Accordingly, it was resolved to continue the Special Organization for the present; and my Foreign Minister, Professor Rushbrook Williams, was again sent to England at the request of Your Highnesses in order to ensure that in the discussion of Indian affairs in that country, the existence and the interests of the Indian States were not overlooked. We are glad to learn from the testimony of the highest quarters that the reputation of the Indian States stands firm in England; and I should like to take this opportunity of expressing our gratitude to my dear uncle His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib and my dear brother His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar for his efforts on our behalf in that country. After the lapse of a certain length of time, due to circumstances which I need not enumerate, we were so fortunate as to secure, through the liberality of the Gwalior Government, the services of our tried and valued friend

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Colonel Haksar as Director, Special Organization, for a period of two years. Moreover, I and my colleagues of the Standing Committee have found ourselves at last enabled to take a step which we have long recognized as a desideratum, which is the establishment of a permanent Chancellor's Secretariat, with a separate staff and a separate Organization for the control of which we have been fortunate in securing the services of Sardar Mir Maqbool Mahmood. Finally, we have established a Standing Committee of Ministers—an innovation which, I am sure Your Highnesses will all agree, is likely to add much to the efficient and expeditious disposal of important business.

It is in these ways that we have tried to equip ourselves for the work which lies immediately before us. Thanks to Your Excellency's personal sympathy towards the States, and clear-sighted grasp of their importance, both actual and potential, we have now been placed in a position in which we shall find full scope for all our efforts. We, as well as British India, have every reason to express our deep gratitude to Your Excellency for those devoted labours, crowned with such conspicuous success, which characterized your ambassadorial mission to England on behalf of Greater India this summer. With the recognition by the Prime Minister and Sir John Simon of the right of the States to appear as the third party in the Round Table Conference, we have attained a position of responsibility in the affairs not merely of India, but also of the Empire, which we shall labour to fill to the best of our ability. I do not conceal from Your Highnesses my conviction that the work which lies before us is both arduous and difficult. But I have every confidence that with the wisdom of Your Excellency to counsel us, the statesmanship of the Indian Princes and of their advisers will prove equal to the task.

Despite our preoccupation with these all-important matters to which I have referred so briefly, the routine work of the Standing Committee continued without intermission. Two meetings were held in March and October respectively, and the following subjects were borne on their agenda:

1. Radio Broadcasting in British India and its application to Indian States.
2. Restrictions imposed on the possession, purchase, and importation of arms and ammunition for the personal use of the Rulers of States.
3. Representations of States on the Railway Board, the Rates Advisory Board, and the Tariff Board.
4. Construction of dams in Indian States.
5. Revision of the rules for the administration of Indian People's Famine Trust.
6. Provision of a school at Satara for Junior Officers of the Indian States Forces.
7. Air Navigation in Indian States.
8. Dealings between Indian States and Capitalists and Financial Agents.
9. Powers to be given to Councils of Administrations of Indian States to offer troops to Government in emergency in the absence of the Ruler from the State.
10. Grant to Ruling Princes and Chiefs of the privilege of exercising censorship over telegrams.

Out of these items the discussions on Radio Broadcasting and dealings with capitalists, etc., have been concluded, and the summaries embodying the final recommendations of the Standing Committee will be presented to Your Highnesses during this session.

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Questions relating to the possession, purchase, and export of arms and ammunition by Ruling Princes and Chiefs, and their subjects in the States and in British India, are still under examination. The scope of the subject, however, has been widened in order to include the consideration of two important points—namely, restrictions regarding possession, purchase, etc., of arms and ammunition by State officials and leading citizens or individuals; and restrictions on the authorities of the States regarding licences, sale and purchase of arms and ammunition within their territories. The matter was referred to a Joint Committee of representatives of the Government of India and of the Indian States Ministers, and its report in the form of a supplementary memorandum was discussed by the Standing Committee in October last, when an attempt was made to meet, as far as possible, all reasonable suggestions from the States and to remove practical difficulties now experienced. The proceedings of the Standing Committee are now under examination by the Government of India, and I am confident that before long a workable compromise will be accomplished.

The questions of representation of States on the Railway Board, Rates Advisory Board, and Tariff Board have been postponed for the present, as it was felt that such questions could be discussed more fruitfully after the relevant recommendations of the Butler Committee had been considered.

The question of the construction of dams has been found to possess a legal aspect also, as proper bases for the fixing of liability in case of damage and the venue to decide such questions have to be determined. The question has accordingly been referred to a Special Sub-Committee, and it is proposed to bring this question again before the next Standing Committee.

The disposal of the question regarding revision of the Rules for the administration of Indian People's Famine Funds awaits the receipt of certain information which the Political Secretary has, at our request, sought from the Honorary Secretary of the Trust. We hope to be able to dispose of this question satisfactorily before long.

The proposed scheme for a school at Satara for Junior Officers of the Indian State Forces revealed difference of opinion amongst the Standing Committee members, as some of us felt that it may be cheaper and more desirable to leave to the State concerned the primary military training of its junior officers through its own arrangement or in co-operation with other States, and to arrange for their later training at Staff College, Quetta, or elsewhere. Finally, it was decided that the States concerned should be circularized and asked to give definite assurances as to the number of cadets forthcoming annually in each case, it being made clear that if the scheme was not fully supported it would have to be dropped. I believe the States are being addressed through usual channels.

The question of the grant to Ruling Princes and Chiefs of the privilege of exercising censorship over telegrams, particularly in emergencies, was referred to a Joint Committee of States Ministers and Government of India Officers, and the preliminary points which emerged from the discussions of this Committee are now being examined by the departments concerned of the Government of India. This subject, as we all feel, is important from the viewpoint of public safety and law and order in the States, and we foresee no practical objection from the Telegraph Department of the Government of India to the desired extension of censorship. As such the States have a right to expect from Your Excellency and the Government of India that they will appreciate the difficulties of the States in this matter and will examine this question with a sympathetic determination to help the States Governments.

The procedure to be adopted for the mobilization during an emergency

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of Indian States Forces Units, earmarked for the service of the Empire, in the absence from India of the Ruler concerned, was also disposed of by the Standing Committee, and since only a few States are directly concerned a formal reference to Chamber has been obviated in the special circumstances of this case. I would, therefore, content myself by remarking that the voluntary nature of the arrangements has been maintained, and it is recommended that the Councils of Administrations in such cases may be authorized by the Rulers concerned to take necessary action. The States concerned will be addressed accordingly.

We have also had many prolonged sittings to discuss the intricate question of Air Navigation, and I am sure Your Highnesses will be glad to learn that we have reached a compromise in the Standing Committee which ensures the sovereignty over the air to the States concerned, and reserves our other fiscal interests involved, making provision simultaneously for necessary co-operation with the Government of India in the interest of discharging international obligations in this behalf, and for the security of India as a whole. This happy result was mainly secured through the constructive statesmanship of my colleagues, Their Highnesses of Bikaner, Kashmir, and Bhopal, and to the reasonableness of the Political Secretary and other experts of the departments concerned of the Government of India. The final summary embodying the result of the compromise is now under the examination of the Government of India, and I hope it will be placed before Your Highnesses in due course.

Apart from these questions, the Standing Committee also discussed certain questions informally. In this connection it was decided, in view of Your Excellency's remarks in the opening address last year, to leave the armorial bearings as they have been fixed on the walls of the Chamber, for æsthetic effect, without any attempt at arranging them according to precedence. Moreover, certain minor changes were effected in the summary regarding construction of tramways, so as to embody accurately the intention of the compromise which was the basis of the summary. I may be permitted to add in this connection that, as desired by many of my brother Princes, an attempt is being made to expedite examination of the connected question of applying the same principles to compensation by new railways. The Standing Committee also recorded their thanks, to which I am sure all of Your Highnesses will subscribe, to His Excellency for the facilities and courtesies extended during the illness and regarding arrangements for the funeral of our brother, the late lamented Maharaja Sahib of Bharatpur, as also later regarding funeral rites of his noble consort.

It is also my duty to inform Your Highnesses that, in addition to the consideration of the topics mentioned above, we of the Standing Committee have, at our informal meetings, been concentrating on many important questions arising out of the Butler Report and relating to the recent political developments, which have already been considered by Your Highnesses at the informal meetings last week. These informal meetings now provide an opportunity for transaction of important matters as a supplement to our meetings here.

Before I conclude this statement, I feel I must express my deep and sincere obligations to Your Excellency, on behalf of the Standing Committee, for your unfailing kindness and courtesy. Whenever I and my colleagues have approached you, we have always received constructive advice and sympathy, which we value as the expressions of a true and earnest friend of our Order, of the Indian States, and of India. Moreover, I would be failing in my duty if I were not to record my indebtedness to my colleagues of the Standing Committee and to His Highness the Maharaj-Rana of Dholpur, who, as substitute member, attended our Standing Committee meetings, for his valuable contributions

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towards the success of our labours; and last, but not least, I must record our obligations to the Political Secretary, Sir Charles Watson, whose assistance and reasonableness have been invaluable, as also to his deputy and other officers of the departments of the Government of India, who have contributed towards the transaction of our work.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner: Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—The hour is getting late, and there is a very heavy programme of business this session before the house, so I will not take up your time by dealing in detail with the work done by His Highness the Chancellor or alluding to the various points mentioned in his statement today. But it is with much pleasure that I move a vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala for his services and labours in the interests of the Princes and States which have again devolved upon His Highness as Chancellor during the past twelve months. I should like to be permitted to tender my warm thanks to His Highness for the more than generous terms in which he has alluded to me, and I also wish to associate myself wholeheartedly with the tribute that he has paid to Colonel Haksar, Director of our Special Organization; to Professor Rushbrook Williams, Joint Director in charge of the London Branch of our Organization; and to Mir Maqbool Mahmood, Secretary to His Highness the Chancellor.

His Highness the Maharaja of Dewas (Senior Branch): Your Excellency, Your Highnesses,—It affords me very great pleasure indeed to join voices with my esteemed brother His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in expressing our gratitude to His Highness the Chancellor for his wholehearted devotion to duty in that capacity. I think it is only fair to say—and I trust His Highness the Chancellor would not object to the phrase—that he has been a very willing and a very loyal servant of the Order. I think it will be agreed that serving others is one of the greatest privileges of life, and while one who has willingly and faithfully served others is entitled to the rare satisfaction which can be derived from the consciousness of duty honestly performed, those who have been served owe to him the duty of publicly acknowledging their gratitude for such services.

As I view the position, I can honestly say that we owe him much. We owe him the gift of the services for a protracted period of one of his ablest officers who has rendered valuable service. We owe it to him to acknowledge that throughout the past twelve months he has kept the wheels of the machinery known as the Chancellor's Secretariat moving, and we owe to his very generous support towards making it possible, of course, with others of our large-hearted brothers, to achieve the work that has been done during the last eighteen months and more. Indeed, so keen is he in keeping us all up to the mark and so zealous in our cause that sometimes we have felt aggrieved at the flood of circular letters which he continually pours down upon us with noble object of ensuring that no matter of importance to our interests should be overlooked or their disposal delayed.

In conclusion, I would merely say that he has laboured incessantly in the discharge of his sacred trust, and therefore he is entitled to our profound gratitude.

A vote of thanks to His Highness the Chancellor was carried unanimously.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: With Your Excellency's permission I beg to thank my brother His Highness of Bikaner and His Highness of Dewas (Senior Branch) and all Their Highnesses for their appreciation of my humble work.

His Excellency the Viceroy: That concludes our business for the day with the exception of one remark that it may be convenient to make.

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I understand that a suggestion has been made, for the convenience of transaction of other important business, that it might suit some, perhaps all of Your Highnesses, if the various elections that take place at the end of our session took place at some earlier date than the last day. I do not know what day Your Highnesses would find most convenient—tomorrow or the day after. It means, so far as I am concerned, merely the transposition of Your Highnesses' work, and I am entirely in Your Highnesses' hands with regard to the arrangement of business.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala: February 27, if that would be convenient to Your Excellency.

His Excellency the Viceroy: That is Thursday. If that is generally acceptable to the Chancellor and Your Highnesses, I shall ask Sir Charles Watson to redraft the work-card accordingly.

Sir Charles Watson: May I ask if the elections are to take place before the other business, or whether that it is to be the last item on Thursday?

His Excellency the Viceroy: I take it that it will be the intention of the house that this will be the first item on Thursday, and that what business has been arranged that day should take place after we have had the elections. We shall now have the photograph.

This concluded the proceedings of the day.

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THE TEMPLE BY THE SEA, MAHABALIPURAM

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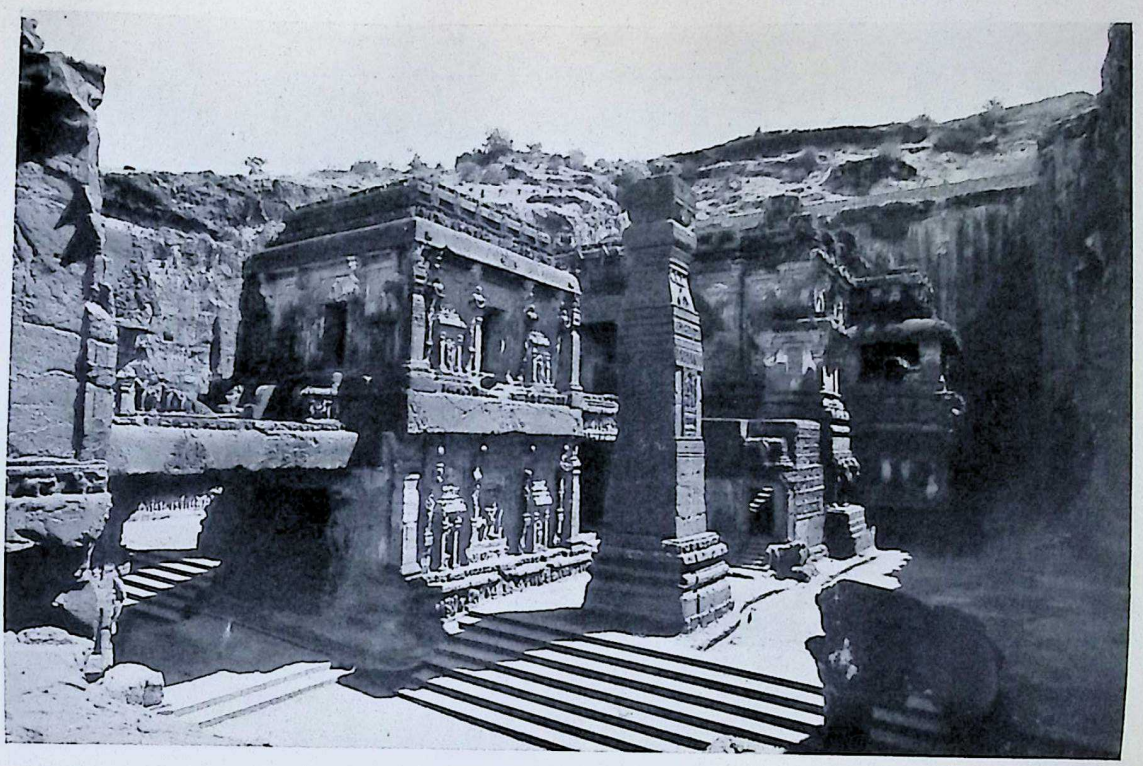

THE KAILAS TEMPLE, ELLORA

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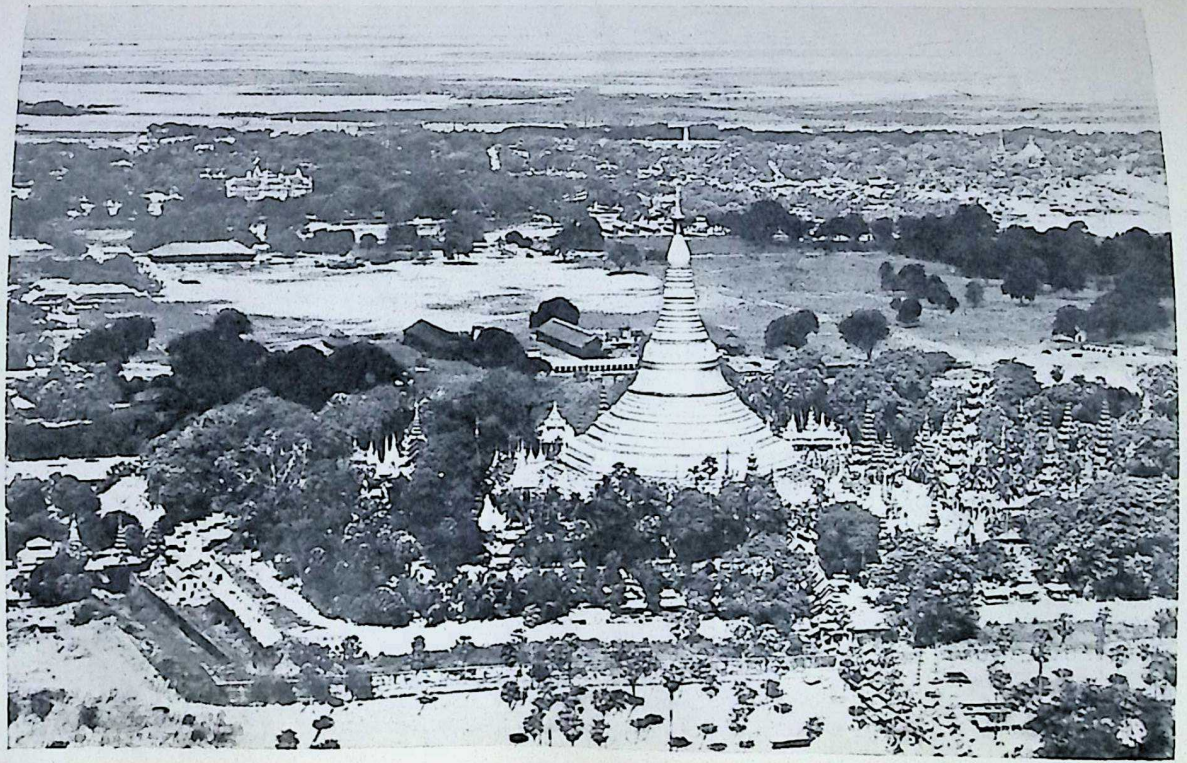

SHWE DAGON PAGODA, RANGOON

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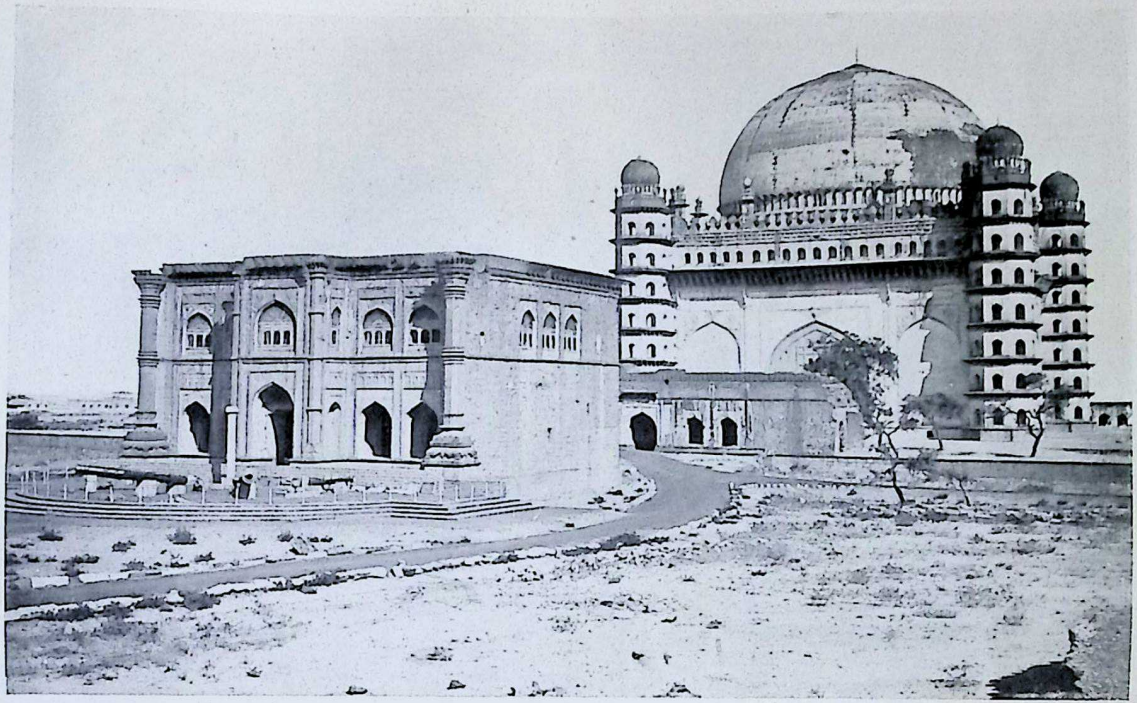

GENERAL VIEW OF THE MUSEUM AND THE GOL GUMBAJI, BIJAPUR

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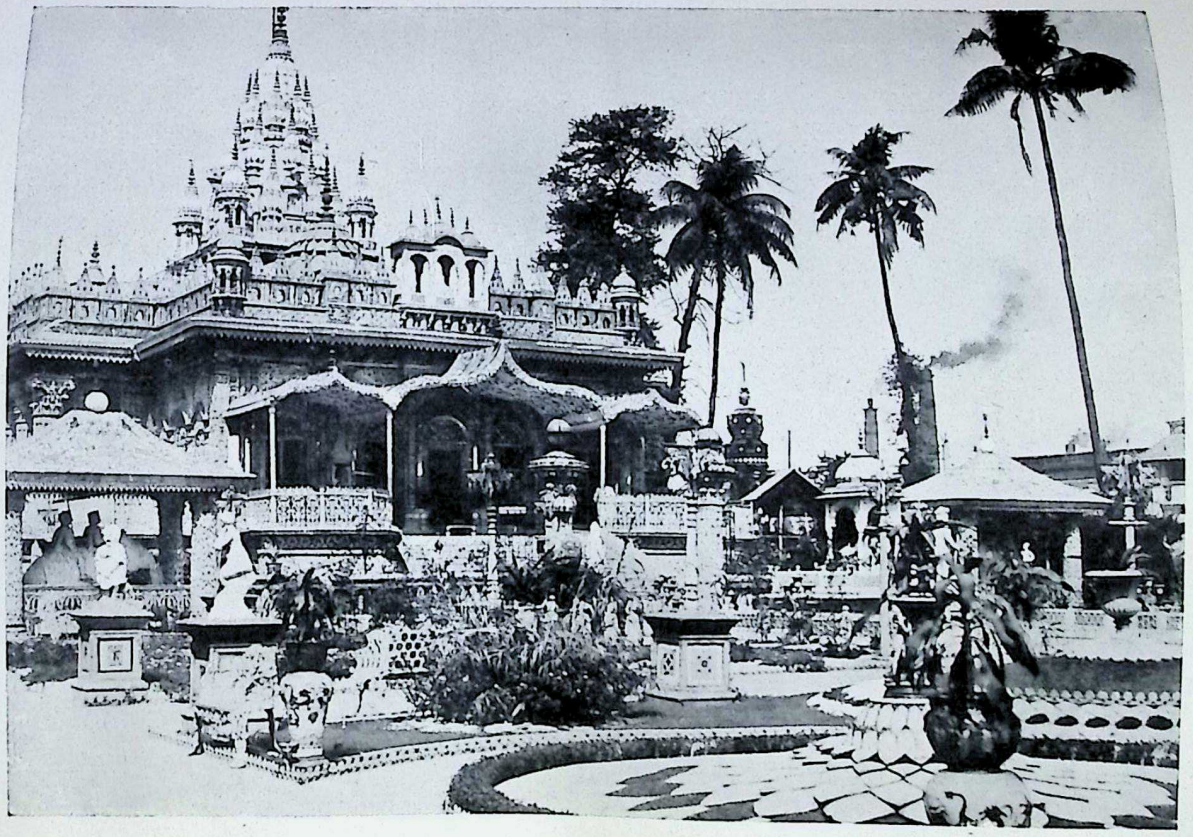

THE PARESHNATH (JAIN) TEMPLE, CALCUTTA

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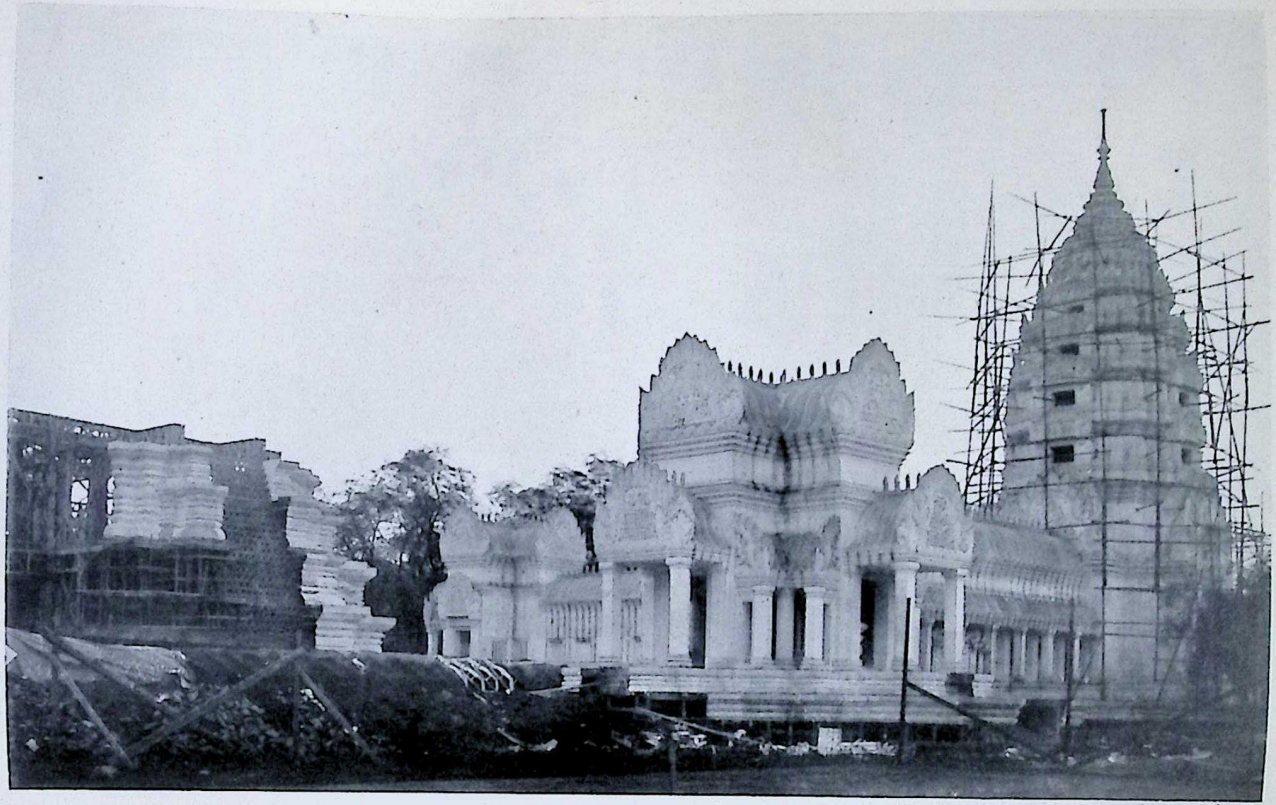

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Palace of Indo-China : one of the wings of the façade.

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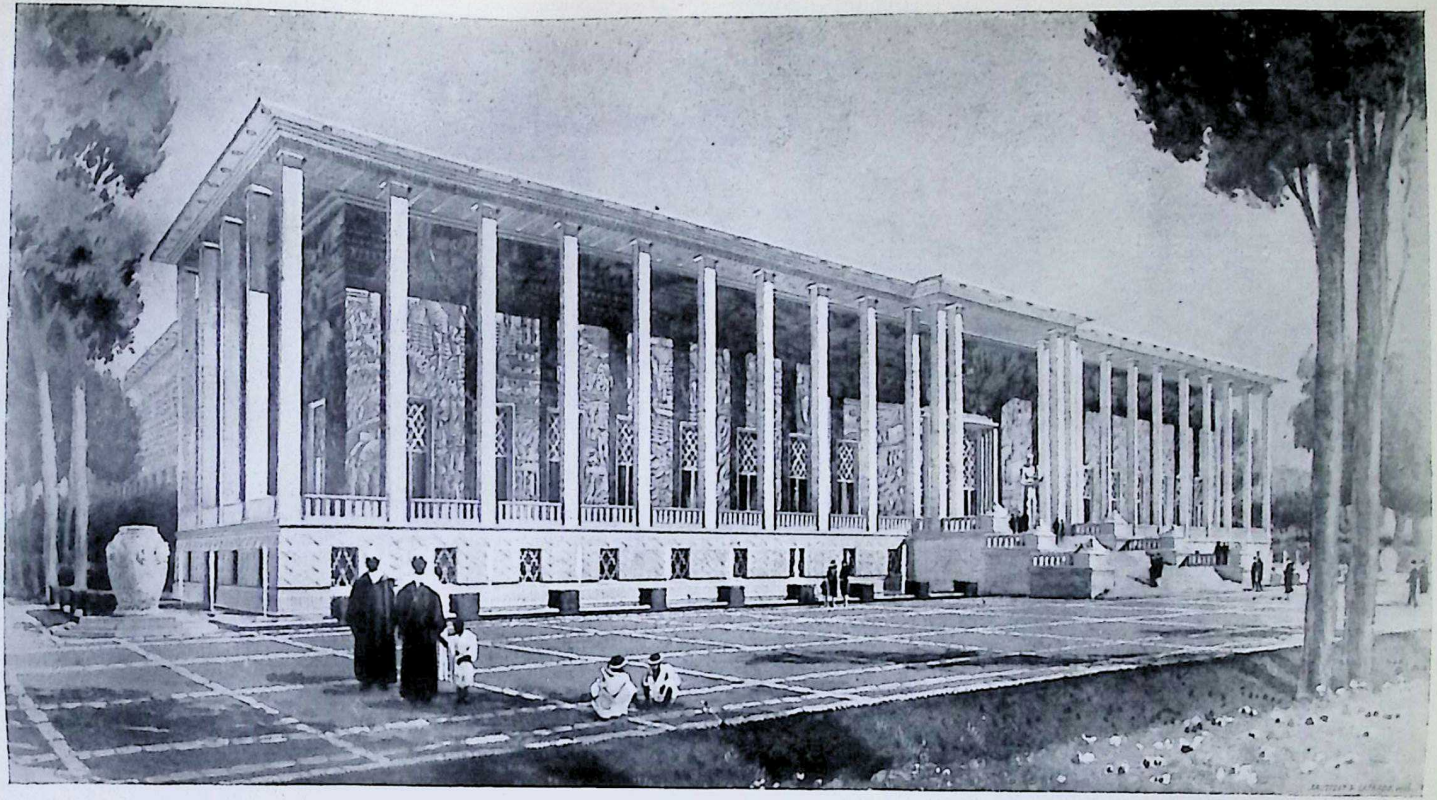

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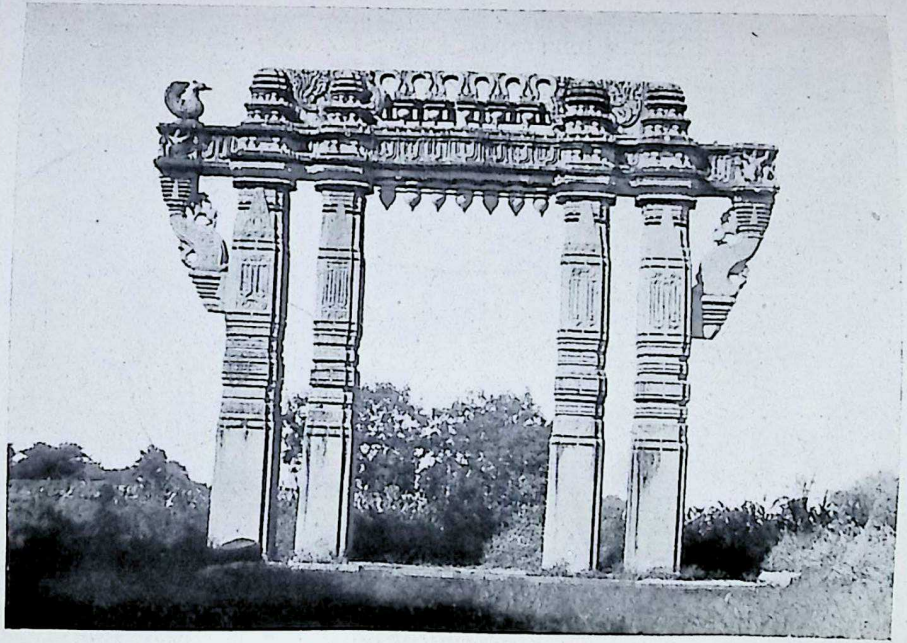

GATEWAY, WARANGAL FORT

(Cp. article "By Rail from Madras to Delhi.")

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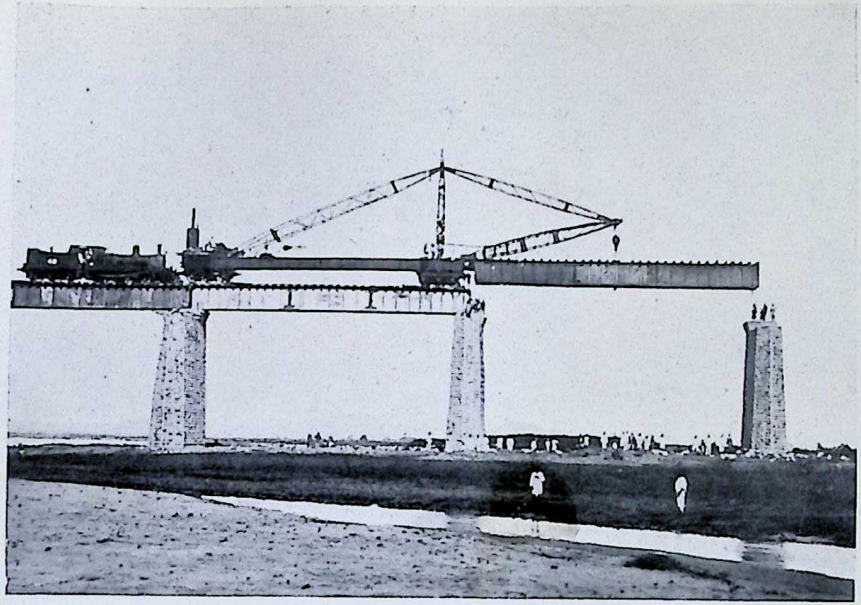

THE GODAVARI BRIDGE: LOWERING A GIRDER

(Cp. article "By Rail from Madras to Delhi.")

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BREAKING-IN ELEPHANTS IN DHENKANAL STATE

Within the Stockade: The Ruling Chief (with a spear) on his favourite Kunki on the extreme left.

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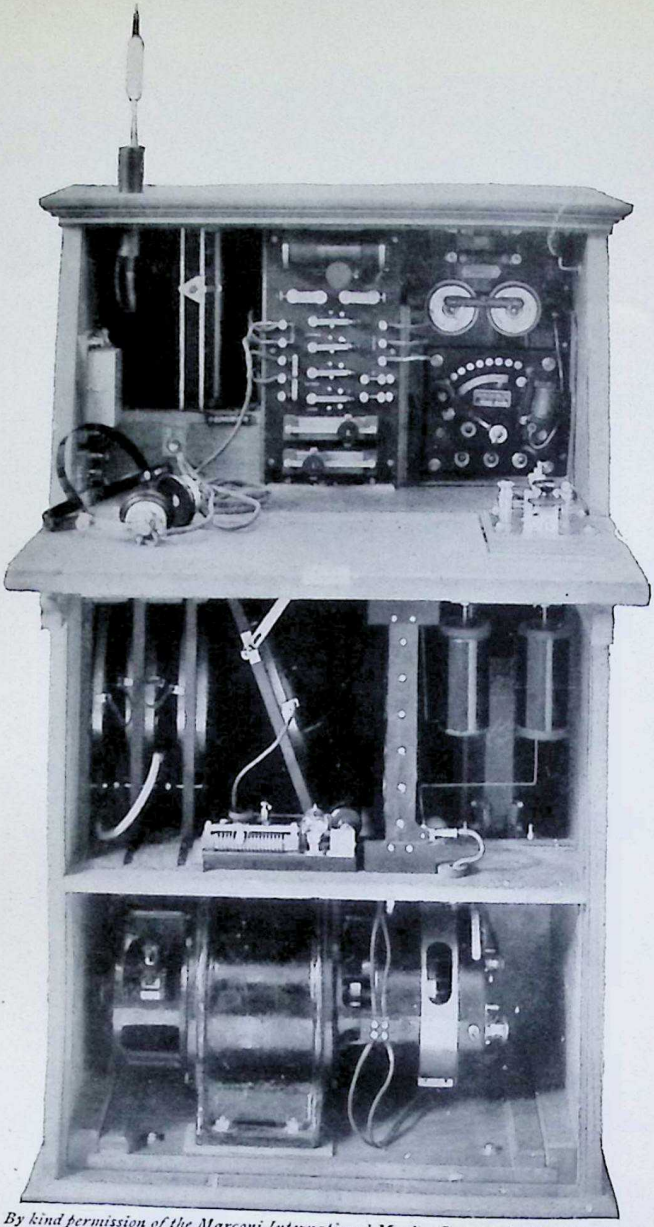

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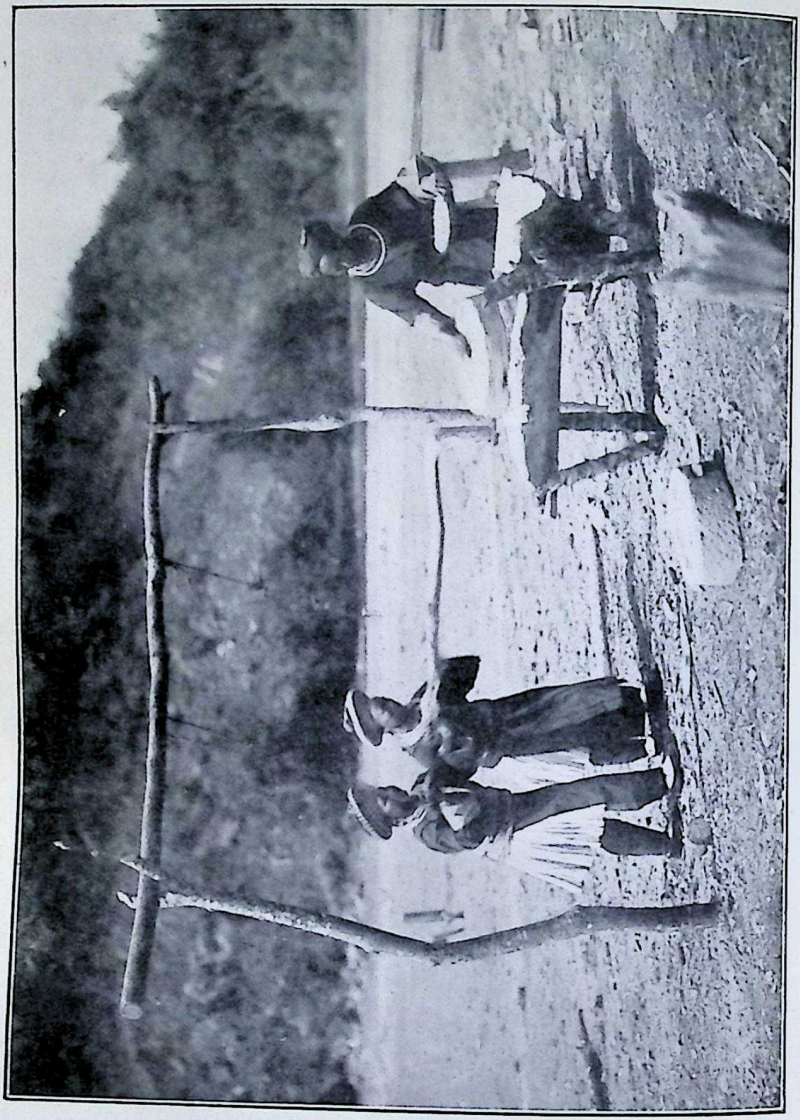

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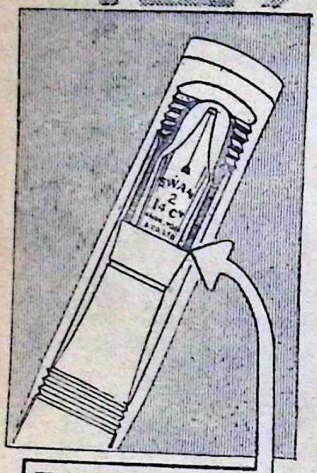

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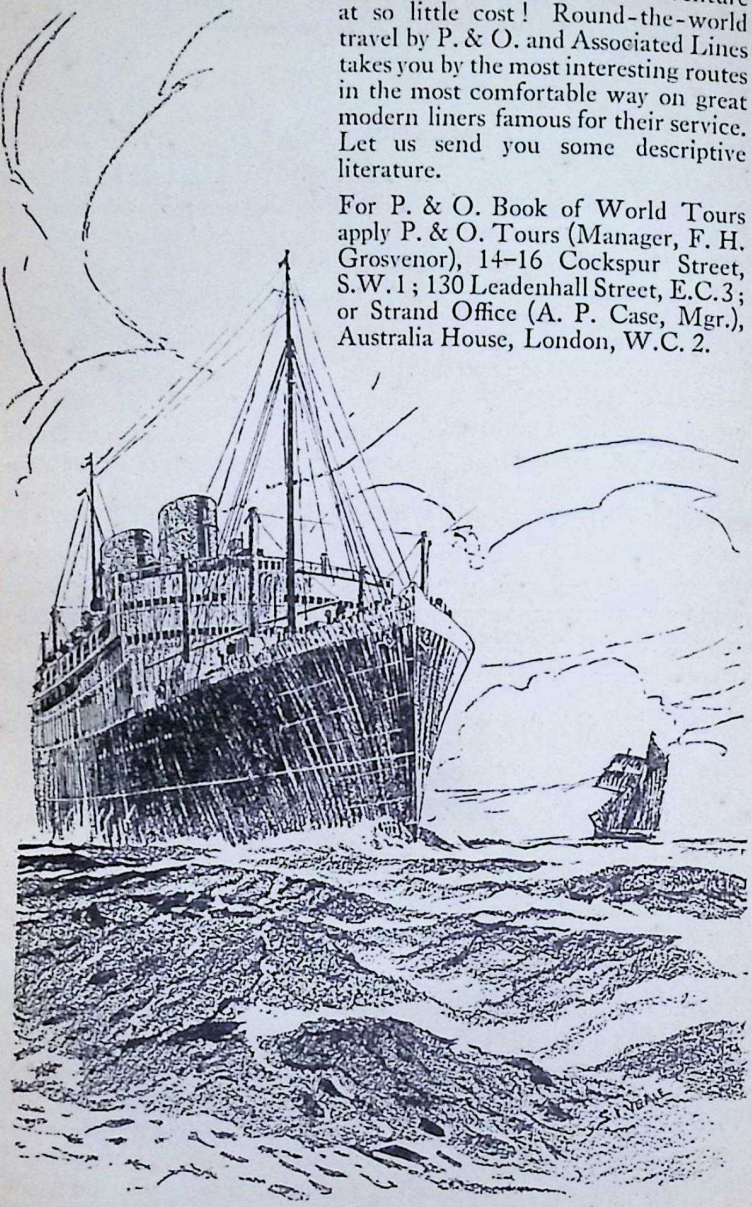

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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1930

The views expressed in the pages of the ASIATIC REVIEW must be taken as those of the individual contributors.

THE PROPOSALS OF THE SIMON COMMISSION

SYMPOSIUM OF OPINIONS

THE present issue of the REVIEW has been somewhat delayed for the purpose of obtaining a number of representative opinions on the Simon Commission Report, the second volume of which, containing the recommendations, was published as recently as June 24. We give below the views of a number of well-known contributors in this country, both English and Indian, who for the most part deal with those aspects of Indian affairs which they have more particularly studied either on the spot or in connection with their public activities in this country.

It will be seen that the opinions expressed are varied, and in some instances conflicting; but it was deemed advisable to take the earliest opportunity to present the symposium. As it is not intended to represent any expression of editorial opinion, the contributions are given in the alphabetical order of the names of the writers.

FROM THE MAHARAJA DHIRAJ BAHADUR OF BURDWAN,

G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., I.O.M.

[The writer is one of the most distinguished of the great territorial aristocracy of British India. He has taken a prominent part in public affairs from early manhood, and served with distinction as a member of the Executive Council of Bengal. He was a Delegate from India at the last Imperial Conference.]

I have been asked to give my impressions on the Simon Commission's recommendations as briefly as possible and within four days of its publication. Naturally, my impressions must be hurried and, in consequence, open to reconsideration after a fuller examination of the recommendations.

Prima facie, however, I feel that the members of the Commission have failed not only to realize the importance of the landholding community of British India, but the great difficulties and disadvantages that the greater landholders (or Zemindars as they are called in Bihar and Bengal) have

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suffered, ever since the democratizing element was increased by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms.

This, however, is not entirely to be wondered at, for on the Commission there was not a single person who could speak from experience about the peculiar position of the great landlords of British India, and even though two members of the House of Lords were on the Commission, they did not, strictly speaking, belong to the great landholding families of Great Britain, and hence perhaps they were unable to grasp the difficulties that are undoubtedly there among the landholders of British India.

The landholders' electorates in the different Provinces were created in order to give opportunities to the great Zemindars to find places in the Legislative Councils, rather than for the ordinary Zemindar to get in through these electorates. It is, therefore, no criterion that because a large number of smaller Zemindars have now been able to enter the Legislative Councils through the rural and urban constituencies, that the special electorate of the landholders should be done away with.

The framers of the Constitution of 1919 knew perfectly well the difficulties that the great Zemindars had in getting themselves represented in the enlarged Councils in the Provinces, especially as there were no Upper Houses contemplated. I think, therefore, that it would be a serious mistake to abolish these special electorates for landholders, simply on the plea that a large number of smaller landholders have got into the Legislative Body through other constituencies, especially as the members of the Commission seem to be divided on the question of Upper Chambers for the Provinces.

I do not like the idea or the suggestion which the Commission has made that the Governor should have the discretion to add by nomination, members of the landholding classes, so as to make the number of elected and nominated members in any proportion of the whole Council that is likely to be guaranteed to them. The days of the Izzat of these nominations are long passed, and I doubt whether any great landlord will regard it as a compliment in a new Council to be nominated by the Governor when he has to contend with the criticism and ridicule of being a mere "Namkâwâstè."

Although I may become one of the irreconcilables to the new régimes promised to the Provinces, I should strongly advise my brother Zemindars, whilst not holding aloof from the proposed Round Table Conference, to fight, and fight hard for their real interests and for their rights and influences.

Under the head of finance, the members of the Commission have suggested as one of the sources for additional funds the abolition of exemption of agricultural incomes from income tax. I am sure that landlords, big and small, all over India will have something very definite to say on this point. Permanent settlement has been a bogey with British administrators for many decades, and whilst I admit that in certain portions of Bihar and Bengal the Zemindars who have enjoyed and are enjoying the benefits of the permanent settlement are perhaps more lightly taxed than those deriving incomes exclusively from commercial or

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industrial concerns, there are a great many Zemindars to whom the permanent settlement has been anything but a blessing, for often the percentage of assessment in individual estates is colossal.

The owners of such estates have not been unmindful of their public duties in contributing to public education and charities; to tax them, therefore, on their agricultural incomes would indeed be the last straw.

As I am personally interested, I should not perhaps lay too much stress on this matter when issues of national development are concerned, but I am sure that many of the younger and more able Zemindars will take up this question of the unfairness of levying income tax on agricultural incomes.

It seems to me that the Simon Commission have not been too friendly to the Zemindars or to the great landholders of British India; but these landholders must, in future, learn to stand on their own legs and to fight their own battles, and not put too much faith in those who let them down in order to meet the claims of those who are loudest in their demands and who cry down British rule. We have already paid a heavy price for our prestige and hollow dignities at the cost of making enemies of our own countrymen. Let those that will lead in the future realize this fact and steer clear of these pitfalls.

FROM SIR LOUIS DANE,

G.C.I.E., C.S.I.

[He has won great distinction both in political and administrative work in the Indian Civil Service. He was for six years Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and was in charge of the important mission to Kabul which concluded the Treaty with Amir Habibullah Khan. He was subsequently Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab.]

It is, of course, impossible in the short time available before the REVIEW goes to press to attempt to offer a considered opinion on the important questions dealt with by the Simon Commission in their Report, and first impressions are often misleading.

One fact, however, stands out, and that is that a body of able men not directly connected with India have after prolonged and careful inquiries endorsed fully the opinion which British officers serving in India have so often expressed: that India is not a country but a continent, and that it is even more absurd to talk of an Indian nation than it would be to speak of the nation of Europe. Once this basic fact is realized, there is some chance of making progress in helping on political advance in India. The first volume, which deals faithfully with the general conditions of India and its peoples, will commend itself to all unbiassed persons who have some knowledge of the problems with which that volume deals.

The suggestions made by the Commission for a reformed polity in India are in many respects tentative, and will no doubt be very seriously considered before they are carried into effect. As one who for many years

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has never ceased to point out that no constitution for British India can ever be a success unless the position of the Indian States is fully considered and their just claims met, I naturally am pleased to find that the Commission fully recognize this all-important point, though no doubt it will not be easy to work out a scheme by which their representatives can be called into the counsels of the Government of the Indian Empire, just as it has been found hard to deal with the somewhat simpler problem of giving to the Dominions in the rest of the British Empire their share in the government of the whole. Possibly the experience gained of dealing with this problem in the somewhat more limited case of India may be helpful in securing a really Imperial Government of the whole Empire.

But it is highly improbable that the Indian States will agree to send delegates to an Indian Assembly of some 260-280 members of whom ordinary Hindus not belonging to the depressed or special classes are to constitute half of the whole body.

The Commission, in dealing with questions of defence and the Army, have clearly brought out how poor is the contribution of Hindus in provinces such as Bengal, Behar and Orissa, and the Central Provinces to the military forces of the whole. It would be preposterous to give to people who cannot even defend themselves a controlling voice in the affairs of the Empire, as unfortunately has to some extent been done in the past. Again, presumably the 50 per cent. has been allotted to Hindus as representing their numerical proportion of the population. Is the calculation correct, allowing for Muhammadans, depressed classes, aboriginals, Buddhists, Jains, and Sikhs. It seems to be excessive even by counting heads. In the government of India the conditions are so varied and the results of error are so serious that the mere counting of heads, whatever may be the case in Western countries, is certainly not a safe or fair guide. Perhaps their electoral experiences elsewhere have misled the Commission here. But for the Imperial Government in India is any such huge debating body necessary or desirable? Some time ago, in speaking at the East India Association, I suggested that the Simon Commission might well consider the precedent of the old German Reichsrath in framing suggestions for an Imperial Council. I am glad to see that they have considered with some approval that precedent, which really is fairly applicable. As long as the Government of India is not to be a democratic body based on direct suffrage, surely an Imperial Council based on the present Council of State and consisting of delegates from the Provinces and States is all that is required to assist in dealing with Imperial control and such questions reserved to the Supreme Government. The saving in time and expense would be enormous, and the Government, freed from the deafening din of an assembly of 280 orators trying to justify their existence by incessant talk, might be able really to govern efficiently and speedily. In the past it would rather appear that, influenced by a false analogy with democratic representative and governing bodies in other countries, they have allowed themselves at times to be hypnotized by the Legislative Assembly with results that have not been satisfactory.

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In other respects the suggestion for greater autonomy for the provinces and a Federal Government for all India seems excellent.

For years I have held that the limits of the Provinces in India required to be recast to secure more homogeneous units, and have urged publicly that areas taken in former years from Indian States under conditions which do not now exist should be restored to the States, which would much simplify the recasting of the Provinces The rendition of such areas, as in the case of Mysore in 1880 when the claims of the old dynasty were much weaker, could be accompanied by conditions which would ensure fully the satisfactory maintenance of the system of administration desired. The point should not be overlooked in any general reorganization, especially as the conditions of administration in all Indian States under a federal system would be brought up to a good standard.

FROM SIR PHILIP HARTOG, K.B.E., C.I.E.

[He is one of the most distinguished educationists of our day. His connection with India began with his membership of the Calcutta University Commission in 1918-19. He was later Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University, and then member of the Indian Public Service Commission. He was Chairman of the Auxiliary Commission on the Growth of Education of the Simon Commission.]

Obviously in the space allotted to me I can only touch on very few of the many and complex educational problems raised by the Simon Report. If I were asked to say what in my opinion is the most important feature in the Report of the Education Committee of the Commission (of which I was Chairman), and in the section on Education of the Report of the Commission, I should say the stress laid on the education of girls and women in India. Lip-service has been rendered in the past by Europeans and Indians alike to the cause of girls' education. "The education of the girl is the education of the mother" has been said before; but the Education Committee were the first to state definitely the corollary that, at the present juncture, "the school education of each additional girl counts more towards the future than the school education of an additional boy." That means that in schemes for primary and secondary education, instead of girls' education coming last, and as an "extra," it should come first, and that the wise educational administrator will think first how every rupee available can be usefully spent on girls' education before he makes any additional grant for boys' education.

I have said *usefully spent* advisedly. No one would wish that the thoughtless and wasteful policy of expanding the numbers in the lowest classes of primary schools by adding children who never reach Class IV. (in which alone permanent literacy can be expected) should be extended to the education of girls. Carefully thought out plans for the training of women teachers and for the co-ordination of two-class schools with central schools, on the plan so profitably adopted in the Punjab, will be necessary. It will be impossible to spend vast sums usefully on girls' education alone in the first instance; but it will be possible to spend on it far more than has been done up to the present.

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Of vital importance to education as a whole is the proposal of the Commission to make grants to the Provinces from funds collected by the central agency. The Education Committee urged that the Central Government should have constitutional powers to assist necessitous Provinces in the work of compulsory primary education, an essential for any efficient democracy. The Commission, by an ingenious device suggested by Sir Walter Layton, have found a way out, without interfering with provincial autonomy; though they have not agreed with the Committee that an account should be rendered to the Central Government of the method of spending sums of this kind with a view to avoid the continuance of the waste that has taken place in the past.

The preceding paragraphs deal with one or two of the questions touching the education of the electorate. Smaller in extent but not less important is the problem of the education of the "directing classes." It is sometimes suggested both by Europeans and Indians that when India is completely free to control her own education she will free herself from Western influences; that the Western "reformation" in education will be followed by a "counter-reformation." I would reply to this by saying that though there was a counter-reformation there was no counter-renaissance. The new life infused into India, into her literature, her history, and her philosophy, will continue—and will continue, I hope, to be productive. And, again, modern science, which is the creation of the West, will stimulate men like Jagadis Bose, C. V. Raman, and Meghnad Saha (I name only Fellows of the Royal Society, but there are many others) to continue their labours for the whole world. To suggest that India, under a new régime, will now reject Western science is as absurd as to suggest that France might have rejected the influence of Newton, or England that of Lavoisier or Einstein. "Reason is, after all, pan-human." The contribution of India to human intellectual progress during the past few centuries has been small. It is increasing, and I believe that it will continue to increase.

From Lieut.-Colonel A. A. IRVINE, C.I.E.

[Late Sessions Judge, Punjab.]

Everyone who has studied carefully the first volume of that masterly presentment of India's problems, commonly styled "The Simon Report," must stand amazed at the wealth of sympathy and understanding displayed by the Members of the Commission in dealing with the needs of the rural population. Throughout the volume this is clear.

On pages 15 to 19 of the Report we find set forth the characteristics of everyday village life, with comments on the limited needs of the average Indian agriculturist and his household, on his daily toil, on his dependence on the monsoon. His mode of existence has been comprehended with a clarity beyond praise; and at the foot of page 19 we find a dictum which politicians eager for reform may well ponder: that, above all things, it is necessary that "*those who consider his future as a citizen should understand something of his life as a man.*"

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On page 22 we find it laid down that the future of the Indian villager, along with that of the industrial worker, "must be the chief concern of all who take a broad view of Indian problems." The Commissioners have felt deeply "how much must be done to raise the standard of life and fit them for the responsibilities of citizenship."

One of the most illuminating paragraphs in the Report is paragraph 307, concerned with the personal touch; and along with it should be considered page 289. In these pages we find reference to "the trust of the mass of the population in the person they know," to their dependence on "the man, rather than on the machine."

Many of us who have spent our lives in India have grown to regard the District Officer—the Deputy Commissioner or Collector—as the real backbone of British rule. In their remarks on the local influence of the District Officer, the Commissioners themselves would have appeared to have arrived at the same conclusion. To the ordinary rustic inhabitant Viceroys and Governors are mere figures of pageantry; personages associated with *tamāshas*. The District Officer, says the Report, is "the embodiment of Government" to those "*whom he serves*." These last three words, postulating that authority likewise implies service, have been most happily chosen. No Englishman who has endeavoured to serve the rural population of India can read paragraphs 320 and 322 without a feeling of pride.

Paragraph 374 deals with the poverty of the masses. Again we see brought to bear the same sympathetic comprehension of the *res angusta domi* of the peasantry. The Commissioners have noted how "deep-rooted tradition tends to make the countryman contented with things as they are." Whether this same "contentment" may be justly described by political phrase-makers as "pathetic," as a state to be deplored, is a point about which, judging from the tenor of their Report, the Commissioners themselves may have their doubts!

As regards the second volume of the Report, it is early yet to judge the effects of the recommendations on the needs of the rural population.

But, whatever may be the future system of government in India, there are four things of which the Indian peasant will stand always in need: Peace, Justice, free access to an impartial District Officer, and safeguarding from political agitators.

From Lieut.-General Sir GEORGE MacMUNN, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.S.O.

[He is widely known not only as an eminent soldier but also as a skilful and ready author and publicist. In the Great War he was engaged in the Dardenelles and Eastern theatres, and in 1919 rose to the chief command in Mesopotamia and the Quartermaster-Generalship in India. He has most intimate knowledge of Indian Army problems.]

When the authors of the Montford scheme produced their plans there were far too many i's undotted and t's uncrossed. Had the general intelligence of the Houses of Parliament not been stupefied by the strain of the war, they would have realized that a Federal Government, and

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Central Legislature that the Crown could always control, was an essential, and by such method alone could the all-important Army and Garrison question for India be solved. The Simon Commission have now had to take up the great lapse and want of the sense of proportion that marred the estimable intentions of the first reforms.

An efficient Army in India with a large European backing is essential to the defences of India from outside, as well as against fissiparous tendencies and inherent hatreds of India within.

The British Garrisons of India can only be controlled by the Crown and the Governor-General directly representing the Crown, and cannot be controlled by an Indian Parliament and Indian Ministers. Similarly, the British officers who control the Indian Army—and they alone make up a machine that can be relied on against external enemies—can only be responsible to the Crown or its direct representative.

An efficient Indian Army cannot be controlled or raised by a purely Indian Parliament and Indian Ministers, and this basic fact, which must remain for many years, governs the whole of the question of the provenance of defence. These have been basic facts ever since there has been an Army in India, and especially an exterior enemy.

Unless some solution of the anomalous conditions which are inherent in the Indian forces could be found, any further development of self-government in India was really impossible. Everyone imbued with knowledge has realized this. The so-called Indianization of the Indian Army—namely, the somewhat belated attempt to bring Indians themselves into the positions now held by the British officers, however desirable and however much desired—must take years before not only tangible results, but knowledge as to its practicability on any large scale, can be obtained.

The Simon Commission has recommended the squaring of this particular circle in a most statesmanlike manner. It has stated the problem clearly and without equivocation. It sees that only can it be handled if the main Army in India, both the British and the Indian portion of it, is looked upon as an Imperial responsibility, and an Imperial Garrison handled by the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief as the representatives, not of a power at Delhi, but of the Imperial Crown. Immediately this is recognized all the anomalous difficulties of the existing position in the way of progress disappear. The British troops, the Gurkha troops, and the portion of the Indian troops which represents the main kernel, can be enlisted and remain as an Imperial force. Supplementary to this, the Provinces and the Indian States can both produce and train their local forces as a subsidiary and ancillary to the Imperial kernel.

This proposal in many ways but reverts in somewhat different form to what happened in the days of the Presidential armies, which were maintained from local revenues and other local arrangements, the Queen's troops alone representing the Imperial forces.

To what extent the Imperial force shall exist, whether or not provincial troops shall, at any rate in the first case, be raised (and it should be remembered that possibly the existing territorial force should take their

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place), remains a matter of adequate, but by no means impossible, arrangement; and it is perfectly possible to visualize, at least in the next fifty years, an Indian military system working admirably on the main principles recommended by the Simon Commission under the federal system proposed by the Commission. Troops maintained by Provinces and by the Indian States can both fall into their places behind the Imperial force that will head them. Under this scheme the long-debated matter of the Commander-in-Chief and the Army member becomes innocuous. A new Defence Minister can handle the federal control of provincial services. So far principles of government are effected without any great difficulty as to station and responsibility.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. IAN MACPHERSON, P.C., K.C., M.P.

[He has been Liberal M.P. for Ross and Cromarty since 1911. He was Deputy Secretary of State for War, 1916-19, a Member of the Cabinet, Chief Secretary for Ireland, and Minister of Pensions, 1920-22. He takes a special interest in all constitutional questions.]

I have read the Simon Report with an ever-growing feeling that all Britons owe a debt of gratitude to the Commissioners for erecting such a monument to the inherent reasonableness and common sense of the British political genius. For as such it will, I think, gain general recognition throughout the world. And however much some of our Indian fellow-subjects may disagree with the recommendations in vol. ii., I cannot help thinking that in their hearts they must all be grateful for vol. i., which gives us undoubtedly the most comprehensive picture of the vast sub-continent of India that we have ever had.

The first thing that strikes me in the Report is the Commissioners' whole-hearted acceptance of self-government as British India's ultimate goal, and their evident hope and faith that in the fullness of time she will achieve it. Nowhere is there any suggestion of restriction of the Reforms inaugurated on the advice of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. The difficulties—and indeed dangers—in the way of the ultimate goal are clearly recognized and frankly pointed out, but always with the view of devising ways and means for their surmounting.

The Commissioners have clearly taken boldness for their watchword. As it seems to me, their recommendation is in effect that India shall be left as untrammelled as hard facts will permit, in order to give her an opportunity to prove that she can govern herself. And in so far as she is successful, those powers still reserved to British control will be progressively released to her until the day comes when she stands entirely on her own feet as a free and full member of the British Commonwealth of Nations. That is the ideal the Commissioners keep ever before them.

The Commissioners have not confined their attention to British India, but have sought to produce a scheme that will cover India as a whole—the India, that is to say, that comprises not only British India, but also the

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Indian States. To deal with British India alone, however successfully, would be to solve but half the problem. The complete picture must include in a free federation the self-governing Provinces of British India and the independent Indian States. But it is wisely recognized that this desideratum can only be achieved by, so to speak, wooing the Indian Princes and States to a constitutional marriage with the British Indian Provinces. No dragooning tactics could produce a free federation, and nothing but a federation free in the fullest possible sense could have any success.

Let me conclude on a note of reminder. The Report is not law and its recommendations are not final. It may well be that future thought and discussion will suggest amendments to some of the recommendations. The important point is that there shall be ample thought and discussion, and that all well-wishers of India, whether European or Indian, whether prince or political leader, who are competent to speak with authority, shall take their place at the Round Table Conference next October when invited to do so. There must be no absentees. The building of India's new constitution requires and demands the self-sacrificing collaboration of all who are able to assist in any capacity whatever. I myself, however, shall be surprised if, after the closest analysis and fullest discussion, those attending the Conference do not agree that the Report provides the only practicable basis for the next step in the Indian constitutional development.

FROM THE RIGHT HON. SRINIVASA SASTRI, P.C., G.H.

[He has conducted many missions on behalf of India to other parts of the Empire. He was the first incumbent of the newly created post of agent to the Government of India in South Africa, and in this connection was made a Companion of Honour.]

The most momentous question raised by the proposals contained in the second volume of the Simon Commission's Report is their exact bearing on the Viceroy's epoch-making Declaration of October 31 last. It is contained in the following sentence, "But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the statute of 1919, I am authorized on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion status." In the debates that followed in Parliament the Declaration, though criticized by some members as to time and circumstance, was accepted by that ultimate authority. Citations to prove this may be made from the speeches of the Secretary of State for India and of the Prime Minister, but they will take up too much space and are really unnecessary. The Simon Commissioners had seven months during which to consider the Declaration, but apparently it was not in their judgment necessary for their task. If they had thought otherwise, they might have added an appendix or footnote. Even the

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speeches of Sir John Simon in elucidation of the Report completely ignore the subject. Some press comments would have Indian readers believe that the Commissioners were not content with giving a mere phrase of vague import, but have actually proposed something more valuable than Domion status. This point must be cleared up.

Weighty pronouncements have recognized that the status of a Dominion as it has at present evolved includes the right of secession from the Commonwealth. In other words, if a self-governing people admitted to this status declared in proper constitutional style their will to sever the British connection, they could carry out their purpose without a shot being fired on either side. That is why the Commonwealth is described as a voluntary association of free peoples. Since the association is already there, the meaning is that its continuance is dependent on the consent of each people. When India becomes a Dominion in the sense in which the Irish Free State or the Union of South Africa is a Dominion, she must be in a position to give this consent voluntarily or, if she chooses, to assert her right of severance. This consideration is not materially affected by doubts which the academic lawyer may be able to cast on this doctrine. The statesman must reckon with it, as it has become an active force in the minds of the nations of the Commonwealth, and not drive it to the point of actual test.

In dealing with the question of defence the Commission recommend that the present Army in India should henceforth be placed entirely under the control of the Imperial authorities and set apart for the purpose of external defence. They argue that the British Empire as such is interested in this defence, and go so far as to affirm that this interest requires that a portion of the expense of the Army should fall on the British Exchequer. Here are their very words: "But here, the effective defence of India is a matter in which other parts of the Empire are also closely and directly interested. Imperial foreign policy, Empire communications, Empire trade, the general position of Britain in the East, may be vitally affected. And if operations on an extended scale in that region unhappily became necessary, involving the risk of conflict with a major Power, it is the Imperial Government, with its fuller knowledge of the international situation and its direct concern with all questions of Imperial strategy, which would naturally take the leading part." To complete the case for this recommendation, the Government of India are advised to create another Army for internal defence, which would eventually be placed at the disposal of Ministers when they became responsible to the Legislature. The Report looks beyond the establishment of responsibility and considers how co-operation between civil authorities and Imperial authorities could be secured. They write: "Under the existing constitution such assistance could easily be secured. If and when the Government of India became responsible to a Central Legislature, it would first be necessary to secure co-operation by definite agreement and to devise machinery for resolving deadlocks." It is clear, therefore, that the Commission's scheme of defence is intended to outlast the coming into existence of a self-governing India, and is in reality of a permanent character. It is

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true that in one place the Commission say that the Indianization of the present Army, already begun, should be proceeded with. There is a pledge to this effect, and the Commission apparently also consider it fair that Indians should be admitted to an Army organized for their defence and paid for by their taxes.

Obviously, then, India must remain for all time within the British Commonwealth, whether she wishes it or not. In her case "Dominion status" will have a peculiar meaning. While defending her externally, the present Army will likewise be a means of controlling her. It is easy to imagine how even her civil liberties will be subjected to a constant surveillance under this arrangement, and the Viceroy's veto and personal powers, having a formidable backing, can never fall into desuetude. The proposals, if carried out, would decisively nullify the Viceroy's Declaration sanctioned by Parliament. The only alternative to rejection of these proposals of the Simon Commission would be to explain away the Declaration and add to the catalogue of India's first-class grievances. What will the Indian delegates to the Round Table Conference, full of the hopes raised by the Viceroy's Declaration, think when they find among the materials placed before them the place of honour assigned to a document which not merely ignores but runs counter to the Declaration?

From the Right Hon. Sir LESLIE SCOTT, K.C.

[He is the son of an eminent jurist who, after being on the High Court Bench in Bombay, was head of the Judiciary in Egypt. Sir Leslie was Solicitor-General in Mr. Baldwin's administration and paid a prolonged visit to India recently to advise the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes.]

The ground to be covered is so extensive, and as I am allowed only five hundred words in which to cover it, I must perforce content myself with conclusions, in the hope that reflection will indicate the reasons that have led me to them.

1. The Committee have ascertained and stated the real facts of the position so plainly in Vol. I., that the conclusions of Vol. II. are inevitable. The truth of Vol. I. and the courage of Vol. II. are equally striking. Nothing but a very high level of statesmanship could have combined so successfully deep sympathy with India's aspirations, unflinching determination to honour as far as possible Britain's pledge of 1917, and a refusal to express a facile acquiescence in proposals that they realized could not at present be worked successfully.

2. The phrase "Dominion status" hardly appears, but throughout both volumes it is obvious that the Commission have had its actual attainment in mind as the ultimate goal. This basic feature of the Report seems to be wholly ignored by Indian critics. That it is the conscious objective of the Commissioners' proposals is proved conclusively by their insistence upon the unity of India, and by the impossibility of creating unity except by a federal system to which Indian India shall be a party. They have

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realized, as anyone who thinks must realize, that the idea of Dominion status is sheer nonsense except as applied to a united India.

3. The States have just as much right to their separate constitutional existence as British India, and the Report wisely lays stress on the necessity of the consent of the States—"Any such association can only come about if and so far as the Indian States desire that it should" (p. 203).

4. So far as the method of association is concerned, the States would be well advised, as is foreseen by the Commission, to consider carefully how it is best for them to come into any federation, if and when the stage is reached at which federation becomes a practical possibility. That their co-operation with British India, and British India's with them, are obviously necessary for the successful economic functioning of all-India is as much realized by the Princes as by anybody else; but they will necessarily desire to enter any federal system on terms which will give continuous protection to their negotiating position. Their influence will count for much if they can speak with one voice in a federal council; but the suggestion of the Commission that they should be encouraged to enter one by one would be fatal to their influence. The practical effects that flow from the working of a new constitution depend so much on the silent customs which rise out of first precedents, that if the first precedents were set when the tone of individualism was negligible in the counsel of the federal body, the States would never recover the lost ground.

5. The abolition of dyarchy in the Provinces, the proposed reversion of provincial areas, and the modified system of responsible government proposed for them, all seem to me right and necessary conclusions from the facts stated in Vol. I. With the reservation of emergency powers no prudent statesman could disagree. But the public do not seem as yet to have appreciated the full value of the thoughtful, constructive, and very interesting relationship proposed by the Commission between the Governor and the Provincial Cabinet and Legislature. The power of initiative, influence, and ultimate guidance proposed for the Governor is in reality more than an essential safeguard at the commencement of the new system of responsible government; it provides the best conditions in which the spirit of responsibility can develop and ultimately flourish independent of guidance. As the Provincial Cabinets and Legislatures gain in experience and a sense of responsibility, which is the object of the whole scheme, the inevitable tendency must be for the intervention of the Governor to disappear more and more, and there is a second guarantee of success. Great Britain gave the pledge in 1917, took the first step in 1919; it is taking the second step today by the maximum advance that circumstances permit. Great Britain may be trusted to continue faithful to her self-imposed trust, and she should refuse to tolerate the expression of any doubt of our bona fides by anyone at all.

6. I believe the scheme proposed in Vol. II. of the Commission's Report is broadly right.

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FROM SIR GILBERT VYLE

[He is one of the recognized leaders of British Industry, as is instanced by his recent appointment as a representative of Commerce on the Overseas Trade Development Council. He is a past President of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce.]

The more I study the Simon Report the more I am tempted to condemn those leaders of political thought in India who contemptuously refuse to read it, and still less to discuss it. Are they blind that they cannot see what a great disservice they are doing to the cause they profess to serve? Granting that they regard the Commission as their adversary, are they, by refusing to listen to their opponents' arguments, demonstrating anything but unfitness to take their places in any constitutional régime? After all, readiness to listen to the opposition and ability to meet argument with argument are essential qualities for all political leaders. To refuse to give a hearing to the other side is merely childish.

In my view the Commissioners have done their work admirably. In their survey of Indian conditions they have obviously spared no pains to arrive at the truth, whilst their recommendations carry the stamp of sincerity and honesty of purpose to advance India along the road to complete self-government.

The Report deals chiefly with British India, but never loses sight of the importance of Indian India—the India of the States. The ultimate goal is taken beyond that of self-government for British India; it is the formation in the British Commonwealth of Nations of a free federation of self-governing British Provinces and the Indian States. Truly a great conception, the realization of which would be a wonderful tribute to British political genius.

The crux of the whole problem appears to lie in the question of religious intolerance. The moment the many difierent religions, sects, and castes learn to live amicably with one another, an enormous advance towards the unification and independence of India will have been made. For until then it seems clear that, as the only neutrals in the field, the British must continue to hold the scales of justice. All experience suggests that the departure of the British would be promptly followed by communal disorder on a large scale.

British business men are naturally very greatly interested in the progress of events in India. A vast amount of British capital is at stake. But the anxiety should not be on our part alone, for India undoubtedly stands to lose infinitely more than we do from any severance of business connections. Those extremists who advocate a complete boycott of everything British should pause to ask themselves where India would be without the irrigation systems and famine relief schemes—to mention no more—introduced by British capital and brains. Gandhi's counsel to his countrymen to abjure all modern Western inventions and revert to the simple life would, if followed, be the death-warrant of millions. India simply cannot

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exist in her present condition unless she avails herself to the full of modern inventions and facilities.

If I may be allowed to do so, I should like to suggest to the British business man who is finding difficulties in his way in British India, that he should turn his attention to the possibilities of that part of India that still remains stable, and does not nurse violent anti-British tendencies—namely, the Indian States. As Chairman of the Indian States Business Group, I have been very much impressed by all I have learnt of the prospects of trade with the States.

FROM HERBERT G. WILLIAMS

[Late Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Trade.]

It is with considerable hesitation that I respond to your request for a brief comment on the Report of the Simon Commission.

I have never visited India, and my knowledge of that country is accordingly based on reading and conversation with those well acquainted with that country.

On the other hand, the fundamental principles of all good government are the same in all ages and in all countries, and therefore want of personal experience of a country does not deprive people of the right of comment.

The first volume of the Report impresses one with the complexity of the details of the government of India, and also with the fact that many of those who are politically conscious do not yet look on the problem of government with that sense of responsibility which, as the result of centuries of tradition, is the normal outlook of the citizen of Great Britain.

Quite apart from the communal divisions which aggravate the Indian problem, it is clear that the politically minded people of India must be trained to that political sense of responsibility that I have described. Therefore the obvious thing is that they should be put in the position that they must be fully responsible in certain directions, which means taking blame as well as praise, and accordingly, obviously, it is the municipal field which offers the safest opportunity for this purpose; and by the municipal field I am not thinking merely of town government, but of that wider municipal sphere represented by the provincial governments, as distinct from the constitutional and financial problems which lie with the Central Government.

Without being able to judge the value of the specific recommendations, I am certain the Commission are right in looking to the Provinces as the real sphere in which the political education of the peoples of India must be undertaken.

In India there are, however, a body of people having a high degree of political responsibility—namely, the Princes, with their practically full responsibility for the internal affairs of the States over which they rule.

I rejoice at the recommendation that a Council for Greater India should be set up. This will make it possible for the politicians of British India

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to acquire a sense of political responsibility from persons of their own races and faith, who in their capacity as Princes already possess that sense of responsibility.

British rule has helped to make India more prosperous, but great as the advance has been it is small compared to the responsibilities on account of the intimate trade relationships between Britain and India, whereby the economic progress of one can only be beneficial to the other; and I would urge all to consider the Report of the Simon Commission, not only from the political and constitutional point of view, but also from the point of view of raising the standard of living of the peoples of India.

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

IMPRISONMENT AND DETENTION IN INDIA

By Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, I.M.S. (retd.)
(Late Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal)

The subject of the treatment of prisoners in Indian jails has come before the public on several occasions recently. Special committees have submitted reports on prison administration in the Punjab, Bengal, and the United Provinces since 1925. The Government of India announced only in February last some important changes in the prison rules. It may therefore be of some interest to tell this Association about the conditions prevailing in Indian jails today.

Most of my references will be to Bengal, my own province, but I will also refer to matters in other provinces which I can vouch for. My association with the Indian Prison Service began in 1907 and ended in October, 1929. I held the post of Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal, for a little over six years. I was appointed thereto about the time that Sir Alexander Cardew gave his very interesting and informative address to this Association on Indian Prisons and the work of the Indian Prison Committee of 1919-20, over which he presided.

The time has now come to report what has been done to carry out the recommendations of the Committee, and I propose to describe as briefly as possible the progress that has been made in Indian jails since the publication of the Report in 1921.

It was very unfortunate that the Jails Committee Report was published at a time of severe financial stringency and political unrest, which prevented Government taking up any reforms which were not absolutely necessary. The Presidency of Bengal was so impoverished, that, in spite of

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sympathy with the recommendations of the Committee, the local Government was not in a position to allot funds for any big scheme of the Jail Department. The Inspector-General of Prisons was informed he could introduce any scheme recommended by the Committee, provided that it received the approval of Government, but that it must not involve any extra cost. This decision at once ruled out any wide-reaching scheme of reform such as increase of cell accommodation, which is absurdly inadequate in Bengal, or any other building operations to improve and modernize the jails. It also dashed the hopes for the time being of any substantial increase of pay to the grossly overworked and underpaid subordinate staff of the Jail Department.

Remissions and Advisory Boards

The only thing to be done was to make the best of a bad job, and to try and induce Government to carry on the work of reform piecemeal, and allot funds for schemes which were absolutely necessary.

I would like to place on record the powerful support I invariably received from H.E. Lord Lytton during the time he was Governor of Bengal; he was determined to improve many shortcomings of the Jail Department, and it is largely due to him that so much was done during his period of office.

Soon after the publication of the Report the Government of India extended the remission system to all prisoners with sentences of six months and over. This, of course, was appreciated by the prisoners, but it entailed an enormous amount of extra work to the staff of large jails such as those in Calcutta: formerly only prisoners with sentences of one year and over received remission.

Advisory Boards for premature release of long-term prisoners, as recommended by the committees, have been introduced by most of the local Governments, but the rules are not uniform and vary in detail in different provinces.

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In Bengal only first offenders are eligible; they apply to sentences of five years and over: prisoners, after they have completed two-thirds of their sentence, including remission earned, and who are recommended by the Superintendent of the Jail, can be brought before the Board for consideration and recommendation to the local Government. The Boards sit at each of the five Central Jails twice a year; the Inspector-General of Prisons is chairman, and he is assisted by the District Magistrate, Sessions Judge, and two non-official visitors. If Government approve the recommendations of the Board, the prisoners are released unconditionally. Personally I think unconditional release a mistake, and would prefer release on licence, as is done with convicts in England; I also think that the after-history of released prisoners should be recorded. At present it is difficult to judge the success or otherwise of the system. On the whole I approve of these Boards; they are undoubtedly an incentive to good behaviour for deserving prisoners.

Juvenile Delinquents

One of the surest methods to reduce prison population of the future is to treat juvenile delinquency on rational lines, and prevent young children being sent to prison. My experience in Bengal generally and Calcutta in particular has been that the evil of imprisonment of young children for the most trivial offences has been far greater than most of the general public imagine. A Bengal Children Act was passed by the Legislative Council in 1922. It is very much on the lines of the English Act of 1908, and prohibits entirely the imprisonment of children and almost entirely of young persons. Owing to the financial stringency of the province, the Act remained a dead letter for four and a half years. On July 1, 1926, it was brought into force for Calcutta and the suburbs only. The old juvenile jail at Alipore has been converted into a certified school under the Act, and is now administered by the Education Department; it has absolutely no connection with the Jail Department.

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An apology for a children's court was instituted in Calcutta about sixteen years ago, but, except that it was held in a separate building, it did not differ from an ordinary police court. I am glad to say that Government has at last taken up this matter, and the children's court will be run somewhat on the model of the juvenile courts in England. Several public-spirited people in Calcutta who take an interest in juvenile delinquency have taken the trouble to visit Mr. Clarke Hall's famous Court in Old Street when in England, and have given Government the benefit of their experience of children's courts in London.

For the Presidency outside Calcutta and its suburbs, the evil of imprisonment of juveniles still continues. I consider it an urgent necessity to extend the Act to the whole province at the earliest opportunity. I am glad to report that the Borstal system has now been introduced in Bengal for adolescent offenders. A Borstal Act was placed on the Statute Book with effect from January 1, 1928, and the district jail at Bankura has been converted into a Borstal school under the Act. The number of lads committed for treatment under the Borstal system has been so great that the establishment of a second Borstal institution is imminent.

Of course, no Borstal system can be a success unless provision is made for the after-care of its inmates. I was lucky enough to get several public-spirited people, both Indian and European, to take an interest in this matter, and the Bengal After-Care Association for juveniles and adolescents was started in 1928. This Association makes itself responsible for the after-care not only of Borstal inmates, but for all children committed under the Children Act, and also for all juveniles and adolescent prisoners in ordinary jails. The Chief Justice of Bengal, Sir George Rankin, is the president, and it is pleasing to place on record that I received great assistance from two prominent members of the Congress Party in the Legislative Council. The Association is non-official, but receives a grant of Rs. 2,000 per annum

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from Government. It is run on the model of the Borstal Association in England.

In Madras a Children Act and a Borstal Act are in force. The Borstal School at Tanjore is a very efficient institution, and I tried to model the Bengal one on the Tanjore system. Several other provinces have legislated for juvenile and adolescent offenders on similar lines. Now that public opinion is alive to the importance of national treatment of juvenile delinquency, I have hopes that imprisonment of children in India will eventually become as rare as in the United Kingdom.

Classification and Separation

A strict system of classification and separation is undoubtedly the most effective method to prevent contamination of first offenders and those of not marked criminal tendencies. Unfortunately the obsolete construction of most Indian jails does not lend itself to real separation of the various classes of prisoners, and the convict officer system is also a serious obstacle to classification. But the provision of special jails for habitual prisoners has proved a marked success in Madras, and in two or three other provinces the guarding is done by paid warders only. The Government of Bengal have given administrative sanction to the conversion of a central jail to a purely habitual jail, but funds are not yet available for the extra staff of paid warders and the barracks for their accommodation. In the meantime a modified scheme is in force in the two Calcutta jails. The Presidency Jail is reserved as far as possible for habituals, and the Alipore for casuals and habituals of less criminality.

I think one central jail should be set apart for "Star Class" and first offenders only. The convict officer system could be utilized, and a large extra staff of paid warders would not be necessary.

The problem of the weak-minded prisoner is a difficult one. There are a large number of prisoners in every pro-

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vince who, although not definitely insane, are so mentally unbalanced and weak-minded that they cause an endless amount of trouble to the jail authorities. They are punished for continuous short work or breaches of jail discipline without effect. They are exploited by cunning bad characters to serve their own ends. Of course, these unfortunates need skilled medical observation and treatment, not unconsidered punishment. The best solution at present available is to concentrate all weak-minded prisoners in one jail under an experienced medical superintendent, and to keep them occupied with suitable work under an intelligent staff who know how to combine firmness and discipline with understanding of their prisoners' special weaknesses. One district jail in Bengal has been reserved for this special class of prisoner; Madras and two or three other provinces have also special jails reserved for weak-minded prisoners.

Convict Officer System

The special characteristic of Indian prison administration is the convict officer system whereby prisoners assist in the guarding and supervision of each jail. This system has saved Government vast sums of money which would otherwise have been necessary for extra staff and the buildings for their accommodation. To abolish the system completely would involve such expenditure that no Government in India could meet it in the present financial position. The system in the past has undoubtedly been an incentive to good conduct, but according to modern ideas of penology, I consider that the disadvantages outweigh the advantages, and the convict officer system should be reduced to the lowest possible minimum. The Government of Bengal have given administrative approval to the abolition of convict warders, convict night guards, and all convict officers in charge of prisoners under trial, but at present funds are not available to carry out this reform.

The system of placing presumably innocent men awaiting

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trial under the charge of convicted criminals is obviously indefensible and should be abolished at once. I believe this has already been done in some provinces, but in Bengal the system is still in force. Mr. Alexander Paterson, one of His Majesty's Prison Commissioners, went to Burma at the request of the local Government, in 1926, to report on the jail administration of that province; he commented unfavourably on the system, and called it "cheap and nasty."

Education and Reformative Influences in Jails

Since the publication of the Indian Jails Committee Report, a good deal has been done in these directions in the Madras Presidency. Primary education is now compulsory for all long-term prisoners under twenty-five years of age in Madras jails. I visited some of the classes in November, 1925. They appeared to be a success, and the provincial Inspector-General of Prisons informed me that the introduction of the system had improved the discipline of young prisoners. I consider education to be one of the most potent influences for good in an Indian prison. It is, of course, no use trying to teach men over twenty-five; but for the younger prisoners the effort has a remarkable effect. In 1927 compulsory primary education for long-term adolescent prisoners was introduced as an experiment in the two Calcutta jails; it proved a great success, and the conduct of these young prisoners improved in a marked degree. The young Indian seems more than willing to learn the rudiments of education. Government have given administrative approval for compulsory primary education for all young prisoners with long sentences under twenty-two years of age in the five central jails when funds are available. Lectures of an educational character have been given occasionally in Madras, Bengal, Punjab, and possibly other provinces.

In Bengal there are congregational prayers for Muhammadan prisoners in most jails. Where no outside moulvies are obtainable, the prayers are usually conducted by a

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Muhammadan jail officer. More difficulty has been experienced in giving religious and moral instruction to Hindus. Voluntary religious workers are not numerous either among Muhammadans or Hindus.

Not much has been done so far to improve the lighting of jails at night. Hence the long hours after lock-up cannot be used as much as they should be for reading and healthy occupation.

In the Madras Presidency a newspaper is published by the Jail Department. It consists of cuttings from newspapers of items of news of the world. This is read out to illiterate prisoners once a week. The general standard of education is higher in Madras than most other provinces. I doubt if the cost of a jail newspaper would be justifiable in other provinces.

Indulgences

The "pécule" system, or payment by money or indulgences such as a ration of tobacco or sweetmeats for extra good work, has been introduced in the Punjab. It was hoped that the issue of a ration of tobacco would lessen the traffic of contraband articles in jail. The result so far has not been very encouraging. The Government Resolution on the Punjab Jail Administration Report for 1928 states that in spite of Rs. 2½ lakhs extra expenditure on the pécule system, there were more cases of possession of illicit articles than before the introduction of the system. Personally I am strongly opposed to the issue of tobacco to convicted prisoners, and doubt if it would reduce the amount of contraband to any marked extent. During the discussion on Sir Alexander Cardew's paper in 1923 some speakers emphasized the necessity of enforcing the deterrent aspect of prison life so that criminals should not have an easier and more pleasant existence in jail than outside.

I think the real secret of the success of the Borstal system in England is that the inmates are kept hard at work and education and recreation for at least twelve

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hours in the day. When the time comes for them to go to bed they are so worn out that they have no time to get into mischief. It is a well-known fact that idle lads hate the intensive training of the Borstal system.

I think the solution of this problem in India will be the same as in England; there is no doubt that in the past prisoners in Indian jails had far too much time on their hands. An idle jail is a bad jail; most of the mischief is planned during the rest hours and on non-working days. Every effort must be made to keep prisoners employed either by manual labour or by education. It is no use sentencing prisoners to specially hard or irksome forms of labour, because most people forget that a large proportion of bad characters are physical wrecks, and no medical officer would pass them fit for really strenuous labour. Prisoners with short sentences who are fit are usually employed on oil mills in the Bengal jails, but one month is usually the longest period that they work at this labour.

I am strongly opposed to the pernicious form of imprisonment in India known as "simple imprisonment," or imprisonment without labour. It is most demoralizing to sit idle for six months or a year doing absolutely nothing, yet this is not uncommon in many parts of India. Simple imprisonment should be abolished and all imprisonment should entail some form of work. The contrasted term "rigorous imprisonment" is somewhat of a misnomer. It means imprisonment with labour.

Prisoners under Trial

One of the worst features of the Indian prison administration is the poor accommodation provided for prisoners awaiting trial. In Bengal the under-trial wards are invariably overcrowded, and there is indiscriminate association of old criminals with unfortunate people who have never been in jail before. The only thing to remedy this is to build new wards with facilities for separation of known old offenders from those who have been committed

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to jail for the first time. The ideal method would be to have a separate cell for each under-trial prisoner, but I fear the cost would be prohibitive. The Government of India have recently consulted all the local Governments on the treatment of under-trial prisoners, and orders were issued in February. I have already mentioned the indefensible system of employing convict officers to guard under-trial prisoners. Since Sir Alexander Cardew read his paper in 1923, under-trial prisoners have been given some new privileges, including permission to buy tobacco, but few avail themselves of this in Bengal; they prefer to obtain it by illicit means.

Subordinate Staffs

The Committee of 1919-20 strongly recommended the improvement of pay and prospects both of the jailer class and of the warders. In Bengal the recommendation of the Committee for separate executive and clerical establishments has been accepted, and the pay of the jailers and deputy jailers has been increased. It is still rather early to express an opinion on the success of the new system, for, as funds have not yet been available to provide for the complete number of clerks, the present staff is still overworked.

The warder service of Indian jails has always been one of the weakest parts of the Indian prison system. The men have been underpaid and overworked, with never a complete night in bed and disgraceful housing conditions. The pay and prospects of the police were always superior, and the jails could only get the rejected candidates of the Police Service. The results were only those which could be expected: no self-respecting man would become a warder.

Since November, 1928, the Government of Bengal have given a generous increase of pay to jail warders. They now get Rs. 2 a month better pay than the ordinary police-constable, and have the same pay as the armed police. It is to be hoped that a better class of recruit will now be

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obtained. The housing conditions and hours of work are still deplorable. A training school for jail officers and warders should be provided.

It is very gratifying to record the progressive improvement in the health of Indian prisons. Several provinces now have a death rate of well under 10 per mille. In Bengal, which includes some of the most unhealthy districts of India, the death rate for 1928 was 13·5 per mille, while the provincial death rate was over 30 per mille. Dysentery, which was a scourge of Bengal jails a few years ago, has been greatly reduced, and in some of the jails where it was most prevalent it has completely disappeared.

Short Sentences

Nothing has been done to reduce materially the large number of short sentences in Bengal. In 1927 no less than 2,333 prisoners with sentences of less than one month were sent to the Presidency Jail alone. Of this number, 1,569 had sentences of seven days or under. The question should be gone into seriously, and the possibility of a Probation Act should be considered. Short sentences are neither deterrent nor reformatory. The cost of maintenance is enormous.

Transportation

Now that transportation to the Andamans has been abolished, legislation is pending to substitute a form of imprisonment in lieu of transportation. The third All-India Conference of Inspectors-General of Prisons, held in Calcutta in December, 1927, was asked by the Government of India to submit a scheme for their consideration. The Conference recommended a form of imprisonment with labour on the progressive stage system, somewhat on the lines of the penal servitude system in the United Kingdom in force in convict prisons. The Government of India are still considering the proposals, and legislation is expected at an early date.

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State Prisoners and Detenues

The detention of State prisoners under Regulation III. of 1818 and detenues under the Bengal Ordinance, 1924, has been the subject of much controversy during the past few years.

Persons arrested under these regulations are detained for safe custody. The majority of detenues were confined in various jails, but some were subjected to what is called "village domicile"—that is, their residence and movements were confined to a specific area, and they were subject to various regulations. The jail authorities had no concern with detenues who were in village domicile. I have only mentioned this form of detention, as I do not think it is generally realized that all detenues were not confined in jail.

Detenues in jails were kept apart from the ordinary prisoners. Their treatment was provided for by special rules drawn up by Government. As they were not convicted prisoners they did no work. They were granted money allowances for messing, clothing, recreation, books, and stationery. Special visitors were appointed by Government to enquire into their complaints.

In my opinion detenues should not be kept in ordinary prisons. It is almost impossible to prevent contact with convicts, and the average Indian warder is quite unsuitable to deal with men of this class. The presence of detenues in a jail has a most demoralizing effect on the discipline of the institution. I have reason to believe that the Indian subordinate staff were in constant fear of social boycott and other misfortunes if they did not comply with any demand of the detenues or their friends, however unreasonable. Superintendents have to spend four or five hours a day in dealing with the extra work entailed by detenues.

If it is necessary to confine detenues in jail, a separate prison should be reserved and a special staff should be appointed to deal with this very difficult class of prisoner. Few men possess the necessary patience, tact, and firmness

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to take on the thankless job of superintendent. Few people realize the constant anxiety and worry undergone by officers of the Jail Department during the past few years of political unrest. The health of not a few officers broke down under the strain. I owe a deep debt of gratitude to those superintendents, jailers, and deputy jailers who loyally carried out their duties under most difficult circumstances.

Discrimination in Indian Jails

Another subject which has caused much controversy and bitterness in India is the alleged racial discrimination in favour of European prisoners. It was felt that certain classes of European prisoners were granted privileges of diet, bedding, clothing, and accommodation which were superior to anything given to Indian prisoners when such prisoners were of superior social status and position, and were not placed under the special division rules.

When the rules for classification of prisoners were drawn up in the various jail manuals very few Indians of superior status were committed to jail, and the rules were obviously intended for the ordinary low-class Indian criminal. During the past twenty years of political unrest a new class of prisoner has sprung up whose mode of life and status in society is, of course, quite different from a coolie or ryot.

In practice I found little difficulty in Bengal, and we never had any serious dispute about the classification of Indian prisoners of the *bhadralok* class. The rules were sufficiently elastic to prevent any injustice or hardship. Those Indians who had been educated or lived in Europe, or whose mode of living was definitely European, were classified as Europeans. Others whose social status was superior, but whose mode of life was Eastern, could be given certain concessions in diet, bedding, and accommodation by the Inspector-General of Prisons on the certificate of the medical officer. Any case of doubt was referred to the

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Inspector-General, who called for records and recommendations, which were submitted to Government for orders. Indian prisoners who were placed in the special division introduced in 1922, of course, had no grievance.

During the past year the question assumed an acute form owing to the protests of the prisoners under trial in the Meerut conspiracy case and the death through hunger strike of Jotindra Nath Das in Lahore. The Government of India addressed all local Governments, and later on a conference was held at Delhi, attended by representatives from every province in India. The rules regarding undertrial prisoners and the classification of convicted prisoners were discussed, and recommendations for revision were submitted to the Government of India. A few weeks ago the Government of India ordered a new classification of various grades of prisoners in Indian jails. It is to be hoped that the new rules will end this controversy once for all. There is no classification in any jail manual which recognizes the so-called "political prisoner." All prisoners are classified as casuals or habituals. The term "political prisoner" is used by the general public when they refer to detenues, who, of course, are treated under special regulations and are not strictly prisoners in the sense of a convicted prisoner in a jail.

During the excitement of the non-co-operation movement of 1921-22, when thousands of prisoners were admitted to the Bengal jails, these people, who were mostly coolies and mill hands, claimed to be treated as "political prisoners" and demanded the same privileges as were given to detenues. Of course, the claim was absurd. If the term "political prisoner" was officially recognized it would lead to endless trouble.

It will be seen from what I have said that the prison administration in India has been seriously handicapped by want of funds to carry out important building schemes recommended by the Committee of 1919-20, but that progress has been made in many directions. I have not had

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time to cover all the ground. On the whole I consider that the result has not been unsatisfactory. There is a wide interest taken today by the public in India in all prison questions. This alone should ensure that the work of reform will be carried out by Government in the future.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, April 8, 1930, at which a paper was read by Lieut.-Colonel William Gavin Hamilton, I.M.S. (retd.), late Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal, on "Imprisonment and Detention in India." The Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present: Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Lady Bennett, Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. Vincent Esch, M.V.O., Mr. A. Montgomerie, C.I.E., Mr. John de La Valette, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Colonel O'Dwyer, Colonel and Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. F. Grubb, Mrs. Blair, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. H. S. Noah, Mrs. and Miss Harris, Miss Stacey, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. J. W. Lewis, Mr. H. Lewis Blank, Mr. and Mrs. O. C. G. Hayter, Mr. B. H. Johnston, Mr. H. B. Edwards, Mrs. Blenerhassett Plunkett, Miss Colston, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: It is my pleasant duty to introduce to you today Colonel Hamilton, who will read a paper on the Administration of Prisons in India. Colonel Hamilton will speak to us with an experience of about twenty years, and I am sure you will be interested in what he has to tell you. He was Inspector-General of Prisons during the period of my office as Governor of Bengal, and I am happy to have this opportunity of paying public tribute to the courage with which he carried out his difficult duties and also to the sympathetic interest which he always showed in those who were committed to his charge. The time of his administration was particularly difficult, owing partly to the political conditions of the time and partly to the financial stringency under which all departments had to work.

(The paper was then read.)

The HON. SECRETARY read a letter from Sir Alexander Cardew expressing regret that the state of his health did not permit of his being present. He added: "Colonel Hamilton's clear and candid paper on recent jail administration in India will, I am sure, be generally welcomed. It bears the impress of a thoughtful and conscientious mind, and shows clearly the difficulties with which an earnest and zealous officer has to struggle nowadays in India. These difficulties are summed up by Colonel Hamilton in one sentence: 'financial stringency and political unrest.' Every paragraph almost of his paper shows us these evil powers frustrating the efforts of an experienced and devoted officer, and it is only occasionally, and then after long and heart-breaking delay, that he is able to record a victory.

"It is not for us here to apportion the blame for this state of things. We

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can only take note of the melancholy fact that almost all the fundamental defects of Indian jail administration remain unremedied. The prisoners are still locked up in great barracks at night, instead of having separate sleeping accommodation, thus rendering possible every form of contamination during the long hours of idleness. Untried prisoners are still without proper separation, so that the old and experienced hand has ample opportunity to corrupt the new recruit. Weak-minded prisoners are still not properly segregated in separate jails, and too much use is still made of convicts as prison officers. To remedy these and other evils is wholly beyond the power of any Inspector-General; otherwise I feel sure from what Colonel Hamilton writes that he would have remedied them. Possibly a strong public opinion might have quickened the progress of reform, but so humdrum and matter-of-fact a question as jail construction did not catch the attention of the politicians, though Colonel Hamilton's paper shows that the treatment of political prisoners and the allegation of undue preference for Europeans were very burning questions.

"Colonel Hamilton has made a useful survey of what has been accomplished—and not accomplished—in Indian jail administration of late years, but there is one matter on which further information would have been welcome, and that is the present position at Port Blair. I was lately told, but not on any public authority, that there are still, ten years after the Jail Committee's visit, some 8,000 prisoners on the islands. This is an unpleasant thought, and one would like to know whether the system of revision of sentence, of whose working in Bengal Colonel Hamilton gives so encouraging an account, has been applied at the Andamans. The abolition of transportation to those islands is the one great result of the Indian Jail Committee's report, and the impatient idealist may perhaps be pardoned for desiring faster realization of his dreams."

Sir ALFRED PICKFORD wrote: "I regret that on the 8th I have to be at a three days' conference of public-school boys in connection with boys' clubs and scout troops. I have read Colonel Hamilton's paper with the greatest interest. It is clear that his splendid efforts to get justice and and common sense brought into the treatment of jail inhabitants has achieved much, but the work still to be done shows what an Augean stable Colonel Hamilton and others had to deal with, and I feel sure those present who have had any experience of this question will bear testimony to what has been done.

"I do not know whether you have any knowledge of what Boy Scout officers have done in various places—Rangoon, Colombo, Madras—but the story is remarkable. In Colombo jail I saw in 1923 young prisoners being given scout training (even when not enrolled as scouts), which had already changed their outlook completely. Since then prisoners have been allowed out for twenty-four hours to do their first-class journey, involving sleeping out in the open, and *they returned*! A training camp for scout officers (in Madras, I think, but I am away from files) has included three prisoners who were among the best of the trainers, had no special guard, could have escaped without difficulty, but did not.

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"I believe with conviction (I should have avoided this word in such a connection !) that in the problem of the juvenile delinquent, actual and potential, scout training could be used with advantage, and the system could be applied even if it were not desired to use the words boy scout or form a scout troop. The literature is available, and there is no patent about the system."

The CHAIRMAN: In introducing Colonel Hamilton I mentioned that the period of his administration was one of exceptional difficulty for two reasons, and I should like to say a little more about those two difficulties which were referred to in his paper, and which were also referred to in the letter which Mr. Brown has just read from Sir Alexander Cardew. The first difficulty is that the political troubles of those years brought into the jails a class which Colonel Hamilton is justified in describing as a very difficult class—namely, those who are known as political offenders, educated men, who do not belong to the jail population, and whose offences are offences against the Government rather than against society, and who, because the Jail Department was a department of the Government, were at great pains to create every possible difficulty for it. Some of these men were convicted prisoners; some of them were the special class of *détenus* or State prisoners to whom Colonel Hamilton has referred. To deal with this class required on the part of the jail superintendents and every official in the Jail Department a combination of exceptional tact and firmness, and I am glad to testify that Colonel Hamilton possessed the desirable combination of those two qualities to a remarkable extent. I might perhaps, as an illustration of the sort of difficulties that this class of prisoner provided for Government, mention an experience which I had in one of our jails which Colonel Hamilton may perhaps remember. When I was on a tour in the province I arrived at the headquarters of a district and I was told that there was a hunger strike among the political prisoners in the jail. When I asked the reason I was told that they were hunger striking because they had been insulted by the superintendent. I visited the jail and interviewed the gentlemen in question and asked them the nature of the insult, and they said they had put in a very reasonable request that they should be granted a ladder on which to do physical exercises, but the superintendent of the jail had suggested that a ladder might be used for other purposes than physical exercises! I remember also another complaint from the same class that their lot was intolerable because there were only three of them and they had not a fourth to make up a party at tennis. That was a complaint which was more easily remedied by the despatch of another to make up the four. I only mention such incidents as showing the sort of troubles that were deliberately created in order to give trouble to jail superintendents, and, as Colonel Hamilton has rightly said, they required very delicate handling.

Quite apart from that difficulty, which was of a special and deliberate kind, the ordinary jail administration during the year of my office suffered from the financial stringency to which Colonel Hamilton has referred, which in fact, during this time, paralyzed all Government departments. It really was a heart-breaking experience for Members of Council and

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Ministers and the technical heads of Government departments to find themselves confronted with the obligation not merely to refrain from any reforms, however much needed and well thought out they may have been, which would have involved any fresh expenditure, but to effect the most drastic economies and retrenchments in their ordinary administration. This financial trouble, I have no hesitation in saying, is the chief cause of the failure of the reforms of 1919. If one thing more than another can be cited as an explanation why those reforms fell short of expectations, it was, I think, the fact that there was no money available to carry out the schemes of reform which Ministers of the transferred departments would naturally have undertaken, and, of course, this financial difficulty was felt more particularly by the Ministers of transferred departments, but it also was felt by such a department as that over which Colonel Hamilton presided.

The report of Sir Alexander Cardew's Committee, to which Colonel Hamilton has referred, was published in 1921, the year before I went to Bengal. I arrived there to find, so far as this department was concerned, a number of reforms suggested to us by the Commission which had actually studied the question for many months, and here were ready at hand a number of important changes in the department which were recommended to us and which we would naturally have carried out had it been possible, but which, owing to the expense that would have been involved in making the changes, we were unable to touch. It is really due to that, more than to any lack of appreciation of their importance or of their urgency, that they have not been carried out. Sir Alexander Cardew has referred in his letter to the evils of the jail system, and Sir Alfred Pickford in his letter used the words "Augean stables" as applicable to the prisons of India. Lest you should go away with the idea from what has been read to you that the prison system in India is particularly bad, I ought to tell you that, though I went to India in 1922 with that idea in my mind, having read some very lurid accounts of the condition of Indian prisons and expecting to find this "Augean stable," I have no hesitation in saying that in material aspects the Indian prisons compare very favourably indeed with prisons in this country.

I have had the depressing experience of visiting many jails in this country—I know of no experience more depressing—and the thing that used to depress me most was the elaborate precautions taken everywhere for the prevention of suicide. One came away with the impression that if it was possible every prisoner would commit suicide by the end of the week. When I went over the jails in Bengal I found nothing of the kind. Those jails by comparison with ours were open. There were no elaborate precautions for the prevention of suicide. In fact, I have a very clear recollection in my mind of the district jail at Dacca, which was like a great factory, where prisoners were engaged in handicrafts, many of them using hammers, chisels and saws, with which they could not only have cut their own throats but have done serious damage to their warders, and superintended by just a casual warder, who might have been a foreman in a factory. I came to the conclusion that, so far as the material aspect of jails was concerned, an Indian prison was infinitely superior to the homes

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of most of the men who composed the ordinary jail population. (Hear, hear.) Certainly the ordinary Indian coolie was very much better off in an Indian jail than he would have been in his own home. I emphasize the fact that those are all purely material considerations, and I did find that on the more human aspect of jail administration there were many reforms still urgently needed, and I was very glad to hear from Colonel Hamilton himself that some of those reforms have now been attended to—for instance, the creation of an After-Care Association, and certainly no better man could have been chosen to take charge of it than the present Chief Justice, Sir George Rankin. I think the system of short-term imprisonments, to which Colonel Hamilton has referred, is a very serious evil indeed, and I think he is right in saying that the only remedy for this is the introduction of a probation system. We have had now for some years in this country a probation system which has enabled the courts throughout the country to provide an alternative for these extremely mischievous short terms of imprisonment. I do not think that any financial difficulties should stand in the way of the adoption of this system in India, but the main difficulty, of course, is the absence of suitable men and women to carry out the duties of probation officers. You can pass an Act and put it upon the Statute Book, but unless you have men and women available with the necessary training and qualifications to act as probation officers the Act will be a dead letter, just as the Children Act was a dead letter for so many years. I am glad to hear from Colonel Hamilton that some of these reforms, at any rate, have been undertaken, and I feel that as and when the political situation gets a little easier others will follow suit. I can only say in conclusion that in those very difficult circumstances Colonel Hamilton did as well as any man could have done. (Applause.)

Mr. HAYTER said he was glad to hear Colonel Hamilton's very interesting lecture on what was a most important subject. He himself had seen a great deal of the inside of jails in the Bombay Presidency, and he had formed the impression that the Jail Department was a department which deserved very well of its country. He had always felt that not only in respect of ordinary discipline but also in respect to health and hygiene the big jails in India compared very favourably with anything to be found outside them. There were three reasons for sending men to prison: the hope of teaching them to be better men, to act as a deterrent to others, and for the purpose of keeping them from harming their fellow-citizens. In his opinion short-term sentences were useless. They could not teach anyone anything, and they did not act as a deterrent. He thought the probation system was excellent in every way. The proper course was either not to put a criminal in prison at all, but to help him to improve, outside, or to put him in prison for years and teach him to do better in future, to teach him a trade. The system of probation, as known in England, required suitably trained probation officers who would have authority and whose advice would be scrupulously followed; otherwise a probation system could not possibly succeed. In England the probation officers had so great authority that the friends and relations of the young probationers would all be on the side of the probation officer and would

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carry out his views and wishes. He thought that a probation system in India must depend on a good state of affairs generally in the country. Such a system could not succeed unless public opinion was in favour of obedience to authority. The probation officer must be a suitable officer and must be backed up by the people. As regards the political *détenus*, he thought they should not be confined in ordinary jails, where it was extremely difficult for the Jail Department, as had been pointed out by Colonel Hamilton, to deal with them satisfactorily. There was no hope probably of teaching them to change their ways; the imprisonment would not act as a deterrent, and they were simply in prison for the purpose of keeping them out of the way of doing harm to their fellow-citizens. In this respect, there was no distinction between offences against the Government and offences against the public. Measures against escape must be strict. *Détenus* should be given as good a time as possible, or at any rate not treated with any indignity or given any cause to complain. They had acted so as to be imprisoned because they had been dissatisfied in one way or another, and it would be a bad thing to make them more dissatisfied than they were already. He thought they should be kept quite separate from the ordinary prisoners and not looked after by the ordinary warders. Generally, it must be remembered that improvements and the removal of abuses had only been carried out in the last century in England after very great agitation, and he thought India had benefited by the experience of the trouble with regard to jails in England in a way that was highly creditable to the Government in India.

Sir JOHN CUMMING said the lecturer had dealt with a very important branch of sociology, with special reference to Indian conditions, and he wished to associate himself with the tribute which the Chairman had paid to the lecturer, not only in regard to his courage, but in regard to his insight into the mentality of those whom it was his duty to keep under restraint. The jail administration in India was greatly indebted to the Indian Medical Service, which had brought about a vast improvement in the health conditions. He wished to mention three points: the question of the juvenile criminal, the question of discharged prisoners, and the question of defectives. It was best to keep juveniles out of jail altogether, and treat them on some rational basis. It was interesting to note that in Ceylon a very great effort had been made to deal with juveniles who were inclined to criminal ways. A similar effort was being made at the present moment in Malay and in Latin America. He thought that the introduction of the Borstal system was most desirable. With regard to the discharged prisoner, everything depended upon the public spirit of those members of the outside public who were willing to give their time and human sympathy. A great deal had been done in England, although those who had to deal with the matter had to admit a great many heart-breaking failures. The conditions in India were considerably more difficult than in England; and if success did not come in India the explanation would be the conditions there. The subject of weak-minded delinquents was one which had been debated by sociologists all over the world for the past twenty-five years. On the one hand, there were those who viewed the matter from a purely

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medical point of view, and held that every person who appeared before a magistrate ought to be examined by a doctor. On the other hand, there was the point of view of the practical administrator, who held that there was no question of the mentality of 95 per cent. of those who appeared before the courts. He thought the public mind in India had now awakened to the fact that there were delinquents whose fault was primarily due to their state of health and their environment. The Indian administrators knew what the evils in jail administration were, and were only too willing to remedy them, but reforms cost money, and until money was forthcoming those reforms must be postponed.

Mr. MONTGOMERIE commented on the fact that Colonel Hamilton had omitted from his paper any reference to Bombay, where considerable attention had been given to prison reform. There was a Children Act, with the passing of which he himself had been intimately associated, and which had made definitely impossible the scandal of sending young children to prison. He remembered one case in which a Presidency Magistrate had had before him fifteen to twenty small boys from one of the reformatory institutions who had assaulted one of the staff, and he sentenced them to twenty-one days' imprisonment at the Bombay jail, where they would find themselves in association with some of the cleverest criminals in India, which, in his opinion, was most undesirable. Even in the days of financial stringency Bombay had recognized that the jail problem was one which could not be shelved, and in Bombay and Nasik they had now model jails. They had also started the Borstal system in Bombay; and he had noticed in an Indian paper recently that one of the district prisons had been handed over as a Borstal institution.

The subordinate magistrates were in the habit of passing short sentences of imprisonment in cases which did not call for imprisonment at all, which normally ought to be dealt with by warning the prisoner or inflicting a small fine. It often occurred that a magistrate who ought to fine a man four annas had sentenced him to seven days' imprisonment. No doubt he thought that seven days' imprisonment really did not matter, but he did not realize that seven days' imprisonment was casting a very heavy burden upon the Government for the upkeep of the prisoner and the jailers, and was perhaps putting a respectable farmer into association with criminals. That was the real problem of prison administration at the present time. He himself about eight or ten years ago had been responsible for introducing in Bombay a system by which every magistrate on entering on his magisterial duties was furnished with a pamphlet on the inadvisability of giving short sentences, but whether that had had any effect he did not know. (Applause.)

Sir JOHN KERR said that, as a former Financial Member, he wished to make a few remarks with reference to the question of financial stringency. It was his duty while in Bengal to baulk the efforts of Colonel Hamilton and his predecessors on several occasions on the plea that there was no money in the till. It had been said that financial stringency was one of the main reasons why the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms had not been more successful, and he agreed that if there had been more money, matters

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would have been much simplified; but it was nearly forty years since he himself had gone to India, and he had never known a time when the provinces of India were not suffering from financial stringency. The address of Colonel Hamilton showed what an enormous amount of good a well-run department could do in spite of financial stringency, and perhaps because of financial stringency. The expression "Augean stable," which had been used by Sir Alfred Pickford, was entirely inappropriate. He congratulated Colonel Hamilton on having got his own way in spite of the financial stringency in regard to raising the pay of jail warders in Bengal; their pay was now better than that of the police. From Colonel Hamilton's point of view, no doubt, that was a very satisfactory state of affairs, and it should improve the quality of the jail officers. Perhaps the most important point in the paper was that the mortality rate in the jails in Bengal had been reduced to 13·5 per mille, while the provincial death rate was over 30 per mille. The difference in favour of the jails was really a good deal more than that, since the provincial mortality and health figures were very imperfect. Anyhow, the jail death rate was now a good deal less than half the provincial death rate, and if they would reflect on all that that implied, nothing further would be needed to commend the work of Colonel Hamilton, his colleagues, and his predecessors.

Colonel HAMILTON, in reply, expressed his thanks to the various speakers for the kind remarks which they had made. Sir Alexander Cardew had asked for information about the position of Port Blair. Official transportation had been abolished, but, owing to the enormous congestion of the Punjab jails, it had not been found possible to carry it out in full, and prisoners from the Punjab were still being sent to the Andamans; otherwise the settlement was being gradually evacuated, two or three times a year sick prisoners being sent to India. It would, however, take a long time for that work to be completed, because provision would have to be made for the building of several central jails to take the prisoners, and he hoped before long money would be found to build the necessary jails so that the remainder would be brought to India. He agreed with what Sir Alfred Pickford had said with reference to the importance of scout instruction for the Borstal institutions, and he also agreed with the speaker who had said that a probation system was useless unless the probation officers were efficient. If people were sent over to England for training, there was no reason why a good class of probation officers could not be obtained. If some persons were properly trained in England, they could then return to India and instruct others there. Mr. Montgomerie had mentioned the fact that he had not referred to Bombay. His reason was that he had had no personal experience of that province. He had mentioned Madras and other provinces because he knew those provinces, but he would like to pay a tribute to the work which had recently been done in Bombay. He was aware that in Bombay they had a very efficient Children's Court, and that the Children Act had been carried out with great efficiency there, and the treatment of juvenile delinquency was more advanced in Bombay than Bengal. With regard to the criticism which had been made of magistrates sentencing young

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persons to short terms of imprisonment, he agreed with what Mr. Montgomerie had said. There had been a very large amount of unnecessary imprisonment of children, owing to the sentences of subordinate magistrates, probably in every province in India. It was certainly the case in Bengal. With regard to the financial question, he thought that if Sir John Kerr had himself been Inspector-General of Prisons he would have tried to worry the Finance Member to grant him some more money.

Sir LOUIS DANE said that he regretted that it was ever proposed to abolish transportation to the Andamans. In the Punjab there were a great many vendettas and blood feuds, which it was very hard to stop. If a man connected with one of them was merely imprisoned at Lahore, everybody knew everything about him and the time when he was to come out of prison, and when he came out the blood feud started again. If a man was sent to the Andamans he was out of sight and out of mind, and the result was that in many cases the blood feud died out before he came back to India, which, from the point of view of the Government, was an excellent thing. The prisoners in India, as the Chairman had remarked, were really relatively better off than the persons at home, owing to the great differences in general and social conditions and to the great improvements which had already been made. He hoped they had not the idea that the prisons in India were "Augean stables" or anything of that sort. The prison service was now one of the best branches of the administration for the conditions of the country as they existed at the present time. India could not be compared with England. India, as far as the great majority of the population was concerned, was two or three hundred years behind England. With regard to the question of finance, he was inclined to think that the Governments in India were carried away by the effects of the war. Enormous sums of money poured into India for produce sold and wages earned, and prices went up, and they had made even less attempts to cut down salaries and wages after the war than had been made in this country though food prices in India had gone down. The result was that with the innumerable officials in India the salary and wages bills were raised enormously. That was, perhaps, the main cause of the financial stringency which began in 1918 and made all social and general reforms so difficult. He was sorry to hear that deportation to the Andamans had been abolished, because there were some most delightful island resorts, such as the Maldives and Laccadives, and some of the other islands, which he thought should be utilized for the detention of political *détenus* or prisoners as had been done so usefully in the past. In his opinion an offence against the State was infinitely worse than an offence against an individual, because however petty or even ridiculous open opposition to the established government might seem to be in the beginning, in the end amongst the excitable, credulous and ill-educated peoples of India they must cause infinitely more individual suffering and general disorganization, and they were offences which ought to be put a stop to promptly but firmly at the outset. It only remained for him to offer the thanks of the Association and the meeting to the Chairman and the Lecturer for their presence and for their most valuable remarks on this important subject.

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INDIA'S PROGRESS AND INDIA'S POVERTY

By Sir Alfred Chatterton, c.i.e.

With a sea-borne trade, which in 1928-29 amounted to £445,000,000 the material prosperity of India is of considerable importance to the rest of the world. It is not unlikely that in the near future some measure of autonomy may be granted to British India, and it would seem, therefore, that the present time is not inopportune to survey the position reached after roughly three-quarters of a century of British effort to open up the country and develop its resources.

During the first fifty years of this period the policy of the Government was, in the main, one of free trade and *laissez faire*; but it was recognized that the construction of railways required State assistance and supervision, and that the provision of irrigation was a task which no other agency could adequately carry out. During the last twenty-five years, and more especially since the issue of the Report of the Indian Industrial Commission, a wider view has been taken of the extent to which Government may intervene to promote industrial and agricultural progress. Provincial Departments of Industries have been established, protective tariffs introduced, and a number of commissions and special committees have examined the conditions of selected industries to which it was thought assistance could be usefully rendered. An Indian Stores Department has been created, the hydro-electric resources have been roughly surveyed, and provincial governments have set to work to utilize them. Further, the railway system has been improved and extended; but its tariffs in the main follow antiquated principles, and offer but little encouragement to industrial development.

The most accurate and detailed statistics relating to

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Indian trade and commerce are the returns of sea-borne trade, and these I propose to utilize as the chief source of information regarding the progress of the country. It is true that they shed no direct light on internal developments, but the extent to which these have affected the external trade may easily be discovered, and some data obtained which furnish reliable information regarding changes which are going on.

Twenty-Five Years' Progress

The year 1903-04 may conveniently be taken as the starting-point of the more active policy of the Government of India; and as the latest statistics available relate to 1928-29, the interval between them is a quarter of a century—a period over which most of us have personal knowledge, and sufficiently long to furnish clear indications of the trend of events. It begins ten years before the war and ends ten years after that catastrophic event, which so profoundly altered the relative economic status of the nations. Throughout there have been strenuous efforts in India to develop the internal resources of the country and to introduce modern methods of manufacture and production. In the absence of adequate data, which could only be furnished by a periodic census of production, we must be content with comparatively rough estimates of the progress of industry.

Perhaps the best criterion we can use is the consumption of coal, which has increased from seven million to twenty-two million tons. The railway demand throughout has been about one-third of the whole, and this fact alone affords material support to the proposition. It is true that hydro-electric power has to some extent displaced steam in the Bombay Presidency, and that generally coal is used more efficiently for the production of power, whilst thousands of small oil-engines, working with liquid fuel or kerosene oil, are a by no means negligible contribution to the sources of energy. But against these developments, which might

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invalidate deductions based on the use of this standard, there are others which, at any rate, approximately neutralize their effects. The coal used in the iron and steel trade, in the manufacture of Portland cement, and in the production of electrically distributed energy—all newly introduced industrial operations involving the consumption of large quantities of fuel in proportion to the value of the output—will by the smaller value of industrial result restore the general average.

Accepting the consumption of coal, then, as a measure of industrial activity, we arrive at the conclusion that during the last twenty-five years there has been a threefold increase. This is to some extent corroborated by the known facts regarding the jute industry, which has increased in spindle capacity three times; by the cotton industry, with 75 per cent. more spinning power and four times the number of looms; and by the railway returns regarding passenger traffic, which has increased rather more than three times. Even now only 1 per cent. of the total population are engaged in modern industry, and it is fairly certain that they and their direct dependants—less than ten millions in all—enjoy the major portion of the increased annual income.

The Cultivated Area

The increase in the area under cultivation has barely kept pace with the increase in the population, and any general improvement in the condition of the people can only be the result of more intensive culture. The irrigated area has increased by 15 million acres, or about 50 per cent., and there are signs that the work of the Departments of Agriculture is beginning to bear fruit. Under the stimulus of heavy import duties, in addition to the introduction of improved varieties of cane as the outcome of the work of the Coimbatore cane-breeding station, the area under sugar-cane has increased by 20 per cent. Under cotton and jute the expansion of cultivation has been more than 50 per cent. These two crops, which cover less

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than 20 million acres,* or about 6 per cent. of the cultivated area, contribute just 50 per cent. of the value of the export trade either in the shape of raw material or manufactured goods. The purely plantation industries—coffee, tea, spices, and rubber—extend over about a million acres, or less than one-third of 1 per cent. of the cultivated area, but their products form 10 per cent. of the export trade. There is, therefore, no doubt that in the cultivation of special crops India has made great progress during the last quarter of a century, but there is little evidence that elsewhere, apart from the extension of irrigation, there has been any marked improvement in the yield of the soil.

There has been a great increase in land values due to land hunger on the part of those who have acquired wealth and to the pressure of the people on the soil, resulting in rack-renting. In the great commercial centres the cost of living is extremely high, and though in part due to the demand for the amenities of Western cities, it is in the main to be attributed to the rise in land values. This is a perfectly natural occurrence by no means peculiar to India, and is generally a measure of the activity and success of the local community. The unearned increments accruing to the landholders of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, and other towns are a burden on industry perhaps lightly borne because of the energy and ability of the citizens, but over the whole of rural India, with its teeming millions of apathetic and poverty-stricken people, the increase in land values imposes a tax on their limited resources which prevents any rise in the standard of living.

In favoured tracts the rise in values is due to material improvements, such as irrigation works, better methods of cultivation, the growth of more valuable crops, and to

* These figures relate only to British India. In the course of the discussion Sir Ness Wadia drew attention to the fact that the total area under cotton alone was 24 million acres, of which nearly 7 millions are in Indian States. The percentage of area under jute and cotton to the total cultivated area of India, including fallows, is therefore 8, and not 6 as stated above.

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increased marketing facilities. These create a greater demand for labour, and for a time there is some improvement in the condition of the landless labourers; but rapidly they increase in numbers, and ultimately the whole benefit is absorbed by the owners of the land. Over the whole of India the increase in the value of the land amounts to a stupendous total, and is almost certainly comparable with the whole amount of capital invested in modern industrial undertakings, including railways and irrigation works.

The results are most clearly seen in the permanently settled tracts, and elsewhere are mitigated by the proportion of the increment which is appropriated by Government for the benefit of the community in the form of enhanced land revenue at each periodic settlement. The evils arising from the growth of the power of landlords have not escaped the attention of Government, and much legislative effort has been expended to minimize them. In the ryot-wari tracts the wide distribution of land ownership obscures the ill effects on the landless classes, but they suffer all the same. The last census returns show that 10 millions are classified as dependent for a living on the rents received from agricultural land, and it may therefore be presumed that they, at any rate in an economic sense, are parasitic to the rest of the community, and able to levy a steadily increasing tribute on the labours of others.

Price Changes

The rupee values of the sea-borne trade in 1903-04 were: imports, 92·55 crores, and exports, 149·63 crores; the corresponding figures of 1928-29 were: imports, 263·39 crores, and exports, 330·13 crores. These figures, however, require to be corrected for changes in the purchasing power of the currency to enable a comparison to be made between the volumes of trade in the two years, and it is not possible to state accurately what ratios should be applied. The rupee, the unit of Indian currency, has itself increased in value in reference to sterling by 12½ per

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cent. The relative values of commodities fluctuate in value in reference to one another as well as to the standard of currency. Price indices have been worked out and published by the Statistical Department of the Government of India, and are of great value in determining the course of trade in the specific commodity to which they refer.

During the last twenty-five years there has been a general rise in prices, which reached a maximum in the two years immediately following the war, and since then there has been a somewhat irregular fall, which still continues. Comparing the prices of some of the more important items of export as given in the sea-borne trade returns for the two years, cotton has risen in value by 60 per cent., jute by 110 per cent., tea by 80 per cent., seeds by 105 per cent., grains by 70 per cent., wool by 117 per cent., and hides and skins by 25 per cent., whilst the price of lac is the same, and that of oil-cakes lower.

With many important groups of imports it is practically impossible to establish price indices over a long period. The official figures would suggest that prices have doubled; but in the case of manufactured goods they do not take into account changes in quality and design, or allow for many items such as motor-cars, aluminium, and artificial silk, which did not appear in the earlier trade returns. It has been suggested that the movements in pre-war values have been against India, and that a larger quantity of raw material has now to be exported than was formerly necessary to obtain a defined quantity of imports, but for the reason just given it is doubtful if the facts support the statement.

Cotton piece goods have certainly doubled in value, but sugar is 8 per cent. cheaper, and imported salt is only 67 per cent. dearer. Galvanized iron has increased by 24 per cent., tin by 54 per cent., lead by 56 per cent., and zinc by 19 per cent. The metal group, including all kinds of iron and steel as well as non-ferrous metals, shows an increase of 17 per cent. in cost on a tonnage basis. The necessity for special protection for the Indian steel industry

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is a consequence of this small increase over pre-war values. Miscellaneous manufactures are certainly much more expensive, but it is impossible to make any useful comparison of changes in their price without information not furnished in customs house returns. We can only take a broad view of the position, and the evidence available suggests that there is no appreciable difference between the increments to prices of exports and imports. For both the enhancement may be roughly assumed to be about two-thirds, but as the rupee has also increased in value by one-eighth, the real increase in world prices will be 87·5 per cent., or seven-eights.

To obtain data for a comparison of the volume of the foreign trade of India for the year 1928-29 with that of 1903-04 the rupee figures of the later year should be multiplied by the fraction $\frac{8}{15}$, and using this factor it yields the result that exports have increased by 19 per cent. and imports by 51 per cent. The additional imports of treasure were 23·8 crores and 39·84 crores. For the five years ending with 1903-04 the imports of treasure averaged only 14·3 crores, and for the five years ending with 1928-29 the average was 57·5 crores.

Absorption of Precious Metals

It is, moreover, noteworthy that during the earlier period the value of the imports of silver slighty exceeded that of gold, whilst during the last five years the ratio of the gold import to that of silver has been nearly two to one. These figures will be slightly modified if account also be taken of the internal production of gold and silver, the former from the mines in the Mysore State and the latter from the Bawdwin lead-silver mine of the Burmah Corporation. Not long ago the Viceroy in an address to the Federated Chambers of Commerce stated that since 1900 the imports of gold have been £400,000,000 and of silver £350,000,000. In the last seven years they have amounted to £178,000,000 in gold and £90,000,000 in silver—clear evidence of a grow-

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ing preference for the absorption of gold, which now amounts to about 30 per cent. of the world's annual production.

It is not necessary to dilate upon the effects of this withdrawal of gold, which is causing serious alarm in financial circles, as the gold foundation of the edifice of modern credit is considered to be scarcely adequate. Its immediate effect is to enhance the value of gold in reference to other commodities, and that means falling prices and stagnant trade. The effect upon India is a real drain on its resources, for which no return is made. It lowers her prestige in the eyes of the world, and reduces her credit in the money markets. To a certain extent this vast amount of bullion contributes to the fluid resources of the country, and serves as a reserve which can be drawn upon in times of stress, but in the main it permanently disappears from active circulation.

Recognition of the evils arising from this absorption of the precious metals has been given by the Government in the appointment of a Banking Commission to examine the problem, and suggest methods which may be employed to mobilize the capital in the country and encourage the banking habit. There is no mystery about the matter. It is well known that marriage dowries and gifts to wives in the form of ornaments are the main reason for this demand for gold, and it is therefore necessary to explore the prospects of alternative methods of providing personal property for women (*stridhanum*) which are less objectionable from an economic standpoint.

Government Paper for Women

The habit of hoarding is a relic of the days when property was unsafe, and it has persisted in India much longer than it need have done owing to the Hindu laws of inheritance, which came into existence in the days when the precious metals and jewels were the only forms in which wealth could be invested and hidden away for safety. In the undivided family women enjoy very limited rights

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in the common property, and widows are only entitled to maintenance from the family estate. Nevertheless, they retain control of their *stridhanum*, and it is but natural that, till the legal range of their possessions is extended, they will encourage their husbands to add to their hoards. Give women the right to be independent holders of Government paper, Post Office Saving Certificates, or fixed deposits in recognized banks, all yielding interest, and there is reason to believe that they will welcome such opportunities to obtain an income provided they can be assured that there is no risk of loss, and that the property is as much under their control as the contents of their jewel boxes.

It is hardly likely that legislation on these lines would meet with any serious opposition, as it would be entirely optional to take advantage of it. That there will be many difficulties in bringing home to the masses the advantages of this proposal is only to be expected, but it should not be beyond our capacity to deal with them. Government paper might be issued in the form of special certificates, which could only be held by women, and such certificates could be maintained at their par value by conferring on them the privilege of redemption at any Government treasury on suitable notice being given. Though the percentage of women educated in a literary sense is very small, their absolute numbers are large enough to form an adequate basis for propaganda work; and who can doubt that many men would welcome an escape from a system which frequently involves them in debt, or compels them to bury the savings of years to provide what after all is a very inadequate insurance for the welfare of their womenfolk.

The marriage dot casts a shadow over Hindu domestic life which would be greatly lightened if it could take the form of interest-yielding securities, and Government could well afford to stimulate a movement in this direction among its own numerous employees by the offer of facilities for the acquisition of special bonds.

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Exports

The export trade of India has changed less in character than in volume and value during the present century. The main items are still raw or slightly worked up produce such as jute, cotton, tea, lac, hides and skins, and rubber, all of which have markedly made progress; oil seeds have remained almost stationary, and the export of grains, except rice, has seriously fallen off. Of manufactured goods India still produces little for export, and those of jute alone have greatly expanded. The loss of the China markets for yarn has not been fully compensated for by the growth of the trade in cotton piece goods, so that the whole of the increased output of the mills is for internal consumption.

With respect to mineral products there has been a great advance. The yield of the gold mines has not been fully maintained, though it is still considerable. It is true the gold is not exported, but it adds to the world's visible supplies and the effect is practically the same. Similarly with the large output of silver from the Bawdwin Mine, which yields nearly 80,000 tons of lead a year and large quantities of zinc concentrates, which are sent abroad for reduction. The exports of coal have undergone many vicissitudes, but are now steadily moving upwards, due largely to the work of grading boards.

The most important industrial achievement of the period is the manufacture of pig iron on a great scale, and the establishment of the steel industry with the assistance of a stiff tariff. The steel is all used in the country, but the pig iron is produced at perhaps less cost than in any other part of the world, and the exports in 1928-29 were nearly 450,000 tons, of which Japan and the American ports on both the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts took the major portion. Even to the United Kingdom, to Germany and to Italy, consignments amounting to many thousands of tons have been sent during the present year. There has also been a great increase in the export of manganese

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ore, but this is of less industrial importance than the production of ferro-manganese at Tatanagar, both for local use and export.

The Import Trade

Imports into India cover the whole range of human production, and by their volume and value clearly indicate the existence of a large and wealthy community with the means to satisfy luxurious needs similar to those which exist in the most advanced centres of Western civilization. But, as we have seen, this class is but a very small fraction of the whole population, and very little evidence is to be obtained from foreign imports in favour of a widespread improvement in the standards of living.

It is possible that the optimist may derive comfort from the great increase in the imports of sugar, accompanied as it has been by a moderate expansion of the local production. The world prices of sugar are no greater today than they were twenty-five years ago, but the heavy tariff imposed on imports has raised them internally to a relatively higher level than that of other foodstuffs. Under these circumstances India is now consuming one-third more sugar, but it is doubtful if the poorer classes participate in the increase. From another aspect this item of the import trade cannot be regarded with any satisfaction, as it costs the country more than Rs. 16 crores a year, and it is certain that without adding a single acre to the area under cultivation, by the application of capital, by the cultivation of improved varieties of cane, by the liberal use of fertilizers, and by the general adoption of modern methods of extraction, the yield of India could be doubled, which would mean an increase of supplies more than three times as large as the present imports.

Foodstuffs

A comparison of the foreign trade of India in commodities which may be classified under the head of "Food and Drink," suggest considerations which require to be examined very carefully. In 1903-04 the value of the imports was 11·32

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crores, and of the exports 44·71 crores; in 1928-29 the imports had risen to 41 crores and the exports to 65·24 crores, the increase in value of the latter being mainly due to tea, which accounts for 18 of the 21 crores. Notable is the fact that in the later year the volume of the exports of grains and pulses was only 60 per cent. of that in 1903-04, and that it was so large is almost entirely due to the Burmah rice crop. There has been some slight scarcity in parts of India during the past two years which has affected both internal and foreign trade very significantly. Exports of food grains have diminished, and imports of wheat from Australia and of rice from Indo-China have temporarily become very important.

The following table shows the surplus value of exports of grains over imports during the last five years and the actual value of the imports of grains of which by far the greater part was wheat from Australia:

Year.	Surplus Value of Exports in Crores of Rupees.	Value of Imports in Lakhs of Rupees.
1924-25	64·95	10·41
1925-26	47·38	65·77
1926-27	38·33	91·69
1927-28	40·61	230·70
1928-29	22·86	1,072·80

In the year 1924-25 the crops were admittedly very good, but in 1928-29 the surplus value of exports over imports was just one-half of the three preceding years. This would seem to indicate that the cultivators of grain crops had 22 crores less to spend than in previous years, and the direction in which they were compelled to curtail their expenditure is reflected in the state of the cotton mill industry. The Burmah rice crop bulks very largely in these exports, and so masks to some extent the real position in India. The following table deals solely with wheat, which is the staple food of a large number of the people of Northern India:

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Year.	Exports of Wheat in Lakhs.	Imports of Wheat in Lakhs.	Excess Value of Exports in Lakhs.
1924-25	1,719·50	5·80	1,713·70
1925-26	360·24	61·30	298·94
1926-27	271·07	66·91	204·16
1927-28	440·57	109·18	330·39
1928-29	169·24	816·96	– 647·72
1929-30 (ten months)	20·04	407·86	– 387·82

In 1927-28 the imports of rice from Indo-China were valued at 106·41 lakhs and in 1928-29 at 228·22 lakhs. The trade returns give the values at the port of entry, and we must add about 20 per cent. for transport and other charges to obtain the retail values at distributing centres. Instead, therefore, of a normal surplus of nearly 3 crores on the foreign trade in wheat there was in 1928-29 a necessity to find nearly 10 crores for the purchase of wheat and another 2·77 crores for rice, making a total deficiency of over 15 crores on these two grains which had to be provided out of savings or by diminished expenditure on clothing.

Cycles of Scarcity

The warning should not pass unheeded, as in the past there have been numerous periods of intense scarcity which in the course of nature are bound to recur again. The great extension of irrigation has undoubtedly reduced the risks, but the numbers to be fed are steadily growing, and there is looming ahead the shadow of a possibility that a time may come when it will not be feasible to import food grains on a sufficient scale. The only remedy is still more vigorous efforts to extend irrigation and the general development of agriculture by more intensive methods.

Motor Traffic

The character of the import trade has been only slightly affected by internal industrial progress in India, but it has been greatly modified by the advances made in the West

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in almost every branch of manufacture. The imports of machinery and mill work have increased in value four times, and modern progress is represented by internal combustion engines, electrical machinery, and much miscellaneous plant and apparatus, the product of inventive efforts during the last twenty-five years. An important new trade is in motor vehicles of every description, which is valued at over 10 crores of rupees, and the limit of saturation has certainly not yet been reached. The motor-bus has opened up the rural tracts in a remarkable way, and the facilities which it offers for getting about are an important cause of the unrest which is spreading through the country. It is just possible that in their appreciation of the advantages of motor vehicles the moderately wealthy classes are inclined to an extravagance hardly justifiable, and which will in due course either bring its own nemesis or serve as a stimulant to a more vigorous life.

The growth of the iron and steel industry has in no way impeded imports, which have expanded by 50 per cent. in weight and by three times in value, an increase largely due to a demand for materials of a higher class. The use of the non-ferrous metals in India is a valuable criterion by which to estimate the increase in the purchasing power of the masses and the evidence furnished by this standard offers some encouragement to the idea that there has been a slight general increase in prosperity. The expenditure on these metals, which are mainly imported for the manufacture of household utensils, has just doubled, but the additional demand has been almost entirely for aluminium, which by reason of its low density has proved to be relatively cheaper than either brass or copper. The growing popularity of this metal suggests that the time has arrived when steps might be taken to ascertain the prospect of utilizing the abundant deposits of bauxite for the extraction of aluminium by electrical methods.

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Chemicals

Due to intensive propaganda by great commercial undertakings the importation of artificial manures and Chilian nitrates have reached large dimensions, and a market has been found for all the sulphate of ammonia—a by-product of the iron industry—which was till quite recently exported. There is a field for enormous expansion which should at no very distant date provide opportunities for the manufacture of nitrogenous fertilizers in the country.

Textiles

The imports of textiles, both raw and manufactured, have increased in value from 36 to nearly 82 crores of rupees. Raw cotton is imported in steadily increasing quantities for the spinning of high counts, and this may be regarded as a sign of technical progress on the one hand and as failure on the part of the agriculturist to produce long-staple cotton. The rapid growth of the trade in artificial silk and mixed goods is proof that in India as elsewhere their superficial attractiveness appeals to feminine taste. The development of spinning and weaving during the last quarter of a century has been steady, and production has greatly increased both in quantity and quality. In recent years Japanese competition has been very intense for low grades of cloth, and there is evidence that the demand for fine qualities has been checked by the enhancement of prices.

From a sociological rather than from an economic standpoint the comparative returns for imports of liquors are interesting. They have doubled in value, but so have prices, and it is not unimportant that there has been no increase in the consumption of foreign liquors. Changes in taste are evident, as more brandy and gin but less whiskey and light wines are imported. The consumption of champagne remains the same, although there has been no rise in price at which it is landed—that occurs at a later

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stage. Enhanced duties as well as more abstemious habits have combined to produce this result.

Mass Poverty

The causes of the persistent poverty of the masses in India are now well understood, and it is fully recognized by students of the subject that economic remedies alone will produce no useful result and will only tend to hasten the day when some natural catastrophe will entail widespread ruin and desolation. A great change in the mentality of the people is necessary—a change leading to a desire for a higher standard of life and capable of effectively restricting their reproductive instincts.

The conclusions arrived at in the course of this review afford cold comfort, although they are based upon unequivocal evidence of growing prosperity and visible indications of increasing luxury—the numbers affected are too small and the results due to organization and enterprise in the development of the natural resources of the country enjoyed by too few people. So far as our inquiries go they clearly indicate that internal progress is essential to the expansion of external trade, and that the policy which offers the greatest scope to the employment of Indian capital and brains is that best calculated to create extended demands for the products of other lands.

The general result of this review will I think be considered disappointing, not only in regard to the well-being of the great mass of the population, improvement of which depends upon obtaining a better return from the soil, but also in respect to the comparative failure to widen the basis of modern industrial enterprise. This restricted range of effort cannot be attributed to the mentality of the people, but must be ascribed to the inherent difficulties in doing anything. European enterprise is not lacking in India, but it has equally failed in achievement, and one is led to the inevitable conclusion that the conditions in India are relatively so inferior to those prevailing in the great indus-

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trial countries of the West that special measures are necessary to counteract the disadvantages against which pioneers have to contend.

"Natural Wealth"

It is the fashion to talk of the great natural wealth of India, but when we take into consideration the vast area of the country and its dense population, its harsh climate, the seasonal distribution of rainfall, with recurring periods of scarcity, and its unfavourable geologic structure, it is not difficult to show that this broad generalization has little real foundation in fact. The mineral wealth of more than half the country is hidden beneath the deep alluvial plains of the valleys of the Ganges and Indus or buried under the great volcanic outflow, known as Deccan trap, which covers more than 200,000 square miles. Less than 30 per cent. of the land surface is suitable for cultivation, and only in a few favoured tracts can the natural rainfall be entirely depended up.

For nearly half the year the cultivators in most parts have little or no work, and as yet no system of subsidiary occupations has been devised which will bring them in an additional return. The poverty of the people is great, but their wants are few, and it is possible they are better off than they seem, but this state of passive contentment does not create markets for goods. There is labour in abundance, but from malnutrition, hook-worm, malaria, and other tropical complaints it is very inefficient, and is moreover unorganized and untrained except in the simple operations of the cultivator who works on a mediæval system with primitive tools.

Generally it may be said that the materials from which industries can be created do not occur in places favourable to their assembly, and frequently they are not equal in quality to the raw material at the disposal of manufacturers elsewhere. Industry on a small scale has today no hope of competing with the products of Europe

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and America, and yet the diffused and slender market in India for goods is open to competition through the major seaports, and nearly every part of the country is more accessible to the importer than would be centrally situated factories such as India might support.

Causes of Unrest

The mental activity of the present generation due to the spread of education seeks scope for profitable employment of its trained faculties and acquired knowledge, and the restlessness and discontent so manifest all over the country is the outward expression of dissatisfaction with a régime which fails to provide opportunities to engage in a diversity of occupations. From time immemorial the people of India have always looked to the State for guidance and help, and the experience of nearly a century of a policy of very restricted Government intervention in industries and trade has by no means altered the outlook of even the most advanced sections of the community. The provincial departments of industries are the visible indications of the almost universal opinion that an extension of State socialism is necessary to confront the difficulties and obstacles which private enterprise is unable to surmount. It is recognized that the problems to be solved are of world-wide origin, and that individual efforts are powerless to meet the growing economic domination of modern industrial combines, trusts, and international cartels.

An Industrial General Staff

The Government of India has, however, very restricted powers, and is without the organization to enable it to frame a broad and effective industrial policy which will take full cognizance of world movements and of the conflicting claims of widely divergent internal interests. It, therefore, seems desirable that there should be established with the Government of India the necessary machinery for the evolution of an active policy of industrial development

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analogous to the General Staff of the military department. The Finance Minister has recently promised to set up an advisory industrial council, but something more than this is necessary to meet the needs of the situation. The Council may tender advice of a valuable character, but it will be rendered futile unless there is an executive staff competent to work out plans. Such a staff does not at present exist, and it should be created.

India has little to gain by the acceptance of Imperial preference as part of its fiscal policy, and there is no hope that in the immediate future proposals leaning in that direction will meet with anything but uncompromising opposition in the Legislative Assembly. At the present time there is a lack of goodwill towards British interests, and every measure is minutely scrutinized to discover if it offers any advantage to British trade at the expense of Indian interests. There is, however, a very wide field which has not yet been explored in which British and Indian manufacturers and capitalists can co-operate to the mutual advantage of both countries. Ideas of this kind are in the air in the cotton trade, but no definite proposals have yet materialized. There is still greater scope for action in the chemical and metallurgical industries, and with assured markets in India there is some reason to assume that instead of leaving them open to foreign penetration they can be secured to the Empire by commercial arrangements which would protect the Indian consumer and divide the processes of manufacture in a rational and equitable manner between the associated groups in the two countries.

An Imperial industrial staff is necessary to investigate the prospects of advancing along these lines and to indicate what action on the part of the State is necessary to enable private enterprise to embark upon such schemes as may be considered feasible.

That India can ever become a great industrial country is not possible, and it must look to the improvement of agriculture for any great amelioration in the condition of its

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many millions. It can, however, advance far beyond its present status, and it is urgent that progress should be accelerated. To the extent that this occurs external trade will undoubtedly be stimulated, and though the character may change to some extent, the change will be gradual and in the direction of commodities of superior quality and of more complex character.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Tuesday, May 20, 1930, at which a paper was read by Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., on "India's Progress and India's Poverty." The Hon. Sir Maneckji B. Dadabhoy, K.C.I.E., was in the Chair, and the following, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Sir Ernest Low, K.C.I.E., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Hubert and Lady Carr, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Ness Wadia, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick, Lady Chatterton, Sir David Chadwick, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Harcourt, O.B.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., Mr. F. J. Plymen, C.I.E., Mr. R. Littlehailes, C.I.E., Mr. Matthew B. Cameron, C.I.E., and Mrs. Cameron, Mr. J. R. Martin, C.I.E., Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Mr. J. A. Arathoon, Colonel D. Warliker, Mr. Hardit Singh, Mr. Abdul Qadir Khan, Mr. Ghulam Qadir Khan, Mr. H. E. Wyndham, Mr. C. A. Radice, Miss Gray, Dr. D. Hooper, Mr. B. T. Kesavaiyengar, Rev. R. Burges, Miss Caton, Miss Speechley, Mr. B. D. Bery, Mr. H. B. Edwards, Mr. B. Chatterton, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Mr. and Mrs. Kirk, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mrs. Brandt, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. E. F. Harris, Miss Curteis, Mr. Scott Bremner, Miss K. L. Speechley, Mrs. Halway, Mr. S. S. Singha, Mr. M. L. Chandra, Miss Wills, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Ladies and Gentlemen,—I have much pleasure in presiding this afternoon at a meeting of the East India Association. This pleasure is of a twofold character. In the first place, my connection with this Association extends over forty years. When I was a student here I had the honour of being nominated to the Executive Council of the Association. I had also the pleasure of reading two or three papers before the Association. Today my pleasure is enhanced by the fact that the lecturer of this afternoon is a personal friend of mine, whom I have known for many years. I have come into close contact with him throughout, and I am in a position to tell you that we could not get a more informed and learned lecturer on the subject which he is going to debate today. He went out to India forty years ago, and closed his distinguished Indian career with honours from all quarters. He was appointed, on account of his great knowledge, a member of the Industrial Commission. You know that that Commission was appointed during the war, and you know the great work that it did. I can tell you personally that the success of the Commission was due in a great measure to the services rendered by our friend Sir Alfred Chatterton. That Commission subsequently became the

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Munitions Board, on which he, too, served with great distinction as Controller. I think, therefore, that no further recommendation is necessary.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON: Mr. President, before I commence to read my paper, I should like to thank you for the very kind words which you have used in introducing me to this meeting, which are far more eulogistic than I deserve.

(The Lecturer then read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Sir Alfred Chatterton has dealt with a series of subjects, and the facts and figures which he has laid before this meeting clearly show not only his profound knowledge of the various industries of India but also his general knowledge in the general survey which he has made on this occasion. He has fitly divided the subject into two parts: firstly, the progress and development which has taken place in India for many years past; and secondly, the poverty of India which has, according to him, restricted and hindered the further progress of the country.

There is one observation, however, which the learned lecturer made with which, with deference to him, I am not prepared to agree. He stated that it is not possible that India can ever become a great industrial country. I may say that I have been intimately connected with the industries of India for many years, and it is my personal view that India can be made into a very successful and prominent industrial country; but unfortunately there are certain factors, certain policies of the Government of India, want of enterprise of the people, and other considerations, which have kept back the progress of the country.

To begin with, the fiscal policy of the Government of India is open to criticism. That policy, as long as it remains, will not help to make India a great industrial nation. The fiscal policy of the Government of India is not one which is conducive to the progress of the country. For many years this policy has been settled, and they are moving in one direction only. We require a very drastic change. The Government must come out boldly, if it desires that India should be a great industrial nation, for a policy of progressive protection. I am not now referring to Empire Free Trade, which seems to be in fashion in this country, because India is still a dependency; it has not yet obtained dominion status; and even if that status is obtained the policy is not likely to be approved in India till she has further progressed, and is placed politically and economically on something resembling dominion status, if it is not possible that dominion status be given immediately. I will give two recent illustrations. One is the protection which was needed for the iron and steel industry. The second is that of the textile industry. The iron and steel industry is the greatest backbone of any country. Coal and iron are the greatest resources which will develop a country. The protection which was given to the iron and steel industry was given with a great deal of hesitation, and was not offered to the extent to which it was required.

Some of my friends here who know India very well may think that I am personally interested in the steel works, but I have no connection with

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them in any way. I am only speaking on the subject as a question which ought to occupy the minds not only of the Government of India but of the British Government as well. Take, for instance, the textile industry. Only a month ago a Bill was passed giving protection to a certain extent to the textile industry, but that protection came too late; the mischief was done. That protection ought to have been given nearly two years ago. The policy of the Government of India was wrong throughout; it was of a hesitant character. The fiscal policy of India is of a kind to enable the Government to raise as much money as they can possibly do for the purpose of revenue. Most of the import duties which are levied in India are simply levied for the purpose of swelling the revenue. Those duties give a certain amount of protection to industries in India, but, after all, it is not an adequate protection.

I am afraid, also, that the Department of Industries in India has not been a great success. If the department had been carried on on proper lines, a great deal could have been done for the progress and development of India's industries. At present what happens? Either we have a Civilian at the head of the Industry Department, or we have an Indian gentleman of no expert, technical, or special qualification placed there. My personal opinion is that the Industrial Department should be headed by a man intimately connected with the world's industries. He ought not to be taken from a Government of India department, but should be a man selected on account of his expert and extensive knowledge and his great experience, and he should be placed at the head of the Industry Department of India. That department should be properly organized and manned by men with expert knowledge and skill. This is not done in India.

My friend Sir Alfred Chatterton tells us that India can never become a great industrial country. My own idea is that India can become a great industrial nation if the activities of the country are properly directed and the Government becomes a little more sympathetic and appreciative in matters connected with the industries of the country.

Another thing which is impeding the progress and development of industries in India is the present extremely high taxation. The super-tax in India was imposed as a war measure. A heavy income tax was levied in the country, and only last March the Government of India increased the income tax by another pie, and increased the super-tax also by another pie. What is the result? There is no doubt that well-to-do people think that it does not pay them to invest their money in new concerns, for the simple reason that those profits will be again taxed by the Government, and their industries will go to ruin. It is clear that this policy is impeding industrial progress in the country. It is the same case in England. This country suffers from a heavy measure of taxation. In my opinion this is a wrong policy. The policy of the present Government, which is a Labour Government, is to increase the super-tax and the income tax, as they have done in the last budget, with the result that people who were anxious to invest their money in industrial concerns are hesitant, and with the concomitant result that more unemployment in this country will be seen in a short time. This is a bad policy.

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Every country, if it is well managed, must depend for its progress on the enterprise of labour and the industry of a few men who have made their capital and who are willing and ready to lay it out for the development of the country and as a means of employment for the people who are without employment, work, or resources.

Unfortunately, in India we are having riots and disturbances. I hope that they will disappear before long. The disturbances have been fanned by a few ringleaders, but I am confident in the sanity of the Indian people as a nation, and I feel sure that before long all these disturbances will disappear and that England and India will co-operate in the matter of developing the industries of the country.

As regards the second part of the subject, that of the poverty of India, I would refer only to one or two points. My friend Sir Alfred Chatterton was perfectly right in putting forward the fact that India's agricultural, political, social, and financial status ought to be promoted and encouraged in every way possible. The Government of India or the British Cabinet had appointed an Agricultural Royal Commission. They have spent over Rs. 12 lakhs. The Report was published three years ago. What is the result? They have only appointed up to now a Research Committee which meets probably once a month. No further action has been taken by the Government of India on the Report of the Agricultural Commission, though there are many valuable suggestions made in that Report.

As regards the poverty to which Sir Alfred Chatterton has referred with such lucidity, I may add that the unfortunate position of the agriculturist in India arises from the fact that he has always had an hereditary debt to pay, and that he is constantly in the hands of the moneylender. Suggestions have been made to the Government for the opening of agricultural banks and other institutions which will help to ameliorate the condition of the peasant, but little or nothing has been done. Modern agricultural banks with powers and authority vested in them to lend money on mortgages of land would be of great assistance and would save the poor agriculturists, who are at present in the hands of moneylenders, with no prospects of redemption, who charge interest up to 300 or 400 per cent. annually.

Another reason for the poverty of India is the unfortunate joint co-parcenary system of the Hindus. That system does not help to promote enterprise. About twenty-five or thirty members of one family are dependent on one breadwinner. One breadwinner works very hard and finds food for the family, generally consisting of ten or fifteen persons. Fortunately, with the advent of knowledge and contact with Western people, this system has been fast breaking up, but unless that system wholly disappears and every member of an undivided Hindu family puts his shoulder to the wheel, and earns money, and contributes his share of labour to the country, the progress will be rather slow.

The fact that our learned lecturer has today informed us that during the last thirty years £400,000,000 of gold and £350,000,000 of silver have been imported into India shows that, though poverty may exist in some parts of the country, amongst certain of the communities and classes

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the poverty is not so widespread as one is apt to think. Last year £40,000,000 of precious metals were imported into India. The very fact that this treasure, once it is taken in, never comes out of the home, is a fact which prevents the progress of India.

Sir Alfred Chatterton in his able lecture has suggested various methods by which the Government would enable women to have exclusive charge of their *stridhanum*, and be in a position to be masters of their money and property. I may state that to a certain extent this is being helped forward by several measures which have been passed in the Legislative Assembly at the instance of Indian members, who now see the difficulties in the way and have come to the conclusion that their own progress is impossible without the progress of their womenfolk. In England, women have taken a very great interest in all matters, including the politics of the country, and they are a great help and assistance to the menfolk. This spirit which has arisen in England has been the main cause of the progress of the country, and I have not the slightest doubt that in time, if the fiscal policy of the Government of India becomes a great deal more elastic and is placed on a sympathetic basis, the national advancement of India will be assured.

Lord LAMINGTON said that he would like to join in the praises which had been given by the Chairman to the paper which had been read. It was a very valuable one, and raised many issues which were extremely useful and worthy of consideration. He thought that the remarks at the conclusion of the paper were of a pessimistic character, hardly borne out by the facts presented in the earlier portions of the paper. That the cultivation of cotton, jute, and sugar had largely increased, and that there was a vast importation of gold, showed that the condition of India must have very largely improved in recent years. It was true that when the gold got into India it might as well be in the bowels of the earth again; but the mere fact of these large importations showed that there had been a very large amount of exports to pay for the gold, and these exports must have been to the benefit of India. He thought it was essential that there should be an improvement in the primary education of the people, who would then realize the advantages which would accrue from improvements in agriculture and cultivation. The women of India were becoming more alive to the advantages of Western civilization and improved education, and he believed that this must be mainly looked to for the future progress of India. He thought that the last few years had given cause for great encouragement, and showed that the lines on which they had been proceeding in the past had not been mistaken.

Sir ERNEST LOW said that it had given him great pleasure to listen to the paper read by his old friend and colleague Sir Alfred Chatterton. The worst of these papers was that they gave one so much to think about that one never knew where to begin; he was, therefore, going to talk about something quite different. When people spoke about the improvement of agriculture in India, he wondered whether they realized to what extent agriculture could be improved. Agriculture in England in the

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fourteenth century had been going on for something like three thousand years, and had progressed very slowly; people might have thought that it had come to the end of its tether; conditions were unfavourable; there were swamps and jungles, and there was not much that could be done in the way of agricultural improvement. Since then, we find that the average output of wheat had increased from six hundred pounds to nineteen hundred pounds per acre; the meat weight of an animal had multiplied about three times; the output of wool from a sheep had multiplied about six times, and so forth. Was there any reason why that sort of thing should not be brought about in India? Sir Alfred Chatterton had alluded to the arid tropical conditions of India. They knew that the tropical sun had certain disadvantages; but they also knew that it made things grow uncommonly fast, given a little water, and there were many bare, arid, infertile tracts in India today which could probably grow a valuable fibre crop, or vegetable material which would give an alcohol output.

Turning to the agriculture of the land generally, they had a lesson to learn from the progress of agriculture in England. It was not so much on the technical side that enormous increases had been made, but it was by what people called "rationalization." There was one obvious means of improvement. India had an Agricultural Department; as to whether that was an asset or a liability, some people were more able to speak than himself. Its existence at any rate showed that they were self-conscious of the possibilities of improvement, and of the scientific scope of the agricultural work that was being done in the country. They would have to take care that nothing in their land-laws stood in the way of economical development of a beneficial nature. They wanted to have an improved banking atmosphere; they wanted more banks, and they wanted to get people more in the way of putting money in them, then money would be set free for financing agriculture, instead of its being buried and kept useless, as it was at present. It might perhaps be said: "What will be the good to the country when all this is brought about?" He believed that in England agriculture did not suffice to feed its inhabitants, and he had also heard it said that it was not an entirely profitable occupation. That was a position from which India might be able to escape.

After what had been said by the President he spoke with some hesitation, but he thought that India would never be predominantly industrial. He agreed that India might be a great industrial country because it was such an enormous country in every way, but he thought that it would always be much more agricultural than industrial, if only for one reason. The limiting factor in the production of iron and steel was the lamentably small amount of coking coal sufficiently low in ash which, under present conditions, was being rapidly depleted by most wasteful mining and most wasteful use. But if India could be saved from the position of the industrial tail wagging the agricultural dog, as he hoped it would be, then the country might have a chance of being run on different lines from those of this country. The improvement of the possibilities of agriculture in India would lead to an economic movement which would drive money into

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the fields instead of placing it under the hearthstone or in the gambling markets of big cities.

He wanted again to make a diversion from the subject of the discussion and say a word or two about the possibilities of India as a market for manufactures in this country. An Indian friend had made some very interesting suggestions to him. He had said: "Why do not you people realize that what is wanted in India is, on a large scale, cheap production?" The standard of comfort in the villages had risen; people wanted all sorts of things that they never wanted twenty years ago. The women were tired of grinding their wheat into flour, and tired of having to husk rice and carrying water up from a tank, and they liked ice and electric light in their homes. The things required to supply these wants could be produced cheaply on a large scale, and, marketed properly, there would be certainly a first-rate field for British manufucturers. That sort of thing was not being properly exploited. So far as it was being exploited it was being left to the Americans and, to a less extent, to the Germans. A first-rate distribution scheme was wanted to get this stuff across. British manufacturers would, no doubt, say that the overheads would kill the business. That would not be so. With the co-operation of Indian organizations and Indian distributors it could be done cheaply. If it paid a big chemical industry to have 370 branches in the Madras Presidency, surely it would pay to take to the people of India the things that they wanted by some similar form of organization, and take care of those things for the people after they had been sold to them.

Sir DAVID CHADWICK said that, like earlier speakers, he was very much surprised to see the jump made by the Lecturer in his paper. After dilating upon "progress" and giving instances of progress, Sir Alfred then said that it was all terribly disappointing. He had come to the conclusion that it was really very disappointing from the Lecturer's point of view. He had known Sir Alfred Chatterton for thirty years, and he had never known any progress take place in the Madras Presidency which had not been disappointing to him, because he wanted to see matters move much more quickly, and before one thing was finished he had some great idea of another thing which would be of advantage to the country. Personally, he did not think that things were so disappointing. There were many more evidences of general progress than those mentioned by the Lecturer, and one was inclined to forget that India was so big.

Statistics of export trade—even of agricultural produce—did not form a correct measure of Indian development. The great market for Indian produce of all kinds was in India, in the villages, the demand from which was increasing yearly both in quantity and variety—for instance, for cigarettes. Also, when he first had anything to do with an Agricultural Department, they could only sell chemical fertilizers to planters; but he believed that today the demand in the villages in parts of Madras had grown very considerably. Village trade was a difficult trade to organize, but as it was done so it would be found that the market for all produce would grow. It would grow also for imports; but for each unit of increased import trade that it produced, he believed that it would provide

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ten or fifteen opportunities for local industry; imports and local production were not mutually exclusive, they were rather complementary or supplementary.

Sir NESS WADIA said that he would like to make one or two corrections at the outset in what the learned Lecturer had said. The acreage of cotton was twenty-four million acres. He did not know where the Lecturer had got the combined figure for jute and cotton of twenty million acres.

In various parts of his paper the Lecturer had referred to the allowances to be made on account of the difference in currency and exchange, fixed by the Government of India seven years ago. Able financiers in this country today doubted the wisdom of this country having fixed the American dollar exchange at 4·87 and raising the exchange in India from 1s. 4d. to 1s. 6d. One was compelled to ask the question whether, by doing that, they had not lessened the purchasing power of the agriculturist and people in both countries. The unemployment and bad trade that was seen in this country and in India was attributable, more or less, to the currency policy of both these countries. The reason why France had not the unemployment of this country was because she was wiser in keeping her currency down to a figure at which the country could progress. These factors were keeping back progress in India, and unless the Government of India put these matters right, no material progress would be made. The Government of India must not only appoint a proper Industrial Department, as the Chairman had suggested, but it must be at the back of industries as well as agriculture by backing up financially wherever it could. This was the reason for Japan's progress in the last thirty years; the Government of that country was behind its industries helping them, and not putting obstacles in their way in the shape of income tax and super tax.

Mr. F. J. PLYMEN said that a great deal was heard at the present time about subsidiary industries for the agriculturist. Enquiries had been made as to what could be done to give agriculturists more employment. The one person who did not appear to want more employment and more subsidiary industries was the agriculturist. He thought that they might do considerable harm if they tried to divert the agriculturist from his agriculture and give him what were called subsidiary occupations.

In regard to sugar cane, he did not think that they were justified in putting too much hope in that; it was a crop that required a lot of money; it also required a lot of water, and water was not always available. He did not think that they could expect sugar cane to develop extensively as a main crop in India.

He thought that the increased demand for chemical manures was largely due to the considerable reduction in price which had taken place. A few years ago sulphate of ammonia was being sold at Rs. 220 a ton; it was now being sold at something like Rs. 160 a ton.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON: I have been very interested in the discussion which has followed, as I think Sir Ernest Low said, upon lines other than those on which I intended it to develop. There is, therefore, not a great deal for me to reply to.

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The chief point was raised by our Chairman, who said that he disagreed with my opinion that India would never become a great industrial country. I think we really only differ in the meaning of the word "great." I had in view, when writing, a comparison of India and of, say, the United States. Possibly he would agree with me that the prospects of India from its lack of natural resources are hardly likely to lead to such an intense industrial development as has occurred there. After all, the natural resources, except those of the soil, gradually get exhausted, and the relative positions of countries will change, from century to century, all the more rapidly in the future than in the past, owing to the extreme rate at which minerals are being exhausted. I think it was mentioned that the Indian iron and steel industry, which is so very important, depends upon a comparatively limited supply of coal suitable for coking.

Several speakers, beginning with Lord Lamington, have alluded to the pessimistic attitude of the latter half of the paper. I think that the remarks have been made without bearing in mind the relative position of the criticisms which I offered. In the early part of the paper I distinctly said that there had been enormous and great progress, and that a wealthy community had been created in India. I also said that that wealthy community arithmetically formed but a very small proportion of the population. There are about 10 million people living on modern industries who are comparatively wealthy. There are probably on the 25 million acres of improved cultivation another 25 or 30 million people, and we can safely say that during the present century the material condition of from one-fourth to one-fifth of the people of India has advanced enormously; but you can hardly describe a country as making satisfactory progress in every respect when from 70 to 80 per cent. of the population are still living on almost the margin of subsistence. That is what I wanted to draw attention to today. Whilst there is a very large amount of wealth accumulating in India, widespread poverty still exists, and among the lower classes there has been, so far as I can judge from my own observations and from records that I have seen, very little improvement during the past century in their condition.

I wanted also to draw attention to the various causes of a more or less widespread character which contributed to that unsatisfactory state of affairs. One of them is that the great increase in land values has improved the position of the landholders at the expense of the landless labourers and artisans. India is trenching every year more and more on the margin of cultivation, and those who have to live close to the margin do not get a very fat livelihood.

Then again, this absorption of gold is a very great cause of poverty amongst the people, because, if you take only the figures for the present century, something like £800,000,000 is locked up which, at 6 per cent., means an annual charge on the country of nearly £50,000,000. It is not only an annual loss to the country, but it prevents developments going forward which might earn a very much larger return than mere interest on the money.

I think that Sir David Chadwick referred to the fact that marketing

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facilities were imperfectly developed, and in that matter I agree with him to a large extent.

As an example of what can be achieved, reference has been made to the recent development of use of fertilizers in India, which is mainly due to the propaganda work undertaken by two of the great chemical combines which are dealing with the supply of artificial manures.

As regards the improvement of sugar-cane cultivation, Mr. Plymen said that he did not agree with me on account of the difficulties inherent in the growth of what was essentially a capitalist crop. It is a capitalist crop, and there is no doubt that a large amount of capital is required to produce sugar; but my main point is that the land is already under sugar-cane cultivation, and by the application of capital and by the application of modern methods of working the land and the manufacturing of the product, the supply of sugar from that area of land might be easily doubled. It might be interesting to refer to a particular case in the Mysore State, where there are some 150,000 acres to be shortly brought under irrigation. Something like 4 crores of rupees have been spent in constructing the reservoir on the Cauvery river, and the question is now under discussion as to whether some crores of rupees should be spent in developing the land under the tank. One of the greatest causes of failure in the development of Indian agriculture has been due to the fact that whilst we have spent very large sums on the construction of irrigation works, we have spent almost nothing on putting the ryot in a way to obtain a better return from the water so freely supplied to him than he is able to get with his primitive and very wasteful methods of cultivation. The position seems to be analogous to constructing a large workshop, filling it full of elaborate machinery, and then handing it over to ignorant workmen to run. That is literally how we have treated our irrigation works in India. It is only in recent years that the Agricultural Departments have been in a position to advise in the matter, and now that they are able to do so it is desirable that new irrigation works like those now under construction in Mysore should not be put in operation till plans have been worked out whereby the best possible use can be made of the water.

Sir NESS WADIA: What about the Sukhur Barrage?

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON: I do not know enough about it in detail to enable me to deal with it here, but the cultivators in Scinde will want just as much assistance as the ryots who are going to cultivate land under the new irrigation works in the Mysore State.

Mr. KESAVAIYENGAR: That has been put up with a twofold object—one is electricity and the other is irrigation. Irrigation is the secondary one of them; the other is agricultural conditions.

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON: In the case to which I am referring in the Mysore State it is true that the dam crossing the river was built to supply water for the hydro-electric scheme, but it was made very much higher than was necessary for that purpose in order to supply irrigation for a large tract of land, and a large capital outlay has been incurred not only on making the dam much higher but on constructing channels to distribute the water to the land. All that I approve of; but the work should not

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stop at that point. Capital ought to be forthcoming to make the best possible use of the land and of the water.

Sir Ness Wadia challenged the figures which I have given regarding the acreage of cotton. He is an expert in the matter, and I have only taken my figures from Government returns. It is just possible that I have made a clerical error in the matter. I will have that looked up, and I will alter the figures, if it is necessary to do so, in the final report of this meeting.

Then he referred to the currency policy. I am afraid that it is getting much too late this afternoon to follow him too closely. I hope he will excuse me for not defending the position, which I should certainly do, of the enhanced value given to the rupee.

As regards the last remark of Mr. Plymen, which dealt mainly with the question of the recent development of the use of fertilizers in the south of India, all I can say is that it is almost entirely due to commercial propaganda. I think the remarks of Sir Ernest Low on the question of commercial penetration are also very much to the point.

Sir M. M. BHOWNAGGREE proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and to the Lecturer, which was heartily received.

The CHAIRMAN having thanked the meeting on behalf of the Lecturer and himself, the proceedings terminated.

Sir JAMES SIMPSON, not having had opportunity to take part in the discussion, writes:

"Anyone who has known Sir Alfred Chatterton for over thirty years, as I have done in Madras, would naturally expect any paper from him to be informative and provocative of thought. And having heard today's paper, 'India's Progress and India's Poverty,' I am sure they could not have been disappointed in these two respects. The man who virtually founded the Department of Industries in the Madras Presidency, and who later set Mysore on the path of industrial progress, speaks with authority on any question of Indian economics, and is always listened to with respect. As our Chairman pointed out, Sir Alfred's membership of the Industrial Service Commission was of signal service to India, and since then, in the varying fields of agriculture, commerce, and industry, he has become known as one of the foremost economists on Indian subjects.

"There are three points in his paper I would like to touch upon very briefly. *The first* is with his reference to 'Government paper for women.' This is an entirely novel suggestion to me. It might be characterized as a kind of brain wave, if it could only be made to work as the distinguished Lecturer outlines. It ought to commend itself to a harassed Finance Member as a brilliant suggestion that might even remove the reproach of India being 'the sink of the precious metals.' But I am wondering if Sir Alfred would not find his 'snag' in the women of India themselves not being willing to give up their adornment of tinkling silver anklets, and gold bangles, and jewelled nose rings and earrings, for a post-office certificate to be kept unseen in a box! All the same, I would very much like to see this suggestion ventilated and probed into.

"*The second point* I have noted is under the head of motor traffic, and

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there is no manner of doubt that Sir Alfred is on sure ground in referring to this as an important new trade. Anyone who has spent the last two or three years in India cannot but be amazed at its enormous growth, and the potentiality it has on India's progress generally. A few years ago, villagers who lived fairly close to the Presidency town, say, seldom had a chance to come in 'to see the sights.' Now, the motor bus brings the villagers in, in crowds, daily, from as far distant as thirty or fifty miles. This, in itself, may not be an unmixed blessing, but the motor vehicle has come to stay, and I agree with Sir Alfred that 'the limit of saturation has certainly not yet been reached.' May I read an extract from a letter my firm received from Vizagapatam by last mail, only two days ago?

> "'At the present moment, sales of buses are being very much hampered owing to District Board restrictions on the number of buses which are allowed to ply on the various routes, while in Ganjam the very high licence fees are greatly restricting sales. In Ganjam fees are roughly double what they are in Vizagapatam, while Vizagapatam in its turn is nearly double Godaveri.'

"I am not in a position to say anything to advantage about the different policies of different District Boards, but it would seem a pity if the more conservative or less enterprising Boards should hinder or handicap or deprive villages and towns in their Districts of the motor services that willing pioneers are quite ready to establish.

"*The third and last point* I would like a word upon is Sir Alfred's remarks regarding 'Mass Poverty.' I am inclined to agree with Lord Lamington that the facts given by the Lecturer in the early part of his paper hardly warrant the somewhat pessimistic conclusions he arrives at. I confess to a feeling of disappointment to hear Sir Alfred say, in the course of his argument on 'Mass Poverty'—'European enterprise is not lacking in India, but it has equally failed in achievement.' . . .

"I am under the impression that the 'three quarters of a century of British effort' mentioned by Sir Alfred in his opening sentence marks no small achievement. Speaking in the Indian Legislative Assembly at Simla in September, 1928, while opposing the Coastal Reservation Bill (a piece of discriminatory legislation, the principle of which, if persisted in, will, in my opinion, do more harm to India's agriculture, commerce and industry than the present ephemeral unrest, picketing of shops, and boycott), I remember saying something like this:

> "'I wonder if the House realizes, sir, to what height among the great trading nations of the world India has been raised by British and and Indian co-operation. Sir, there are only four nations in the world that exceed India in annual volume of trade—Great Britain, the United States of America, Germany and France.'

"I do not think that savours of having 'failed in achievement.' I am content to leave it at that.

"As an old friend of the Chairman, having met him over a long series of years as a brother Governor of the Imperial Bank of India, at its meetings in Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, I was more than pleased to hear his reassuring remarks on the present unrest in India. It would be a great

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good thing if leading Indians, and captains of industry, like Sir Maneckji and Sir Ness Wadia, would let their voice be heard, in no uncertain sound, in helping their more timid fellow-countrymen and Indian traders in the bazaars generally to have more backbone and to stand up against such political manœuvres as boycott and picketing. The motto of all friends of India should be 'Business as usual.'"

Sir ALFRED CHATTERTON writes: "I desire to make one comment upon Sir James Simpson's letter. The 'failure in achievement' refers only to the broadening of the basis of industry in India during the present century, and was brought to notice as an argument to support the contention that the position in India was an extremely difficult one and required measures which could not be undertaken without the assistance of the State." He was entirely at one with Sir James Simpson in his opinion regarding the results of collaboration between East and West to develop the internal resources of India, but his paper was a review of past effort with the object of indicating, so far as he was able, the direction in which action was wanted in the future. He had some experience of the difficulties of pioneering modern industrial methods in India, and that enabled him to fully appreciate the immense value of the work that had been done by private effort under conditions which were, for historical reasons, unprecedented and to which experience gained elsewhere was not always applicable."

Mr. J. B. PENNINGTON writes: "The only paper I ever read before the East India Association was on the 'Poverty of India,' and that was in 1893. Sir Alfred says that the causes of poverty 'are well understood,' but only specifies as a cure a great change in the mentality of the people leading to a desire for a higher standard of living and capable of restricting their reproductive instincts. 'Improvement in this respect,' as he says, 'depends on obtaining a better return from the soil'; and, no doubt, the ryot has as much to learn in that way as the average English farmer; but give him reliable irrigation, and I doubt if any agriculturist in the world gets more out of the land than the Indian ryot as I knew him sixty years ago.

"When I went back again to my old district (over nineteen years ago) I found land selling at Rs. 3,000 an acre, and paying six or seven per cent. at that price, and one ryot spending Rs. 1,500 (or more) in cutting down some rocky land to make it fit for irrigation. He, at any rate, was neither poor nor unenterprising. But Sir Alfred goes on to say that 'European enterprise is not lacking, but has really failed in achievement.' This seems to me even more astonishing. I can only speak of the small bit of India I once knew better than I ever knew any part of my native land, but Sir Alfred must have known 'Harvey Bros.,' the successful mill-owners in South India, and their model mill at Papanasam, worked by the direct action of water brought by a channel two miles long from the river above the celebrated falls. They were simply canny Scots, and when they discovered that the equally canny Vellala women of Tinnevelly refused to wear mill-woven cloth, they confined themselves to spinning the yarn and soon made the weavers in those parts so prosperous that Kaladakurichi,

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which in my time was only a large and tolerably flourishing agricultural village, soon became a great banking centre.

"Everyone who really knows the south of India, at any rate, knows that the primary cause of agricultural poverty is the fragmentation of the holdings owing (originally) to the Hindu Law of Inheritance; but the Hindus naturally don't like that to be denounced as the chief cause. Strange as it may seem, another cause is extravagance on marriages and ceremonies: the poorer the people the less idea they have of economy in such matters; they will go into debt to the money-lender for years on account of one wedding.

"I cannot follow Sir Alfred all through his remarks on the 'Natural Wealth of India,' but I prefer to believe it to be 'a wealthy country inhabited by an excessive proportion of poor people'; otherwise how are we to account for the enormous quantities of gold it absorbs? As he says himself, 'It is possible that even the poor are better off than they seem to be,' but it is quite certain they have never had their fair share of the wealth they have helped to create. I agree with Sir Reginald Craddock that the alleged extreme poverty of India is just as fabulous as its alleged former wealth in old days. If about thirteen per cent. of the people never have a full meal a day, as Sir Charles Elliott said, we are also told by Mr. Charles Booth that ten per cent. of the population in this wealthy country are 'permanently submerged,' and live far more wretched lives in our slums than any of the poor in an Indian village.

"Extreme poverty is not as hard to bear in the south of India, at any rate, as in England or any of the colder parts of Europe. What did the Muhammadan non-commissioned officer who had just landed at Brindisi from a famine district of India (Bellary) say on the subject? He said he had never seen such poverty-stricken people in his life as the beggars who beset him there."

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INDIAN UNREST AND AMERICAN OPINION

By Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E.

It is, I believe, not unusual that on such occasions as this the lecturer should commence his address by enunciating his conviction of his incompetence to deal with the subject which his paper is intended to cover. In my own case I do not propose to depart from precedent; but I should like to explain the reason why I approach the consideration of this interesting subject with something more than the ordinary diffidence of a lecturer addressing a learned audience.

To deal with the subject of American opinion in its relation to the present unrest in India involves a double task. It is insufficient, as it seems to me, merely to describe the views held by certain classes of the American people on the present situation in India. Were this the sole necessity for an adequate consideration of the subject of my paper, I should approach my task with more confidence. For, as many of my audience know, I have but recently returned from a hurried but very illuminating visit to the United States, in the course of which I enjoyed exceptional opportunities of coming into contact with many shades of American opinion, and of eliciting their respective views upon events in India. But so to treat the subject which I am endeavouring to discuss, would, as it seems to me, be misleading. A mere description of the views of individuals, or even of sections of opinion, would represent a passage divorced from its original context, and would, if I may be allowed a comparison, prove as fallacious to a British audience as the bare facts of the present Indian situation, as reported in many sections of the American Press, seem to have proved to many individuals in America.

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It is necessary, as it seems to me, first to describe the general background of ideas to which the American people endeavour to relate all foreign news, whether emanating from India or from any other part of the world. Only by so doing can the real significance of United States' opinion in regard to the Indian situation be properly evaluated. But it is precisely the necessity of describing this background which I approach with such diffidence. To generalize upon the basis of one's own knowledge of the United States, whether derived from the impressions formed on this recent, or on previous, visits, is all too easy, but to satisfy oneself that these generalizations are anything more than ordinary rules of thumb, of value only so far as one personally is concerned, is considerably more difficult. Nevertheless, I feel it necessary to make some attempt to describe this general background of American ideology, since only by so doing can I bring American opinion upon the present unrest in India into what I believe to be its real perspective.

Idealism of the People

It is necessary, I believe, to remember that idealism holds a permanent place in the mind of the average American. It is all too easy for the casual visitor, impressed as he necessarily is by the hurry and rush of American business life, to overlook this essential factor in the composition of the American mind. To do so is to run the risk of misunderstanding the entire mental background of the American people. The fact is that the majority of Americans, at least in my experience, bring to the consideration of anything which interests them politically certain fundamental assumptions, in relation to which they tend to interpret the facts of any given case. These assumptions, as they seem to me, are held instinctively rather than as a matter of reason. For example, I think that the majority of Americans firmly believe that in the case of two contending parties the weaker is pretty certain to be right. They further consider that any ruling class in whatever country is almost certain to abuse its power. Again,

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they always tend to associate political dependence with commercial exploitation.

In passing, I should like to remark that this element of idealism, particularly in political life; this tendency to bring every issue to the test of what are regarded as fundamental assumptions, is precisely the factor which renders American opinion rather difficult of comprehension by the outside world. When President Wilson enunciated his principles of self-determination and formulated his fourteen points, he was, in effect, talking pure American; and even those of his countrymen who did not, and still do not, agree with him, find his general line of thought far more familiar to them than even his warmest supporters in other nations.

Incidentally, it is not enough for our purpose to describe in these general terms such instinctive beliefs as those I have mentioned. It is also necessary to remember that on all questions to which Britain is a party these instincts take on a sharper and more pointed form. It must never be forgotten by those who desire to understand American feeling in relation to this class of questions that the American people won their nationality by a successful revolution against British arms. They are thus by tradition anti-imperial if not anti-British; and the revolutionary tradition is kept alive by the celebration of national festivals, by the exaltation of national heroes, and by a conscious striving to perpetuate a certain type of mentality. It would be wrong, in this connection, to overlook the problem of assimilation of divers races with which the American people have for so long been faced. National tradition is the essential factor in the creation of nationality; and the necessity of converting numbers of immigrants belonging to almost every European country into good Americans has rendered the perpetuation of national traditions a matter of most vital moment.

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The Historical Perspective

This it is, I believe, which accounts for the sedulous inculcation in American schools of a somewhat narrow view of the history of the American revolution. For it has been found necessary, in pursuance of the policy of building up a national tradition, to display the imagined antithesis between the forces of freedom and the forces of imperialism with a clarity which history itself does not justify. Only by the inculcation of a revolutionary tradition has the assimilation of so many different nationalities been rendered even remotely possible. As we all know, such publicists as Wister, and such historians as Van Tyne, have laboured earnestly to diffuse throughout their country a view of the revolutionary period which is at once more in accordance with the facts of history, and less calculated to display Great Britain as the unmitigated villain of the piece. But there is a strong sentiment against any such process. It is perhaps permissible to allow ourselves to be diverted by the vagaries of Mayor Thompson in his strenuous endeavours to "make Chicago safe from King George"; and to eliminate from the use of the schools under his control all text-books which contain even a hint that the revolution was something other than the revolt of an oppressed people against brutal imperialism. But we should not forget that Mayor Thompson has been re-elected, and may easily be re-elected again. The section of opinion for which he stands is by no means negligible today.

Sectional Influences

In addition to the strong revolutionary tradition, which of itself is likely, in the event of any friction between Great Britain and another member of the British Commonwealth, to predispose American opinion to cast itself into the scale which is not our own, it should be remembered that there are in operation today in certain parts of the United States sectional influences of a kind definitely hostile to this country. From my own observations I am inclined to believe that the most

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important of these influences is still that exerted by the Irish. We should do wrong to forget that Irish Americans of the second, or even of the third, generation are often animated by a hostility to Britain which is none the less formidable because it is traditional, instinctive, and unreasoned. And while it is true that the anti-British attitude of many Irish Americans has been immensely modified since the Irish Free State attained its autonomy, it would be too much to expect that the old bitterness towards England, more particularly that type of bitterness which is instinctive rather than reasoned, should have disappeared. I believe that the old fighting organizations such as Clan Na-Gael are either disappearing or losing their influence ; but there are many Irish societies of a less definitely political type which serve to perpetuate Irish traditions and keep alive bitter memories. It is, of course, a commonplace—and I only mention it to complete the picture —that men of Irish blood have displayed a peculiar genius for American politics. They are still found in what may be called key political positions from coast to coast. And in all the important cities, which still exercise a preponderating share of political influence, the Irish element is almost universally to be reckoned with. Even today, as it seems to me, this element is, broadly speaking, anti-British.

Nor should it be forgotten that there is another important national influence, less widely diffused than the Irish, which is for the most part almost equally resented of British successes, and almost equally elated by Britain's difficulties—namely, the Germans. It is unnecessary for me to inform this audience that the great stronghold of German influence is in the Middle West, that portion of America which, in the last two decades, has been exercising, from its phenomenal prosperity, an increasing influence upon every branch of American national thought.

Indians in the U.S.A.

While these two influences might be expected to infuse a vaguely anti-British tone into those sections of American

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opinion where their power is manifest, they might easily have lacked a conscious focus, even in existing circumstances, had it not been for the presence of a third element, that of the Indians in America. It is not very easy to form a precise idea of the numerical strength of this element, but it seems to exist in greater or lesser numbers in the majority of important cities in the United States. I was informed that in New York alone there were something like 1,600 Indians, taking business men, technical apprentices and university students together. I myself certainly formed the impression, for what it is worth, that very many of these Indians hold extreme political views. But in this connection it is necessary to remember that they live, to some extent, in isolation, and are largely dependent on one another for their social contacts. In these circumstances it is easy to conceive that even a small element of professed, or even professional, revolutionaries would be in a position to exert so much pressure upon men of more moderate views as to make things very uncomfortable for any individual sufficiently daring to express a moderate opinion. Indeed, I was informed that when a distinguished Indian statesman paid a visit to the Middle West and delivered himself of sentiments which, though most eminently patriotic, were far from being of a revolutionary type, he received so plain an intimation from certain of his own countrymen that his life was in danger, that the State Department found itself obliged to provide him with a guard of Secret Service men.

At the same time, I must not be understood to imply, far less to state, that all the Indians in the United States profess extreme political views, or, indeed, that all are interested in politics. That there is a definite revolutionary element, both in the East, in the Middle West and on the Pacific Coast, admits of no question. But there is beyond doubt a large class of Indians who pursue their avocations, whether as students or as business men, without reference to political activities, partly, I should conjecture, because their views are less extreme than those fashionable among their more politi-

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cally minded fellow-residents. I am strengthened in this conjecture by my belief that, leaving aside those speakers who extol revolutionary ideas in the Press and from the platform, there are a considerable number of excellent persons, many of them scholars of repute, who have been attracted to America by the lavish patronage extended during the last few years to Indian art, Indian culture, and Indian philosophy.

Money-Making Mystics

I rather fear that the scholarly class, which I believe to be none too numerous, suffers in some degree in its reputation from the presence of certain persons who endeavour to exploit that love of Oriental mysticism which appeals to some American ladies of the leisured class. A certain proportion of those who today profess to expound to certain classes of persons in the United States the ancient philosophical thought of India frequently possess few qualifications for their important task.

The technique, I gathered from inquiries from certain of my American friends, is somewhat as follows :

The Indian gentleman visits an American city, preferably of a medium size, and his arrival is heralded in the Press. He stays at a good hotel ; he dresses picturesquely ; his enunciation of the permanence of eternal verities and his denunciation of the materialism of the Western World strikes a responsive chord in the breasts of American idealists. He announces a course of lectures which are often largely attended. Each member of the audience receives a printed card stating that the lecturer may be consulted by individuals desirous of studying the higher truths, and, in some cases, adds the consultation fees. In due course the Indian "mystic" moves somewhere else. To underrate the effect of this propaganda, despite its technically non-political character, would be a mistake, since it instils into certain Americans of wealth and leisure a wholly uncritical admiration of everything Indian, which does not predispose them to take an unbiassed view of

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any issue which could be represented as a conflict between India and Great Britain.

I am inclined to think that this class of lecturer, however, does not appeal particularly either to the Irish or the German element, whose interests in the Indo-British question are far less cultural than political. The Irish and the German society provide, so it seems to me, the best and most friendly audiences for the Indian who lectures on political matters and who extols independence by the path of revolution.

In this connection, there is an observation of some importance which I would desire to make. It was from American men of affairs, who did not belong to the Irish and to the German groups, men, in short, who might perhaps be taken as typical of the backbone of American opinion, that I encountered the severest criticism of Indian lecturers of both classes. Such men are not impressed by the professors of Oriental mysticism, while they find the revolutionary lecturer stronger in rhetoric than in fact. I firmly believe that the growing realisation by men of this class that they have so far heard only one side of the Indo-British case has been responsible for an increasing tendency, most noticeable about the time I left the United States, to suspend judgment, to deprecate hasty generalisations, and to inform itself of the real facts.

Preponderant Views

It will be observed that thus far my attempted analysis has concerned itself mainly with the influence exercised by the Irish-American, German-American, and Indian groups. The audience will naturally expect me to deal with what may be called American-American opinion. But I desire to explain that the reason why I have placed what may for want of a better term be called the antagonistic element in such prominence is my own experience of the sectionalism of American opinion. Over and over again in the course of my recent visit to the United States I have been confronted with the confident assertion on the part of certain classes of persons to whom I have talked that there was no such thing in their

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country as any anti-British opinion or sympathy for the Indian revolutionary movement. These persons were both surprised and incredulous when I told them that to my judgment anti-British and pro-Indian opinion was far more prominent throughout the country as a whole than pro-British opinion.

I emphasise this sectionalism, moreover, because the average Englishman visiting the United States, unless he takes pains to mix with Americans of all classes and all occupations, is quite likely to encounter among the circle of his friends only those opinions which are characteristic of that particular group. This fact doubtless accounts for the diverse estimates which have appeared in the British Press from Englishmen who have visited the United States regarding the general trend of American opinion toward the present situation in India. For my own part, I do not regard it as possible, after a systematic and impartial survey, to question the fact that the anti-British elements in American opinion are both more vocal and more active at the present juncture than the pro-British elements.

If so vague a generalisation were permissible, I should feel inclined to say that those classes of the American people who are most interested, at least from a detached and intellectual point of view, in foreign affairs, often profess a sentimental predisposition in favour of the Indian revolutionary movement; while the men of affairs, the business men and the professional classes, whose interest in India, though keen, is of recent growth, tend on the whole to sympathise with Britain's difficulties and to deprecate the active sympathy displayed by the radical intellectuals towards subversive opinion in India. The fact that radical opinion has been for some time interested in India, and is better acquainted with the facts of the Indian case, even though these facts are by no means impartially presented, has given it a certain advantage at a time when general interest in India is keen and when there is anxiety on the part of many sections of opinion hitherto but slightly interested to acquire a more adequate knowledge of the Indian problem.

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The Three Belts

It is a commonplace that, geographically speaking, the United States may, from the standpoint of opinion, be divided into three belts. So far as the Eastern States and the Atlantic Coast generally is concerned, the outlook of the average American seems to me wider and less provincial than elsewhere. It is closer to Europe, more in touch with world problems, and its general level of education is very high. Added to which, it is from the East Coast that many of those statesmen who have of recent years shaped American policy have been drawn. I seem to detect throughout many sections of the population in this part of America a great basis of good-will towards Britain; a considerable sympathy, based upon its own recent experiences in connection with the Philippines, Mexico, and Central America, with the practical difficulties which Great Britain is at the moment encountering in India. And despite the strength of the Irish element in many of the greater cities, I was left with the impression that, on the whole, the Eastern seaboard of the United States was inclined to regard the Indian independence movement with suspicion, and to consider that Great Britain was handling the Indian situation with tact, moderation, and skill.

The same generalisation cannot, as it seems to me, be made concerning the Middle West and West. Opinion here is far more provincial, doubts the efficacy of America's interest in world affairs, and is inclined to test the Indian situation solely by the manner in which it seems to square with the abstract principles of freedom and self-determination. It seemed to me that in the Middle West there was far less real knowledge of India, and far stronger prejudices in regard to Britain's policy towards that country. The detachment of the Middle West from world affairs and its concentration upon matters of domestic policy has, of course, for long been a commonplace. Situated as it is in the middle of a vast land mass of the United States, education in regard to external matters proceeds somewhat slowly. As an example of this,

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I would cite a statement made to me by several well-informed persons, that if the United States had entered the last war in 1914 or 1915—at a time, that is, before any realisation of the issues involved had penetrated to the centre of the country—certain of the Western States would undoubtedly have seceded.

It seems to me that in the Middle West and Western States lies at the moment a really active sympathy towards the Indian revolutionary movement. In regard to the Pacific Coast, I must be even more cautious in my generalisations, since I was not able in the course of my present visit to carry my investigations as far afield. But my knowledge of this region, derived from two visits within a few years, combined with a careful study of its Press, inclines me to believe that there is a considerable amount of sympathy, at least in the abstract, with the Indian independence movement. The Pacific Coast, it should be remembered, has its eyes upon the East and not on the West ; it is the home of strange semi-mystical cults, and there has for some years been a considerable Oriental element in the population. But I should feel inclined to question whether the sympathy expressed in this region towards the Indian independence movement is anything more than a matter of sentiment. The Pacific Coast region has Oriental problems of its own to deal with ; a fact which brings it closely in touch with the practical difficulties of adjusting Eastern and Western civilisations.

I must now endeavour to bring this very sketchy analysis of the American background to a focus, so that American opinion in regard to the unrest in India may be more clearly appreciated. Here, again, I fear that I must indulge in generalisations which are only too vulnerable.

Uninformed but Eager to Know

I should like in the first place to state my belief that the average American knows no more of the realities of the Indian situation today than does the average Englishman of conditions in the Philippines. But the keenness of the American's

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interest, his eagerness to find out more than he knows at present, is in great contrast to our own somewhat apathetic attitude towards those world matters with which we are not, as a nation, directly concerned. This general ignorance in regard to the facts, combined with an eagerness to discover what they are, is, as I have already hinted, augmenting the influence of those persons, often belonging to left wing opinion, who have for some years studied Indian conditions, even though this study has been pursued from a purely partisan standpoint. It is for this reason, as it seems to me, that the small but very vocal section of Indian revolutionary opinion has exercised a greater share in forming the sentiments of many Americans than is generally realised even by the persons concerned.

Even more influential than this factor has been the attitude of the Press. The situation in India is so complicated that the task with which the American Press found itself confronted of explaining this situation to a largely uninformed public has proved of surpassing difficulty. I should like to pay a respectful tribute to the general anxiety of the American Press to elicit facts on the Indian situation and to present them as clearly as possible. For while the anti-British Press, the Press that caters specifically for those sections of opinion which I have already described, has rejoiced in another opportunity of "twisting the lion's tail," the great mass of the Press in America is endeavouring to preserve impartiality, and, where it has erred, has erred through the natural failure to interpret the news despatches from India in the light of a background hardly to be achieved by anyone without personal experience of Indian conditions today. In other words, the defect has been one of perspective and not one of intention. Nevertheless, the fact remains that, in general, the American Press, with the exception of the really great and well-informed newspapers, has indulged in an extreme simplification of the present situation in regard to Indian unrest.

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The Gandhi Legend

In this endeavour to make plain to uninformed readers the salient facts of the present Indian crisis, it has tended to dramatise the conflict in a somewhat misleading manner. This is particularly noticeable in connection with the personality of Mr. Gandhi. Thanks to the efforts of brilliant publicists like Rolland, Mr. Gandhi, at least in the aspect of a moral reformer, has become a world figure. He has been extolled from American pulpits; he has been adored in American drawing-rooms. Somewhat naturally, many sections of the Press have seized upon the dramatic antithesis between this small, frail, emaciated ascetic, and the Great Empire whose might he is defying. In which connection it must be stated that Mr. Gandhi has been at pains to cultivate American opinion, the importance of which he fully realises. It was nothing less than a stroke of genius on his part to seize upon the salt tax as the centre point of his campaign. Whether he did or did not anticipate this effect, the analogy between his solemn manufacture of illicit salt and the famous Boston Tea Party proved too tempting to be passed over by large sections of the American Press. I have myself seen, not one, but several editorials, even in papers of considerable influence, which took as their text the statement that Britain lost America through tea and was about to lose India through salt.

When once this dramatisation of Mr. Gandhi as the antagonist of the British Empire had been made, there was naturally a tendency to associate with him the championship of all those general principles of freedom and self-determination, the cult of revolution, and the latent memories of 1776, which formed so essential a part of the background of many American minds. Ignorant as they were of the complexities of the Indian situation, to many Americans Mr. Gandhi stood forth as the champion of an oppressed nation long kept by Great Britain—as they were being sedulously informed by many Indian speakers—in ignorance, poverty, and economic servitude. The picture was further completed by the impres-

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sion, also assiduously cultivated in anti-British quarters, that Mr. Gandhi stood forth as the leader of a united people.

To the great majority of Americans India is still the land of the Hindus. Americans have scarcely heard of the Mohammedans except when some Indian lecturer assures them that Hindu-Muslim unity is an accomplished fact. Americans know nothing, as a rule, of the conflicting national ambitions of such peoples as the Mahrattas and of the Sikhs, they have barely heard of the Indian States, and have only just begun to realise the importance of the Indian Princes in the scheme of things. In consequence, there has been a tendency to represent Mr. Gandhi not merely as a national leader, but, what is very different, as the leader of a nation. Americans are not acquainted with the situation which developed in 1921-1922, and have heard little or nothing of Mr. Gandhi's failure on that occasion. They have heard a great deal about Amritsar, but know nothing of the circumstances of which that lamentable incident formed a part. Unacquainted as they are with the previous history of India, they know nothing of the importance of the problems of defence. They do not realise the difficulties of the frontier any more than they appreciate the immense racial, religious, and linguistic distinctions which together diversify the sub-continent of India.

The Distorted Perspective

The general result of the application, to a situation with the details of which they are imperfectly acquainted, of those general principles, emphasised by sectional interests which I have already described, has been to produce in many quarters instinctively favourable to Britain a failure to view the present Indian unrest in its right perspective. I could quote numerous examples, but must content myself with a few taken at random.

It is confidently affirmed that the National Congress stands for a complete unofficial representation of the entire Indian people, which is not recognised as a Parliament only because Great Britain is too reactionary to introduce parliamentary

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institutions. Nothing or very little is known of the various stages by which Great Britain has already attempted to associate the governed with the Government in India. The very real advance represented by the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms; the various declarations by British sovereigns and British statesmen in regard to the acquisition by India of a position in the British Commonwealth corresponding to that enjoyed by the other Dominions, the careful and laborious investigation recently conducted by the Simon Commission, the project of a round table conference in October—all these, and many other considerations of primary importance have been too imperfectly appreciated to exercise the influence which they deserve upon the judgment of the average American.

A False Analogy

From the position which I have described, the transition is easy to the further assertion, until recently, at least, firmly believed by many Americans, that the present Indian unrest is an armed revolt of a united people against a grasping imperialism, and that the situation in India today is strictly analogous to that of the American Colonies at the time of the War of Independence. This view of the case has been actively pressed by various revolutionary and quasi-revolutionary organisations inspired by some of the Indians resident in the United States. I was recently informed, on excellent authority, that attempts are being made to supplement the resolution introduced into the Senate some time ago for the recognition of Indian independence by another resolution recognising what are called the "belligerency rights" of Indian insurgents. By this phrase, the promoters mean, I understand, that all those taken in arms against the British in India should be treated as prisoners of war, and not as rebels against constituted authority. I should mention incidentally in this connection that neither the resolution previously introduced, nor the latter resolution of which I have here made mention, is regarded as possessing the slightest chance of passage

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through the Senate. But the fact that their introduction into a body so responsible should have been feasible at all indicates, in my judgment, the general unwisdom of taking too optimistic a view of the trend of American opinion towards the present crisis in India.

Thus, passing over the false view of the position of the National Congress into a still falser view of the general independence movement in India, it has been easy for American opinion to misinterpret the news despatches sent from the scene of action. Such headlines as: "British abandon Peshawar"; "Gandhi's Armies capture Sholapur"; "British lose another Indian Town"; "Forces of Independence win another Stronghold," have until recently been the commonplaces of all but a few great and well-informed American newspapers. And, as will readily be realised from what I have already said, the average American reader detected no incongruity between these very alarming headlines and the picture of the Indian situation which was present in his own mind.

Somewhat naturally, in view of these facts, every disturbance reported from India was, regardless of its precise origin or particular circumstances, ascribed to the exploits of Mr. Gandhi's armed forces. Whether the disturbance originated from the carters' strike in Calcutta, from subversive activity on the North-West Frontier, or from communal riots in the United Provinces, was a matter of no moment. Each and every incident was taken as indicative of the progress of the Indian revolution, so that in many quarters which one might normally have expected to find better informed the idea that India from Kashmir to Cape Comorin was in a flame of revolt found ready acceptance.

Objective Presentations

Fortunately, however, before I left the United States there were distinct symptoms that this general failure to recognise the true perspective of the present Indian unrest was being remedied. Even when the average American audience is not well informed it is very far from being credulous. It is highly

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distrustful of anything that can be represented as propaganda, and is quick to detect when it is being spoon-fed. It is suspicious of anything but a purely objective presentation of facts. In consequence, this fallacious view of the Indian situation, upon which I have dwelt at such length, is gradually being corrected as the facts are becoming known. Indeed, I think it will be no over-statement to say that at the present time it is becoming recognised with increasing force in America, first, that the Indian situation is so complicated that any clear-cut antithesis between Gandhi as leader of the Indian nation and the British Government as representing a jealous imperialism is entirely fallacious ; consequently, that the party in India which demands independence is far from being representative of the whole country ; secondly, that Great Britain, so far from turning a deaf ear to all calls for liberalisation, is now working steadily in the face of considerable difficulties towards the goal of Dominion status for India.

Suspension of Judgment

I should like, in conclusion, to sum up this rapid and all too superficial survey of American opinion upon Indian unrest by stating that I believe that the great gain during the last month or so from Britain's point of view has been the tendency on the part of even those quarters which originally condemned this country to suspend judgment until after the Round Table Conference in October. In other words, this country is being watched to see if she rises to what are regarded as the requirements of the Indian situation. Further, those solid and influential sections of American opinion which realise with increasing force the difficulties in India with which Great Britain is confronted, find themselves confirmed in their judgment that Britain's great experience is likely to make the Indian problem just one more of those many world problems which she has overcome in the course of her long history.

I find this opinion generally strong among American bankers, business and professional men, particularly those with first-hand experience of India, and also among the pro-

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fessors of many universities I was privileged to visit. But I also left the United States with the definite feeling that in many quarters, some of which were very influential, Britain is being regarded as at present on her trial so far as India is concerned. If, as we all hope and pray, the trial is successfully surmounted, the friends of Britain in America will be augmented and the ranks of her opponents diminished. But if by any failure of British statesmanship the Indian problem is allowed to become aggravated, I discern a real risk lest India should gradually assume that unfortunate position of prominence as a dividing force between Great Britain and America which was for so long unhappily occupied by Ireland herself.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Thursday, June 19, 1930, at which Professor Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., read a paper on "Indian Unrest and American Opinion." The Right Hon. Viscount Burnham, G.C.M.G., C.H., was in the Chair. The following ladies and gentlemen amongst others were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick, Sir William and Lady Ovens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Stuart M. Fraser, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., and Captain Fraser, I.A., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, C.H., Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Major-General Sir William Beynon, K.C.I.E., C.B., D.S.O., Lady Scott Moncrieff, Mr. R. Littlehailes, C.I.E., Lady Wyndham Knight, Professor J. Coatman, C.I.E., Miss Kennedy, Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. A. R. Astbury, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., and Mrs. Richey, Mr. Alexander Hayman Wilson, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. and Mrs. John de La Valette, Khan Sahib and Mrs. M. H. Kothawala, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. H. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Mr. C. F. Strickland, Mr. Dudley Myers, O.B.E., Mr. E. Tydeman, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. W. N. Delevinge, Mrs. Jackson, Mr. Venkanata Sastri, Mrs. Anstey, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Lieut.-Colonel D. Warliker, Mrs. Nolan, Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Willmott, Mr. C. W. Kirkpatrick, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. W. G. Bason, the Hon. Gertrude Kinnaird, Miss Hepburn, Miss Margaret Brown, Mr. M. E. Watts, Mr. G. Pilcher, Mrs. Roberts, Mrs. Grey, Mr. Altaf Husain, Mr. H. M. Harris, Mr. B. Ward Perkins, Miss A. A. Morton, Mr. Malik Gh. Mohamed Khan, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. M. G. Sinanan, Mr. A. N. Bhate, Mr. P. K. Paul, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Holme, Mr. J. H. Lindsey, Miss K. L. Speechley, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. H. B. Edwards, Mrs. Byramji, Miss Stephenson, Miss Gravatt, Mrs. Herron, Miss Gaywood, Dr. H. N. Randle, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Lord Lamington, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is with the greatest pleasure that I have come here to take the Chair this afternoon, and I hope I have sufficient experience in presiding over public meetings and other bodies of men and women not to stand between the lecturer and his audience for more than a minute or two. There is nothing which to my mind becomes a man less than to spoil the good things that are in store for the audience, especially when you are going to have a lecture from so competent and so well known a scholar and official as Professor Rushbrook Williams, who, as you know, is co-Director of the Special

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Organization of the Chamber of Princes. He returned only a few days ago from a lecture tour during the month of May in many parts of the United States. In that month he spoke more than forty times in widely scattered places, and he travelled at night over thousands of miles to fulfil his lecturing engagements.

(The Lecturer read his paper.)

The CHAIRMAN: I think we shall all agree that we have listened to a lecture of surpassing interest and ability (hear, hear), and we shall be inclined to congratulate the Ruling Princes of India on having a spokesman and representative so able as Professor Rushbrook Williams for their organization.

It is not easy for me to appear in public and to deal with any question concerning India the week after the publication of the first volume of the Report of the Indian Statutory Commission, and a week before the publication of the second volume. I had the same difficulty some five or six weeks ago when the director of one of the greatest American newspapers asked me to contribute an article to enlighten public opinion in America upon the Indian problem. I do not know that I could have done much had I tried, but I was quite clearly of opinion that it was not the time for me to do anything of that sort. Since then the first volume has been published, and last night most of you had the opportunity, I imagine, of listening to half an hour's talk in explanation of the first volume from our distinguished chairman, Sir John Simon. That talk was distinguished by his usual power of exposition and analysis with that gift of lucidity, not only lucidity of mind, but what one may call lucidity of soul, which he possesses to such an extraordinary extent.

It is not for me to go any further than he went, and I would only say that there is no doubt that, as the late Lord Bryce said, America is, of all the countries in the world, that country which is most ruled by public opinion. I am speaking of the United States, as the Canadians very much resent one talking of America as applying only to the United States; but the United States is the great country of propaganda. Propaganda has been carried on there to a pitch of perfection such as with my long experience of the means and purpose of publicity I do not know anywhere else. That, of course, makes the selection of the subject of this afternoon's address all the more important, and one is glad to have the impressions of a trained observer so well able to interpret the meaning of what he saw and heard in America as Professor Rushbrook Williams.

Perhaps I can best fulfil my purpose this afternoon by reading to you some extracts from a manifesto which was sent to me by a distinguished American. It is called "A Manifesto to the American People by the Indian Residents in the United States of America." It is published by the India Independence Central Committee, and is signed by Dr. M. Malik of Detroit, Michigan, which means, as you know, that he comes from the Middle West—that part of the United States which is said to sway and decide the issues of American politics. It begins with a quotation from Emerson and concludes with a quotation from James Russell Lowell. That you may say is not very bad propaganda in itself. But I will read to you

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some of the things that are said there, and you will be able to judge how far you think they accord with any rational view of British rule in India. It begins by saying: "For the past hundred and fifty years we have existed under the crushing yoke of a foreign imperialism. To justify their brutal autocracy, they have employed the most efficient system of veiled, insidious, and pernicious propaganda." That is, of course, a very familiar weapon of controversy, as we say, to put the boot on the other leg. "The world has been led to believe that the exploitation and plunder of one-fifth of the human race is a blessing of the British Raj." Then they go on to say: "The oppressed people groan under the domination, and are reduced to the extremities of wretchedness. Technically, we pay no tribute to the Cæsars, but the land is being drained of untold millions in the salaries paid to her pro-consuls, civil and military officials, and pensions to their relatives at home in England. We have no voice in the government. Taxes are levied without representation, and fall heavily, most heavily, on the silent masses; 48 per cent. of these taxes are spent for the upkeep of a large standing army, beyond all proportion to the needs of the country." What is happening on the North-West Frontier at the moment may give some cause for thought. "Twenty-eight per cent. is spent on railways of British control, built at strategic points to rush troops to crush the Nationalist spirit; and only 2 per cent. is spent on the combined departments of Education, Public Health, Sanitation, Agriculture, Irrigation, Scientific Research, and Industrial Development. They have taxed even salt, a poor man's food, required alike by man and beast—free of taxation in all civilized countries. It brings them 1,000 per cent. profit; 30,000,000 dollars annually to further their imperialistic designs. While we starve, England fills her coffers with gold. In the words of Hon. G. K. Gokhale —an Indian patriot—'She stands guard at the front doors of India, while stealing the wealth from out the back doors.'" Further it says: "Epidemics—plague, cholera, dysentery, malaria, smallpox, and a host of others—annually visit the unhappy land. Millions are swept away like autumnal leaves before a gale. The English Government does nothing to check their ravages. Nay, when the Cholera Commission under Robert Koch succeeded in discovering cholera vibrio, the causative agent of Asiatic cholera, he was shipped away quietly, the matter was hushed up, lest English shipping suffer, and the discovery was not made public until ten years later." It also says: "Famines are endemic. It is not our fault. The more we grow, the more we are made to pay in taxes, and we are left with nothing to eat and but a loin cloth to cover our starved bodies." There is more of this stuff. This is a pamphlet covering four pages, and it has been circulated all over the United States. So that you see there is some reason for our distinguished lecturer to describe something of the working of American opinion, and it will make you realize the importance of at least a fair statement being made to America which those who run may read.

I have always been a sincere and I hope sometimes a powerful advocate of what is called Anglo-American friendship. Only the other day I took the Chair for three leading American newspaper men who were paying a

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visit to this country, and I was Chairman of the foundation in honour of Dr. Walter Hines Page, formerly Ambassador here, which has for its purpose the interchange of opinion by the interchange of journalists between the British and American newspapers. I have, therefore, a very lively, and perhaps I may say an immediate, interest in fostering that better understanding of which the Lecturer has spoken, and which he hopes, and I think hopes rightly, will only be increased and multiplied by there being a real understanding of the Indian problem in all its complexities I hope to some extent now revealed to the world in general—not to you people who are experts and know a great deal more probably than I do about India, for most of you have had residence and experience—and America certainly, which is by its own confession very ignorant as to the conditions of the problem.

Having said that, I do not think I can do more than ask you to discuss, so far as you wish, the Paper to which we have listened. (Applause.)

Mr. De La Valette said that he was greatly indebted for, and very pleased to have, the opportunity of expressing his thanks to Professor Rushbrook Williams for the extremely lucid and illuminating manner in which he had made clear to them what was the opinion of 120 million people about a subject upon which they had probably never thought. It was not so important to know what they thought today as what they might think tomorrow. As they had just heard both from the Chairman and from Professor Rushbrook Williams, the publication of Volume I. of the Simon Report would fulfil a most admirable function in informing the American people on the subject in a manner which was quite unbiassed and which would have a useful effect in America.

The contribution which he desired to make to the discussion was to try and give the impression which one got when one worked in America for a number of years as to how public opinion was formed, and why it followed certain paths in reaching a particular summit of expression. Public opinion in America was not a very vital thing until it got up to a certain level where it became really general. In America things happened in masses. The first thing to bear in mind with regard to America was its fantastic size. Of course, it was very much smaller than India both in area and in population, but it was very much greater in importance owing to the compactness and the uniformity of its population. As regards public opinion there was an extreme uniformity between the people of the country, far greater than there was between people in much smaller countries. A second thing to bear in mind was that the differences between them were not so much the result of personal views as of sectional influences, influences mainly of two kinds, racial and geographical: racial because the Americans had come from different stocks in the Old World and had carried through many generations the traditions of their various origins, whilst geographically they were affected by all those things which affected a man's livelihood, the circumstances under which he lived and the outlook he might have owing to his connection with or isolation from the rest of the world.

Professor Rushbrook Williams was quite right in dividing the country into three big belts running along the Atlantic coast, through the Middle West, and along the Pacific coast. Within each of those areas you got

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very strong sectional influences which were expressed by a hyphen. In America something was tacked on to express the degree of Americanism. Taking those two factors together—the great underlying uniformity and the broad sectional divisions—one could frequently guess more or less what a particular individual was going to think by knowing his division and his section. That was not so in other countries. If you were to take a dozen Yorkshiremen, a dozen men from Devonshire, and a few others from Somerset, it would be quite impossible to say what they would think about any given subject, even if you added to it that they were agriculturists or industrialists, or that they indulged in stag-hunting. In America they had of necessity to simplify and unify. In the course of about eighty years since the first gold rush to California the Americans had built up a colossal nation of 120,000,000 people, and covered a whole continent which spreads over 3,000 miles from east to west, and more than 2,000 miles from north to south. That had been a colossal task. They had to get on with the job, and to achieve certain results, and they had only been able to achieve those results by completely ignoring all the many complications of the various situations. That was a habit which had gone right down into their whole way of thinking; they simplified everything. They simplified not only their factories, not only their lives, they simplified any expression of thought with which they came into contact. If possible they reduced it to a slogan. They had the conviction in America that as soon as you produced a slogan you could produce the fact which grew from that slogan. It was very difficult for them to deal with a situation like that in India, which was the entire reverse of the state of affairs existing in America, as it could not be done by merely simplifying the problems and putting them in a few general ideas. What was fundamental to the American way of thinking was that they had only got one set of circumstances to which they could pin their judgment, and from which they could derive a measure for their judgment—namely, their own revolution against Britain and the French Revolution which was their prototype. They must hang on to that tradition and they must enforce it as a valuable example upon all their people, because unless they did this they would have no means whatsoever of consolidating the vast amount of immigrants from various countries into one American nation. When one wanted to deal with American public opinion, one had to realize all these facts. One had also to realize, as Professor Rushbrook Williams had said, that they were very eager for knowledge; that they were eager for cold facts, but only so long as these were cold facts of a palatable kind and presented in a manner which was palatable to them. He was not saying that in any disparaging way, but it was the fact that Americans were not interested in going to a great deal of trouble to get at an abstract truth. They wanted a practical truth for a practical purpose at a moment when it had a practical use. That would be found to be typified in their universities. They had such institutions all over the country from east to west, but one would find there were very few which really performed the function which we in this country and on the Continent considered to

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be the function of a university—namely, to stimulate independent research and to train men to the task of conducting such research, thereby enabling them to reach independent opinions, and to advance science and knowledge in that way. Of course, there were exceptions, but it would be found in the main that the majority of American universities were but high schools trying to disseminate a definite amount of available knowledge for practical purposes. One was up against that problem in trying to make Americans deal with a matter so entirely novel to them as the conditions in India and the consequent solution of the difficulties that India had to face at the present moment, whereas in other countries you could reckon at least on an upper stratum of highly educated people to have both the ability and the habit of forming independent opinions of their own. The class of that kind of people was extremely small in America. It was for that reason, as their Chairman had said, that propaganda is essential to America. The country could not get on without it; its own peculiar composition, its size, and the mixture of races and immigrants who formed the people all rendered it necessary that a general body of opinion should be diffused amongst them by people who had a definite aim in diffusing such ideas.

So far as the problem of India in American opinion was concerned, he thought the two very best things that could have happened had happened. They had, first of all, had the enormous benefit for this country of having the lectures by Professor Rushbrook Williams disseminated throughout the whole of America, for although Professor Rushbrook Williams might not have been in the extreme West, it was certain that all the information that he had imparted had gone right through the country. Secondly, the influence on public opinion in America which was now being exercised by the Simon Report would fall on prepared ground, and would lead to the growing up of a much greater body of sound opinion than they had had before.

Not only those who sent Professor Rushbrook Williams out to America, but this country as a whole ought to be very grateful to him for the most excellent work he had done in preparing American opinion for the views which were now to be exchanged on Indian affairs. (Applause.)

Mr. J. P. Fletcher said he would like to call attention to a fourth group of opinion in America. Professor Rushbrook Williams had rightly described three zones, but one was liable to forget that there was a population of 12 million coloured people in the United States of America. He would never forget the impression upon himself of the importance of that population during his visit to the United States for twelve months in 1923 and 1924. He visited Dr. Leslie Pinckney Hill, the Principal of the Normal School for Negro Teachers in the State of Pennsylvania. He was received by a most cultured man, a Harvard University graduate, who was well known throughout the United States. After the first words of greeting, he said: "Mr. Fletcher, what do you think of the Gandhi movement?" It was obvious to him in a flash that that population of 12 million of negro citizens of the United States were all watching with the greatest of care what was happening in India; the methods that were adopted by Mr. Gandhi, and the different methods that were adopted in

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opposing him by Indians and others in India. They might think that this was an added complication to the already complicated unit which we call the United States, comprising, as it does, so many groups of peoples with different opinions, and that this Negro opinion would weaken any political action by the United States at the present moment. But he was convinced that in the long run the opinion of the Negro population of the United States, suffering as they did from the social disadvantages put upon them because of their colour, the bitterness which they expressed against their white fellow-citizens, and against what they called the "white imperialism" in any part of the world, was going to have a most important influence on the effect of the question of India. He, therefore, welcomed the opportunity today to mention the matter. He would not say what his own opinion was, but he did feel impressed by the importance of this portion of the population of the United States of America which was often forgotten when they discussed such questions as were under discussion at this meeting—namely, the view of the United States of America upon Indian unrest. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN, in calling upon Professor Coatman to speak, said that in the name of the Simon Commission he desired to tender thanks to Professor Coatman for the many annual reports on India and information he supplied from which they derived a great deal of their knowledge of India, and also to congratulate him upon his appointment to be Professor of Economic Relations in the University.

Professor COATMAN thanked the Chairman for the very kind remarks he had made about him. He said that personally he had listened with great appreciation to Professor Rushbrook Williams' paper, because it had made a very important and valuable contribution to the vital side of a many-sided problem which the political situation in India presented today. World opinion was bound to be one of the deciding factors in the final issue, and of the world opinion they might say that American opinion was the most important ingredient. In his office of Director of Public Information in India, it was one of his duties to make a very close daily study of the Indian Press, and he was repeatedly struck by the increasing efforts being made by Indian propagandists to get at American opinion. With regard to one of the most interesting features in the more extreme newspapers, during the past two or three years there had been an effort to form some definite organization to influence world opinion, but primarily American opinion.

There was a very close connection and correspondence between the extreme circles in India and their agents and sympathizers all over the world, and in America there were a number of Indians definitely working to mobilize American opinion against Great Britain. It must not be forgotten that one of the most experienced propagandists in the whole world was Mr. Gandhi. Mr. Gandhi's great movement in South Africa years ago was won entirely by propaganda, by mobilizing world opinion. He wrote a book describing his movements in South Africa, and through every page of that book there breathed his belief in propaganda, and every page revealed his mastery of propaganda.

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Americans were intensely suspicious of definite propaganda, so much so that they were suspicious of anything which had emanated from specific official sources in India or elsewhere. It was perhaps for that reason that American opinion was not better informed on Indian affairs. Professor Rushbrook Williams had shown them one reason why it was difficult to inform the whole of American opinion; for instance, he had told them about sectionalism.

It was another part of his duty in India, he said, to study the foreign Press on India, and he devoted more attention to American comment than to the comments of any other country. He was very happy to say that during the time he held that office he noticed a profound change in American opinion regarding British rule in India. Another thing that he noticed from the American papers was that opinion varied not so much according to territorial belts, as according to sectional influences. The old anti-British sections of opinion adopted extremer Indian views, but one thing that he noticed was that even before the settlement of the Irish dispute when American opinion was very suspicious indeed of everything we did, in the great American newspapers, the *New York Times* particularly, the British side of the case always got a fair show and a fair hearing. In the more important American newspapers such as that, and in such journals as the *Atlantic Monthly*, the British side was often stated by competent British writers. Nevertheless he trusted that no American who might be present in the audience would feel aggrieved if he said that taking the newspapers in America as a whole, they revealed a positively abysmal depth of ignorance on the real truth of Indian affairs.

It was quite true, as Professor Rushbrook Williams had said, that Americans wanted their news dramatized. But so did we, and he thought in that respect we were perhaps the main sinners. They might take, for example, the Indian Congress meetings at Lahore last December. Far and away the most ignorant and dangerous comments were made by certain English newspapers which he would not specify. Some of their headlines and some of their comments were telegraphed out to India, and they must have revealed to anybody ignorant of India an entirely different India from the true India. It was almost impossible to imagine what conception of Indian politics and of the condition of India could have been gained by the readers of those papers. When some of these newspapers got out to India, and he read the scare headlines accompanied by perhaps a quarter of a column of comment, it was positively revolting. If American newspapers were in error in the same way, perhaps we were primarily to blame. It was also worth realizing that the correspondents of the American Agencies in India were for the most part Englishmen.

There was this to be said for the American: To his personal knowledge, they were far more anxious to learn the truth than any other travellers who came to India including our own people. During his time in India as Director of Public Information, it was a constant pleasure to him to meet Americans who came into his office to get information. He was repeatedly struck by the thorough way in which they set to work. With regard to the books on India written by travellers far and away the best of any, and with

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one or two exceptions, the most sympathetic to us were written by Americans.

Apart from certain professional anti-British elements in America, there was a great well of good will in America to be tapped. As he read the often hostile comments in the leading American newspapers, he could not help feeling that whatever else the Americans might feel with regard to us, they did want us to make a good job of India, and if only they could know what we were really getting at, he was quite convinced that anti-British feeling in America as regards India would shrink to very small dimensions. But we must get accurate knowledge across. For that reason he would like to see more first-class American journalists going to India. One American who he regarded it as a privilege to have met was young Mr. Lodge of the *Herald Tribune*. He came to India quietly without any flourish of trumpets, and he set to work to learn every point of view and to study hard figures and statistics. If we could get more journalists of that sort from America, whatever their preconceived notions might be, it would be all to the good. What we wanted was to get accurate information across to America, and above all, if we could have some sort of economic news service from India to America and to this country, it would be a very great thing, especially if we could show quarter by quarter the economic developments that were taking place were very remarkable. It was a pity that they did not make good news for the newspapers. If we could have such a service as that, it would be first-class material for, and would be one way of educating American opinion. Another good way was by visits to America of such people as Professor Rushbrook Williams.

He was very sanguine that in the last resort we should get help and not hindrance from America, but we must help them to help us. (Applause.)

The Right Hon. SRINIVASA SASTRI said he desired to join the previous speakers in expressing admiration for the very great ability and the tactful presentation of his subject by Professor Rushbrook Williams. He said that he was not competent to deal with the state of American opinion on this question of Indian unrest, as his only acquaintance with America was many years ago. There was just one remark which occurred to him which, if he did not make, he would probably have missed an opportunity of stating the truth. In Indian public life today they were in the habit very often of examining their own status, their own abilities, and the way in which they presented their case to the outside world. There was much anxious self-examination going on among political parties today in India, but these political parties differed widely one from another as political parties here differed one from another. But they would all agree in one remarkable respect—namely, their inappreciation hitherto of the need of propaganda in other countries outside their own; their utter lack of organized means of influencing public opinion in other parts of the world, even in England, with which they were most directly concerned, and there was nothing which he himself lamented so bitterly as their neglect in this respect and incapacity to compass the means of remedying that great defect. That being the case, it struck him as somewhat strange that sober, sensible, and well-informed people should express anxiety as to the

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result of the uncontroverted propaganda perpetrated by Indians in America. In his opinion they had discovered a mare's nest. In particular he absolutely repudiated on behalf of Mr. Gandhi any desire to carry on a vigorous propaganda in other countries. Unhappily, he differed from Mr. Gandhi in many respects and absolutely condemned his present occupation of stirring up trouble in India, but he did desire to say one thing about him—namely, that he was not responsible for carrying on any propaganda outside India. His great name, the reputation he had built up as the most Christlike man in the world today, was responsible for many people admiring him and attaching importance to the smallest things about him; publishing them broadcast over all the world and getting them known. But personally he had done nothing himself to carry on propaganda—and he blamed him for it. If they examined the accounts of the considerable sums of money that he spent they would probably find that propaganda in other countries came in for a very small sum indeed, if it came in at all. Some years ago they maintained in this country a little newspaper which might be called the only instrument of propaganda that they had, *India*. It did not do much work so far as he was aware. They criticized it up and down the country always, and the little service it was doing in this country was destroyed owing to the influence of Mr. Gandhi. He did not wish any money to be spent upon propaganda in this country, believing that every anna he could get must be spent in India on Indian propaganda. It seemed exceeding strange that they should be carried away by an idea that Mr. Gandhi at least was responsible for propaganda in America. Many American journalists visited him; he talked to them, and he talked to other people, and he took care that he was presented by them in a proper light, but beyond that he hardly knew of anything Mr. Gandhi did which might be legitimately described as propaganda. However, perhaps that was a small affair. He agreed with Professor Rushbrook Williams heartily in one sentiment, and it was that which he would press upon them there. It was a sentiment which found expression in the last part of Professor Rushbrook Williams' paper: it was to the effect that if this present Indian problem was not satisfactorily settled England would find that the great name of India was used as the name of Ireland was used against her for a great many years, as redounding not to the credit or to the statesmanship of England, but as marking her incapacity to understand the rising forces of the time and to sympathize with the desire of subject peoples to get their freedom. That was the light in which England would be presented to the outside world. Already in self-defence many sections of public opinion in this country were trying to throw the blame and the expected failure of the round-table Conference upon certain sections of Indian people and Indian statesmen. To him who had come there out of a desire to help not only India but Great Britain also in the settlement of this problem, it was not wise to look beyond the round-table Conference at the present moment or to anticipate its failure. (Hear, hear.) Their common interest lay in the success of that Conference. It was the only way out of the present tangle. Let them all bend their energies towards

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the success of that Conference. Let nothing come, certainly not doctrinaire ideas or notions of correctitude in this matter or that matter, certainly not notions of prestige or false pride, but let them all disregard those subordinate considerations and devote themselves to the discovery of a means of making this round-table Conference a success. (Hear, hear, and applause.) Much that was valuable to India—in fact, everything that was valuable to India and a good deal that was of inestimable value to Britain and her honour—depended upon what came out of this round-table Conference. In conclusion he would, therefore, ask them all to remember not to think of where the blame will rest when the Conference fails, and not to think at all of the failure of the Conference, but to contemplate only its success and not to hesitate over anything which might be required in order to make that Conference a success. (Applause.)

The CHAIRMAN said that he very much regretted he was unable, owing to the lateness of the hour, to call upon certain ladies and gentleman, whose names had been put down to speak.

The LECTURER said in reply: The hour is so late that I think it will be wrong for me to detain you much later. In consequence I propose merely to enter upon a very few remarks.

I want to express my gratitude, first of all, to Mr. de La Valette for what I should like to term his extremely able analysis of the permanent conditions of American opinion. As I was listening to him it occurred to me on several occasions to regret that I had not had the privilege of showing my paper to him beforehand. If I had done so, I do not think the paper would have been modified; but I might have succeeded in bringing out more plainly than I believe I did some of the more essential points which I wanted to leave in your minds.

In regard to what Mr. Fletcher said about the influence of the Negro vote—alas! he did not say the Negro vote, and there we come to the root of the matter. It is perfectly true there are upwards of twelve million Negroes in the United States of America, but when we weigh up their practical influence we have to ask: "How many of them vote?" That is not a subject which I feel inclined to enlarge at this moment for rather obvious reasons.

I was very grateful indeed for the remarks that were passed by my very old friend and successor in the Directorship of Public Information of the Government of India, Professor Coatman. I am sure our experience has led us to think along very parallel lines—possibly it is an accident which befalls many officials—but I feel it is very strengthening to me, and gives me great support that two people who have carried on these very onerous and, if I may say so, extremely unpopular duties should be here in the same room on this occasion.

So far as Mr. Sastri's contribution to the debate is concerned, it would be impertinent for me to say very much. Mr. Sastri is one of the very greatest speakers whom we have in the British Commonwealth today. His public record of service on behalf both of his own country and Great Britain and of the Empire in general is something of which anyone of us might be proud. But I would like to say this. Most of us, I am sure,

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admire Mr. Sastri for taking up the cudgels on behalf of a very eminent fellow-countrymen of his, Mr. Gandhi, whose eminence is such that he needs no praise from me. But it did occur to me, when Mr. Sastri was stating that Mr. Gandhi takes no share in propaganda, and does not believe in it, that the letters and addresses which Mr. Gandhi has published during the last two or three months specifically addressed to the American people do seem rather to bear out my contention, if I may say so with respect, as against Mr. Sastri, that Mr. Gandhi does attach some definite value to American opinion, and has perhaps made—I do not put it higher than that—some definite attempt to capture it.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I must once again express my great thanks to Viscount Burnham for taking the Chair here this afternoon.

Lord LAMINGTON proposed a vote of thanks to Professor Rushbrook Williams and to Viscount Burnham, which was carried with acclamation.

THE BRITISH INDIAN UNION

UNDER the new arrangement outlined in the last issue, members of the East India Association will be eligible to apply to the Union at 10, Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W. 1, for tickets for any functions of the Union they may wish to attend.

Some of the functions being arranged by the British Indian Union in July are as follows:

July 15: Luncheon, Hotel Rubens, 1 p.m.
July 22: Lady Geoffrey Clarke At Home at 10, Grosvenor Gardens. 4.15 p.m.

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THE EUROPEAN POPULATION OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIES

By Dr. C. L. van Doorn

(The author is a representative of the Y.M.C.A. and its affiliation in Holland: the Netherlands Christian Students Union.)

The population of the Dutch East Indies consists of three important groups: (1) The indigenous, the Autochthonous population; (2) immigrants from Eastern countries (principally Chinese) and their offspring; and (3) immigrants from Western countries (principally Dutch) and their offspring.

The number of Europeans living in the Indian Archipelago is very small, only 170,000—*i.e.*, about 3·5 per cent. of the total population. Still, of tropical Asia the Dutch East Indies have comparatively the largest Western population. It is due to the opening up of the country and to the improved means of traffic that the Western population has been increasing rapidly during the last years. An interesting point is that in Java the increase of immigrant Europeans is larger than the increase of immigration from the Eastern countries.

Population of Java *

	1860.	1920.	Increase.
Immigrants from the East ...	181·792	415·407	130 per cent.
Immigrants from the West † ...	22·663	135·228	500 per cent.

In the other islands the increase during this period for both groups is about the same (400-500 per cent.). This difference in increase is due to a more elaborate immigration from Europe, as there is no reason to assume that the Indo-European birth rate is higher than the Chinese birth rate.

Economically and socially there are great possibilities, which, of course, attract many young people; and then again the open-door policy of the Government, and the large facilities for immigration either from West or from

* The small island of Madoera belongs to Java.

† A small number of Japanese are counted in with this group on account of their special constitutional relations.

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East make it an easy matter to settle down in Netherlands India.

There are two reasons for this large influx of European workers:

1. More active governmental administration.
2. The opening up of the country through Western capital.

(1) The more active governmental administration dates from 1880-1890. Before that there was hardly any contact with the native population except when collecting taxes or when administering justice in case of serious crime. The civil servant and the engineer, supervising irrigation works, were about the only means of contact with the natives in the *dessas* (villages).

Since 1890 things have changed a good deal. The civil service has been developed considerably, as matters of education, agricultural information service, people's banks, and many other important affairs have been looked into carefully. In fact, the civil service as it is now is quite extensive. In 1905 9,000 out of 23,000 (*i.e.*, 39 per cent.) of the European workers were civil servants, and this percentage has remained about the same until now.

On the whole it can be said that work is done with heart and soul, for there is not half the bureaucracy that there is in Europe. What makes the task of a civil servant at any rate more interesting is, for instance, getting in touch with circumstances and people absolutely different from those he has been used to deal with.

Missionaries and civil servants deserve our warmest gratitude for having studied the different languages, customs, arts, social and economical life of the natives.

Many a young man has found happiness and strength to fulfil his task, very often living in lonely spots, through that very interest in the people with which and for which he was working.

The time does not seem to be far off when many posts, at present held by Europeans, will be held by Javanese, owing to the development of college education in Java.

(2) There is a steady increase of enterprises run by Europeans, mostly sugar plantations, giving ample opportunity for young Dutchmen to find work in the Indian Archipelago.

In 1905, 2,400 out of 5,000 (*i.e.*, 48 per cent.) European agricultural workers were engaged in sugar growing; in 1923, 4,000 were engaged, besides which 1,000 men were employed in the central offices of the sugar organization.

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Both in 1905 and in 1923 about 10 to 12 per cent. of the total number of European working men in Dutch East India were employed by the sugar industry.

During the last decade many have found work in other branches of agriculture, chiefly in the cultivation of rubber. Not only in the agricultural line, but also in shipping, in the oil trade and in commerce the need was felt for trained men.

The Batavia Oil Company has at present not less than 2,500 European employees, whilst the largest shipping company in the Archipelago, the Kon. Pakketvaart Maatschappy, employs about the same number of men.

The question has been raised if this employment of imported Europeans will turn out satisfactorily in the long run, chiefly in the sugar line, because of the continual contact between natives and employees.

The more responsible class of employment in sugar growing may be divided in three groups: (1) Supervisors of the plantations; (2) men attending to the engineering departments; and (3) men responsible for the chemical departments of the sugar factories. The first category is generally selected from the second and third after having served at least five years in the factory. Now the situation is such that amongst the plantation supervisors there are more Javanese-born employees in comparison with the other two groups.

In the long run the (younger) employees of these two groups will have to be sent to the plantations after a period of isolation in the factories, and it is not at all certain that they will be able to deal with native property lessors or to get on with the native workmen.

On more than one count this one-sided way of appointing people for the principal situations is disputable, for it stands to reason that natives and Indo-Europeans will do harm to trade when they realize that the best posts are inaccessible to them. In the near future employers will have to open up their factories to all working men—Europeans or otherwise.

After these brief remarks on business, it is necessary to say something about family life in the Archipelago. It is based in general on marriage between the European colonist and his European wife. Comparing the Dutch East Indies with other tropical areas the number of European women coming in yearly is rather important, but the numerical strength of the two sexes is by no means the same, and this leads to an abnormal position.

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Fifty-six per cent. of the Europeans are men and 44 per cent. are females. It is worth while noticing that since 1905 these percentages have remained about the same. At that time they were 55 per cent. and 45 per cent. The following statistics show the difference between the sexes even more plainly.

NUMBER OF EUROPEANS IN 1920

	In Java.		In the Other Islands.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
Under 20 years ...	28·728	27·489	6·195	6·292
From 20 to 25 years ...	41·611	28·682	12·584	7·424
Over 55 years	4·580	4·198	0·705	0·602

The figures for the second group are for Java 59 per cent. men and 41 per cent. women; for the other islands the figures are 63 per cent. and 37 per cent.

For the unmarried young man, who usually has to sign on for six to eight years before he is allowed to return home on leave, there is very little possibility of marrying a European woman in the Archipelago. Outside of Java there is hardly any possibility of marriage at all. The city of Bandoeng gives the following figures for the year 1924:

Born.	Single.		Married.		Widowed or Divorced.	
	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
1890–1894	173	98	526	553	13	39
1895–1899	274	183	320	534	8	19
1900–1904	472	397	76	300	—	7
	919	678	922	1,387	21	65

These figures show that only half the men born in the period 1890-1904 at the age of twenty to thirty-five were married.

Of the men aged thirty to thirty-five, 27 per cent. were single.

One does not need much imagination to understand that life for the unmarried young man in the Dutch Indies is far from easy. A little book published in 1856 gives a good description of the life of Europeans in Java. It tells us that the young Dutchmen lived entirely on their own in a small house looking after their own household, even in the towns.

When hotels and boarding-houses became more popular

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some took rooms there. Living together in a "mess" was introduced by Englishmen chiefly in Batavia and Soerabaja, but the "mess" system has not yet been universally adopted. Since recent years the modern Indian city has plenty of healthy recreation; formerly the "club" was the only centre of social life, where time was passed mostly in gossip and drinking.

Nowadays there is ample opportunity to hear good concerts and to see good plays and to attend lectures. The different "art-societies" have done splendid work, most of them having their own concert halls.

The Natural History Society has become popular in arranging mountaineering excursions.

Other associations, like the Y.M.C.A., with a spiritual and physical programme, are as yet unknown. However, just recently steps have been taken to start Y.M.C.A. work as soon as possible. There naturally is a big difference between the life in the cities and the life on the plantations. On the sugar plantations the loneliness is not so much felt as elsewhere because nearly all the employees live near the factory. Each sugar plantation has about twenty European workers.

This is not the case with most other kinds of plantations where the young European employee is bound to live right on the spot of his supervising work, miles and miles away from any town. The days of hardship, however, have passed (no more utensils made out of old petrol tins, etc.), and materially the colonial is not doing badly at all; the one thing he feels the need of mostly is a wife to look after him.

Formerly the companies objected to sending out married men, and even now some companies do not allow their employees to marry until a certain wage-minimum has been reached.

For several reasons the companies are against early marriage.

1. The low wages of beginners do not cover the high cost of living.

2. The first years are the most difficult. If married, young employees would be taken up too much by the family life so some think, and this might be harmful to the interests of the company.

3. In case of failure it is a great deal easier to dismiss a single man in the Netherlands Indies.

It is generally accepted by the companies now, however, that the price paid by the unmarried employees is too high,

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and they are now providing opportunities for young employees to go out married. In doing away with the faults of the old system much will depend upon the adaptability of the young wives.

With regard to the married employees, they settle down in the Netherlands Indies. Their children go to the schools of the country, and many of them find employment after their training in the Archipelago.

Finally, a few words must be said about the relation between young colonists and the indigenous Chinese population.

That one's profession influences one's relationship with the Javanese and Chinese goes without saying.

Although missionaries and civil servants, as said before, have studied the native and the Indonesian customs, also on the plantations, especially those situated far from civilized eras, many employees have also come into close contact with the natives, and often very satisfactorily.

The following story is told of administrator Holle, one of the founders of tea plantations on West Java, at the end of the last century.

"He was able to give advice on all matters to the native population. He was greatly interested in 'padi planting' in the plains, in constructing terraced gardens in the hills, in the use of the *patjoel papan* (a kind of spade), in improving the stock of cattle, in importing Merino sheep, in the silk industry, constructing fishponds, and in home gardening.

"He published several reading books and agricultural handbooks entitled 'Mitra noe tani' (the friend of the farmer) for the use of the natives, through which he became quite popular. Even the government made use of his knowledge of the people, and often he advised about questions concerning Islam, agriculture, coffee planting, public education, statutory labour, etc. In Garoet a monument is erected to his honour with the following inscription: 'The friend of the farmer.' Certainly a sign and a name of honour."

It would be quite easy to mention the names of many planters who have served their country and the natives in the same manner. On the other hand, it would be just as easy to point out a number of men who have treated the natives merely as factors in the process of production, without taking the trouble to see them as human beings.

It must be said, however, that the relations formerly were of a far more personal kind. Nowadays the agricultural

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companies are rationalized just as the big industries. It must be pointed out here that there is a danger for employees and workmen as well. In Eastern countries it is very important that sufficient attention is paid to personal contact, whilst rationalization tends to treat people as a mass.

In the sphere of Western wholesale trade there has hardly ever been any contact with the Indonesian population. It is a well-known fact that the Dutch East Indian middle classes consist of Chinese. They trade—this is chiefly so in Java—as well with the small tradespeople as with the wholesale trade. In the near future there probably will be a change in this situation. On the whole, trade in the Netherlands Indies goes on quite peacefully, "boycott," based on politics, being the one thing that might disturb transactions. It is a good thing that this hardly ever happens.

Dr. R. R. Moton (principal of Tuskegee Institute, the well-known negro college in the U.S.A.) has said in his book, "What the Negro Thinks": "It is in business, perhaps, that the negro gets more honest consideration and a fairer deal than in any other of his contacts with the white man, not even excepting religion." This is of great importance, and he goes on to say: "Here is a new and wider field of contact between the races, a field, while not wholly devoid of sentiment, in which merit and worth are the dominant factors, where colour and race have little to do with transactions and practically nothing to do with the current daily interchange."

The negotiations about rubber-tapping restriction between producers of different races have demonstrated the same tendency. According to the leader of the European delegation the negotiations have been held "on equal terms."

The contact between Europeans and their native servants is growing less not only in domestic life, but also on the plantations. The two groups need each other to a smaller extent owing to the modern construction of the houses, which is being more and more adopted in the large cities. Also, through newspapers and periodicals, keeping in touch with Holland is a far simpler matter than it used to be. It is only natural, but it is a pity, that there is less contact, for mutual understanding will always be necessary for the right kind of co-operation.

It is undoubtedly of the greatest importance for young Europeans to study the country and the people and their motives, be he a planter or a commercial man, so that a

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correct opinion may be acquired of the circumstances they live in. This, however, is not an easy task. For the European his work is the all-important thing. Consequently he will not always be a philosopher. Business is the chief thing he aims at. Characteristic of this mentality is the old sailor's expression: "Life is not important . . . Sailing is important." Formerly colonists lived as simply as they possibly could so as to achieve a maximum of labour. There is something great and heroic about this, and it would be foolish not to appreciate it. But the danger of this point of view—and it is well to see this quite clearly—is that it tends to materialize life entirely, the only aim being to get rich as quick as possible. One might illustrate this way of looking at life by the expression: "Life is not important . . . Money is important." Both tendencies are represented in the Dutch East Indies up to this day: (1) Life concentrated on labour, and (2) all human functions concentrated on making a fortune. The native, if he comes to think things over quietly, without any prejudices against the Europeans, may be able to appreciate the first, but he will never be able to forgive and forget the second.

It is hoped that young Western immigrants will make these things quite clear to themselves, so that both East and West will profit by a better insight.

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THE INNER EAST

(*Conducted by* W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.)

I

THE TRADE OF CENTRAL ASIA WITH NEIGHBOURING COUNTRIES

NOTE.—The following is a summary of an article by S. Zashchuk which appeared in Nos. 20-21 of the *Novie Vostok*, the official organ of the Scientific Association of Oriental Studies of U.S.S.R.

The figures available to the author do not go beyond the year 1926, and all the facts and statistics quoted are reproduced with due reserve.

At the same time it is felt that the subject-matter is worthy of close attention. The author analyzes the favourable geographical conditions which invite the expansion of Soviet commerce in the almost untapped regions which adjoin the partially industrialized area of Soviet Central Asia. From the standpoint of British Indian and European trade, the position is, however, not altogether discouraging. Two conclusions are obvious from a study of the Soviet author's analysis: first, in spite of the relatively superior development of Central Asia, the Soviets are large importers of primary products from the neighbouring countries; secondly, that Soviet industry is unable to adequately meet the existing demand for manufactures even in the territories immediately served by the Central Asian railway system. Without undue optimism, it may be anticipated, therefore, that with the restoration of normal commercial relations between the Soviet Union and the principal exporting countries, trade may be developed both in the import of primary and manufactured products into Central Asia, and over the Central Asian railway system into regions, such as Western China, which may be most conveniently approached by this route.—W. E. D. ALLEN.

(*a*) PERSIAN TRADE ROUTES

THE manufacturing industries of Persia, Afghanistan, and Western China are still in their infancy. The volume of industrial production being inconsiderable, their requirements of raw materials are naturally limited. The wealth in raw materials of these countries must therefore be exported. This wealth comprises cotton, wool, hides, etc.

The population being extremely poor, there is little possibility for the distribution of the local produce, such as rice, dried and fresh fruit, etc. The same may be said of the domestic industries, such as the making of rugs, etc.

It is evident that if the countries in question are to be developed financially their raw produce must be exported.

The countries mentioned lack adequate speedy transport facilities, and can carry on an export trade profitably only

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over the routes guaranteeing the least expenditure on freights and the quickest delivery. Their exports must therefore be directed towards the neighbouring countries nearest to them. One of these countries would undoubtedly be Soviet Central Asia, which, owing to her geographical position and her net of railway lines, can easily receive the exports from North-East Persia, North Afghanistan and some regions of Western China (the Kashgar and Ili districts of Sintszian Province).

Circumstances favouring this conclusion are as follows: North-East Persia, with her Khorasan Astrabad Provinces and with a frontier 700 miles long with the Socialist Soviet Republic of Turkmenistan, has five directions in which to maintain her connection with the outside world. These are:

1. To the west, via Teheran and further over the Tabriz–Erzerum route to Trebizond on the Black Sea.
2. To the south-west in the direction of the Persian Gulf (ports of Bushire and Bender-Abbas).
3. To the south-east in the direction of Baluchistan, where from the station of Duzdab the Indian railway lines commence.
4. To the north-east in the direction of the Central Asian railways within the borders of the Turkmenistan S.S.R.
5. Finally to the north-west in the direction of Baku–Tiflis–Batum on the Black Sea.

Pros and cons of each route:

From Meshed, the commercial centre of North-Eastern Persia and the capital of the Khorasan Province, a road runs to Teheran, through Nishabur, Sabzevar and Shahrud —the so-called Royal Road, which is in a comparatively good condition, but its length—about 560 miles—is very great. Further, from Teheran to Tabriz there is a distance of 365 miles, and from Tabriz to Trebizond 500 miles. The whole distance from Meshed to Trebizond is thus 1,425 miles, of which only a portion between Teheran–Tabriz and Erzerum–Trebizond is adapted to motor-traffic. Though attempts to improve the road are being made, its commercial importance for North-East Persia is almost negligible.

The second direction—to the Persian Gulf—is also of little advantage. Between the north-east and the south of Persia there stretches a great expanse of waterless salt desert (Dasht-i-Kavir). The trade route passes round it. Thus a caravan from Meshed to Bushire must follow the Royal Road as far as Teheran and thence through Kum,

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Isfahan, Shiraz to Bushire. The length of the distance thus traversed is about 1,320 miles. For transport on a large scale this road is as inadequate as that leading to Trebizond. The second port of the Gulf, Bender-Abbas, is almost at the same distance from Meshed, transversable in ninety days, the freight costing from 23 to 30 kran.

A considerably greater importance for the trade of North-Eastern Persia is attached to the third route, namely the one leading south-east to the station of Duzdab. It is three times shorter than the two just described (870 miles) and through it passes the trade with India, to encourage which so much is being done by England, Russia's chief competitor, in the Persian market. The caravans make the distance in seventy-five days (Meshed—Duzdab) in summer and in fifty-one days in winter. Lorries traverse the route in thirty-five days. The transport of a pud (36 lbs.) costs between 10 and 11 krans on camels, and 17·5 krans in lorries. When trade with Russia was at a standstill, North-Eastern Persia endeavoured to develop her export trade over this route. In 1914-1915 North-Eastern Persian export through Duzdab amounted to 224,000 kran, while in 1921-1922, the year of the decline of trade with Russia, it rose to 10,282,000 kran—that is, it increased fifty-fold. The export of cotton increased from 20,000 puds in 1929 to 245,000 puds in 1922. Notwithstanding this artificial increase the export of cotton and of a series of other goods over this route is not advantageous at all. First of all the freight is rather high, amounting to 2 roubles 5 kran; secondly, the Indian market possesses its own cotton. The inexpediency of the export of this kind of material over this route is emphasized by the fact that as soon as export through Russia became possible export through Duzdab rapidly declined. Thus during the nine months of 1925-1926 the cotton export from Khorasan via Duzdab amounted to a negligible quantity of 9,017 puds worth 556,766 kran, while through Russia passed in the same period 201,330 puds worth 11,556,325 kran.

There remain now two routes to be considered—*i.e.*, the fourth in the direction of the railway stations in Turkmenistan, and the fifth in the direction of Baku—Tiflis—Batum.

There are five routes over which North-Eastern Persia can reach the stations along the Trans-Caspian Railway:

1. The sea-route from Bender-i-Gaz—a Persian port on the Caspian to the station of Krasnovodsk.
2. Meshed—Kuchan—Badgiran—Gaudan road leading

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to the station of Askhabad, 268 versts long (camels make it in twelve to fourteen days and lorries in eight to ten days). The camel freight amounts to 3 to 5 kran and the wagon 3·5 to 6 kran—*i.e.*, from 1s. 8d. to 2s. 3d. and 1s. 10d. to 2s. 10d. respectively.

3. Meshed–Kuchan–Deregez–Lutfabad road leading to the Artyk station, 182 versts long. This is a camel road only traversable in eight to ten days.

4. Meshed–Hakester road leading to the Ginsburg (Kaahka) station, 155 versts.

5. Meshed to Dushak station, 160 versts long.

The last route via Baku–Batum can only be used in connection with the fourth route—*i.e.*, North Persia has to reach this route through the Central Asian railways. Only from Astrabad–Shahrud region can the goods be sent to Bender-i-Gaz and thence straight to Baku. The utilization of this route was permitted under the Soviet-Persian trading agreement of July 3, 1924, but this route being beyond the limits of Central Asia, need not concern us in this article.

II. Afghan Trade Routes

The tendency of the economic life of North-East Persia to gravitate towards the Central Asian railways can be appreciated from the facts indicated above. The same tendency is developing in relation to the external trade of Northern Afghanistan and Western China.

Neither Persia nor Western China have any importance for the export trade of Afghanistan. Since Afghanistan has no direct outlet to sea, only Central Asia on the one hand and India on the other represent important markets for Afghan exports.

From Herat, the trading centre of North-Western Afghanistan to the station of Kushki on the Central Asian railway there is a distance of only 130 versts. The road is adapted to motor traffic. Another trading centre of Northern Afghanistan—namely, Mazar-i-Sherif—is situated only 56 versts from the station Termez on the Central Asian railway.

On the other hand, the distance from Herat to Kabul is 743 versts, with a rather difficult road over many passes; and from Kabul, via Jelalabad and Firuzabad, 226 versts to the station of Peshawar on the Indian railways. This portion, however, is in good condition; the whole distance from Herat to Peshawar is thus 969 versts, or five times longer than that to Kushki. Another route to India—via Saradi-Abad, Saadai, Sieh-ab, Farah to Kandahar is 604

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versts, and from Kandahar to the station of Quetta—211 versts. This latter route is easier for traffic than the former and also adapted for vehicles. The distance to be traversed is 821 versts.

From Mazar-i-Sherif to Kabul the distance is about 500 versts and to Peshawar 726—*i.e.*, thirteen times longer than to the station Termez of the Central Asian railways. It is evident, therefore, that in the case of Northern Afghanistan the export of such Afghan goods as cotton, wool, hides, etc., is more advantageous through Central Asia than through India.

III. Western Chinese Routes

More distant from the Central Asian railways are as yet the trading centres of Western China—namely, Kashgar and Kuldja. Nevertheless, even for these centres, the communications with Central Asia are more advantageous than with the ports of the Pacific or with the railway stations of India.

From Kashgar and the adjacent regions of Aksui and Khotan in the Sintzian Province, there are two routes leading to Central Asia:

1. To Irkeshtam and thence via Guitchu–Oshk to the station of Andijan in Central Asia, and,

2. To Turugart via Atbashi–Naryn–Rybatchie–Tokmak to the station Frunze (Pshpek) of the Semirechensk railway. The former route is 470 verstslong, has difficult passes, is closed for three winter months, and is of little use for regular traffic. It is transversable in twenty-five to thirty days, and the cost of transport amounts to 4·5 to 5 roubles per pud.

The second route, though much longer—647 versts—is far better adapted for transport, is open the whole year round, and transversable in fifteen to eighteen days. Freight by this route amounts to 2·6 roubles only per pud.

Kuldja, the centre of the Ili Province, is 644 versts distant. The route passes through Horgis, Djarkent, Altyn–Emel, Alma–Ata. It is adapted for vehicular traffic and takes twenty-five to thirty days to be traversed. The freight over it amounts to 2·5 to 3 roubles per pud.

The conditions for the development of the external trade of Western China with Central Asia are, comparatively speaking, worse than in Persia or Afghanistan, but if compared with conditions for export to the East or to the South they are not so bad.

The distance from Kuldja to the nearest railway station

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in the east of China, which is Kalgan, is 3,260 versts, and the route passes through the desert of Gobi.

Kashgar can communicate with India, but the distance to the nearest Indian railway station, namely Rawalpindi, situated 200 English miles west of Srinagar, which is connected with the latter by motor road, takes over two months to traverse, including the passage of the glaciers over the Karakorum chains; and this road is open only for six to seven months. The commercial importance of this road is not considerable.

The trade of Western China with the East, which developed during the stoppage of trading relations with Russia, began to decline considerably as soon as these relations were restored. The dynamics of the exchange of merchandise of the Ili region of Western China with the East and with the U.S.S.R. is characterized (according to the data of Chinese Custom Houses) as follows :

(*In thousands of Ili tetsz.*)

Years.	Exports to the East.	Exports to the U.S.S.R.	Imports from the East.	Imports from the U.S.S.R.
1924	1,400	4,310	2,900	975
1925	1,138	6,790	4,900	1,138

The imports from the East consisted chiefly of tea (to the amount of 4,500,000 Ili tetsz for the two years). If this item, which is not produced in Russia, be dropped out of account, the relative importance of the trade with Russia immediately following the resumption of normal relations will become fully self-evident.

IV. The Dynamics of Central Asian Trade

If the geographical position and the transport conditions are thus more favourable to the exports of North-Eastern Persia, Northern Afghanistan and Western China being directed towards Central Asia, the economic conditions of the latter do not permit it to utilize the imports for its own needs, but impel it to direct the imports by transit to the industrial centres of U.S.S.R. In like manner goods exported to these countries are not Central Asian in origin. They pass through it by transit from the inner industrial regions of the Union.

Thus, for the most part, goods, whether imported or exported to Central Asia, represents only a bridge over

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which a contact is effected of the industrial and economically backward regions of the adjacent eastern countries with the more developed industrial centres of the Union of the Soviets.

The general turnover of trade of Central Asia with the adjacent countries, in 1913, was as follows:

(*In thousand of gold roubles.*)

	From Persia.	From Afghanistan.	From West China.	Total.	Percentage.
Import:					
Victuals	548	661	224	1,433	6
Raw materials and semi-manufactured goods	3,421	2,554	5,815	13,790	58
Animals	2,781	786	1,836	5,403	23
Others	937	298	1,971	3,206	13
Total	7,687	6,299	9,846	23,832	100
Percentage ...	33	26	41	100	—
Export:					
Victuals	3,294	376	594	4,264	16
Raw materials and semi-manufactured goods	1,350	97	496	1,943	8
Handmade ware ...	5,285	5,472	7,289	18,045	72
Others	856	1	48	905	4
Total	10,785	5,946	8,427	25,518	100
Percentage ...	43	24	33	100	—
General turnover	18,472	12,245	18,273	48,990	—
Percentage ...	38	25	37	100	—

As will have been seen, the imports come largely from Western China (41 per cent.) and the exports go to Persia (43 per cent.). In general total their respective shares in the whole turnover are almost equal. The general turnover along the Central Asian frontiers, in 1913, reached nearly 50,000,000 roubles.

During the years of civil war the trade of Central Asia with the adjoining countries declined considerably. Demands for raw materials ceased to come from the industrial centres of Russia, whence likewise ceased also the export of manufactured goods. The rural industry of the nearest regions of the adjacent countries, which cannot develop without directing its exportable products through Russia, experienced similar decay. As a result of the absence of markets, the area under cultivation shrank considerably. Cotton, rice, vine and garden industries suffered conse-

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quently. A considerable reduction in cotton cultivation took place in Northern Persia and in Kashgaria. In the latter region even at present cotton is produced only at 25 per cent. to 30 per cent. of its normal capacity. The population thus became impoverished. At the same time as the manufactured goods which began to come in from other countries proved to be dearer, the population began to develop the production of their domestic industries. This process was observed also in Central Asia. In Western China, where the manufacture of domestic wearing apparel had always been fairly well developed, it obtained a considerable fillip.

In Persia, Afghanistan and Western China there are no regular statistics and it is therefore difficult to estimate with accuracy the amount of decrease in the productive power of these regions during this period, but indirect data leaves no doubt but that conditions were very adverse there. Foreign capital took advantage of the absence of Russia from the markets of North-Eastern Persia, Afghanistan and Western China, which it tried to flood with its manufactured products and also attempted to penetrate into Central Asia as well. In this respect its efforts were especially successful in the case of tea imports.

The import of tea into Central Asia from the adjacent countries has a long history. Until the nineties of the last century Central Asia received its tea—the most important article of consumption among the natives—from British India via Peshawar and Kabul. After the construction of the Trans-Caspian railway, tea came into Central Asia from the Persian Gulf via Meshed and thence to the stations along the new railway-line. With the opening in 1894 of the Bokharan Customs, "activity-permits" were granted, at the request of the merchants, for the transportation of tea through the Batum Customs stations. This route was considerably cheaper and more convenient, and not only deprived the Persian Gulf of this transit, but even into Persia tea went via Batum. In 1913-14 the export of tea from Russia into Persia via Central Asia amounted to 144,000 puds, or to 51 per cent. of the whole Persian import of this commodity (280,000 puds).

From 1896 to 1914 the whole supply of tea needed for Central Asia was imported from China through Batum. Only 5 per cent. of the whole import of tea continued to come through Afghanistan from British India by caravans via Korki. The average import of tea into Central Asia amounted in pre-war days to 430,000 puds per year.

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After the beginning of the Great War, tea had to be imported via Vladivostok–Orenburg, and as the import duty was reduced from 25·5 to 12 roubles, the tea did not become dearer. When the import of tea from Russia ceased, Central Asia could meet its needs only by imports through Persia and Afghanistan over the old routes which had been utilized previous to 1896. With the restoration of imports from Russia in 1924, when a branch of the State Tea Trust in Tashkent was opened, tea imports via Persia and Afghanistan diminished.

Besides tea, many other articles, such as manufactured jewellery, paints, etc., were being imported into Central Asia, during the Russian Civil War, from the adjacent countries.

The approximate extent of this import through Persia may be judged by comparative date of the Persian Customs Houses for the exports to Turkmenistan and those of the Russian Customs for imports from Khorasan. Thus the examination of statistics for 1925-1926 reveals that Central Asia imported among other things the following goods :

Tea to the value of 4,569,225 kran (1,250,921 roubles);
Textiles: 1,701.488 kran (391,342 roubles);
Paints: 729,643 kran (167,840 roubles); etc.,

while the Soviet Customs statistics show the quantity of tea imported in the same period amounting to 650,000 roubles, paints to 8,828 roubles. This proves that a considerable contraband trade had been in operation. With the restoration of normal relations with Russia this import from adjacent countries has diminished appreciably and so also has the contraband trade.*

The revival of normal trading relations of Central Asia with the adjacent countries of the East began in 1923-1924. Since that year the process of growth of the trade can best be judged from the statistics of the Soviet Customs Houses as on p. 526.

It can be seen that as regards imports from the point of view of their monetary value it has reached 91·1 per cent. of the pre-war total, while exports have been revived to the extent of only 52·2 per cent. The revival of imports has proceeded more successfully than the revival of exports. But ruling prices of the present time being much higher than they used to be in 1913, this comparison without inclusion of a quantitative table would be rather mislead-

* Contraband trade along the Black Sea coast and across the Turkish frontier is also extensive.—W. E. D. A.

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ing. Examining therefore the statistics of exports and imports for the same period in puds, we find that as regards exports into the adjacent countries great success has been achieved in connection with kerosine (88·8 per cent.) and matches (84·3 per cent.). During 1925-1926 the export of sugar shows a great increase, which goes to prove that the export of this particular item will soon reach its pre-war extent. The Soviet sugar predominates now, not only in the markets of Meshed and of places near it, but also in the markets of distant Birjand.

(*In millions of gold roubles.*)

	1913.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	Percentage of 1925-26 Compared with 1913.
Export to—					
North-West Persia ...	10·8	1·2	4·5	6·5	60·2
Afghanistan ...	5·9	0·1	0·5	2·7	45·7
Western China ...	8·4	0·1	0·7	4·0	47·6
Total	25·1	1·4	5·7	13·2	52·2
Import from—					
North-West Persia ...	9·7	5·6	11·8	13·0	133·9
Afghanistan ...	6·3	1·4	1·8	3·4	53·9
Western China ...	9·8	1·8	2·3	7·0	71·4
Total	25·8	8·8	15·9	23·4	91·1

(*In puds.*)

	1913.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	Percentage of 1925-26 Compared with 1913.
Export:					
Manufactures ...	273,193	10,071	28,365	58,743	21·5
Sugar	895,202	158,807	194,712	577,851	62·3
Kerosine ...	268,208	87,057	141,154	237,808	88·8
Metal and metal goods	90,516	40,973	39,589	114,583	118·9
Silicates ...	30,523	19,684	18,971	18,167	60·3
Matches ..	34,882	8,776	8,125	29,557	84·3
Import:					
Cotton ...	629,659	225,212	300,913	405,754	64·4
Wool	839,100	467,809	526,003	400,127	47·6
Raw hides ...	120,851	2,921	36,630	70,463	58·3
Dried fruit ...	713,218	529,059	430,493	338,105	47·4
Cattle (heads) big	22,829	5,351	15,500	17,823	78·0
Cattle (heads) small	615,131	51,434	104,000	226,516	36·8

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As regards metal exports, it is difficult to arrive at any definite conclusion as to the correctness of the calculations made by the representation in Central Asia of the People's Commissariat for Trade, for the figures for the year 1925-1926 are open to some doubt. It may be possible that this figure includes some metals or metal goods which formerly were not included, for it is sufficiently well known that the metal export from U.S.S.R. to the East not only does not exceed the pre-war amount, but is in point of fact much less. Moreover, such an increase in the export of metal cannot be expected at a time when the country is experiencing a general shortage of it.

In regard to the imports from the adjacent countries the position is much the same. Here, too, the pre-war level has not been reached.

Further development of import trade is hindered by the unfavourable trading balance of U.S.S.R.

Until the War, Russia had not experienced an adverse trade balance along the eastern frontiers. The exports covered and often even exceeded the imports. A different picture is, however, observed during the last few years, as will be seen from the following table :

(*In million roubles.*)

	Frontier with North-West Persia.			Frontier with Afghanistan.			Frontier with West China.			The Entire Central Asian Frontier.		
	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.
Import	5·6	11·8	13·0	1·4	1·8	3·4	1·8	2·3	7·0	8·8	15·9	23·4
Export	1·2	4·5	6·5	0·1	0·5	2·7	0·1	0·7	4·0	1·4	5·7	13·2
Balance ...	4·4	7·3	6·5	1·3	1·3	0·7	1·7	1·6	3·0	7·4	10·2	10·2

It will be seen from this table that the export trade has been growing favourably during the last two years. With the general growth of the turnover from 21·6 million roubles in 1924-1925 to 36·6 million roubles in 1925-1926 (that is, by 69 per cent.), we see that the adverse balance has not materially increased.

To change this state of affairs, however, it would be useless to resort to the cutting down of imports, for most of the goods coming from the adjacent countries are required by Russian industry, and it is much cheaper to import them from the East than from anywhere else.

In this connection it is of no small interest to see who

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are the agents carrying on trade along the Central Asian frontier. The statistics furnished by the Customs Houses of the frontier are illuminating in this respect.

	Frontier with Persia.		Frontier with Afghanistan.		Frontier with West China.		The Entire Frontier of Central Asia.	
	Import.	Export.	Import.	Export.	Import.	Export.	Import.	Export.
State organizations ...	58·0	81·6	30·7	75·1	18·0	70·6	41·0	76·7
Private traders ...	42·0	18·4	69·3	24·9	82·0	29·4	39·0	23·3

It will be noticed that the State organizations participate substantially only in the trade with North-Western Persia, where they realize 58 per cent. and 81·6 per cent. of import and export trade respectively. This is easy to understand if we consider the operations of such large and long established State organizations as "Rusperskhlopok" (Russo-Persian Cotton, Ltd.) "Sherst" ("Wool") and others. In the trade with the other regions private merchants predominate; 69·3 per cent. with Afghanistan and 82 per cent. with Western China.

The enterprise of the Soviet State organizations in these countries is not, it is clear, well developed, its development having been specially slow with Afghanistan and the Kashgar Province of Western China.

The construction of the Semirechinck railway-line, together with the already opened navigation on the river Ili, provide a final solution of the transport problem with regard to the Kuldja region, thus furthering the development of productive power in this part of Western China.

As to the Kashgar region, it is of urgent necessity to improve the existing lorry road Frunze—Rybatchie—Naryn—Turugart—Kashgar.

The transport facilities with Afghanistan are in a much more favourable position. There are already in existence railway-lines providing access to its frontiers.

Most undefined and vague are the prospects of transport, and in connection with it of trade, in Persia.

It is on the transport facilities that the future of trade between the Soviets and the East depends; and as the process of restoration of normal trading conditions is about to be accomplished, the construction of suitable transport lines must become the task of today, the solution of which problem will completely safeguard the further growth of the trade between the peoples of the Soviet Union and those of the countries of the Middle East.

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II

GEORGIAN POETRY

By Chalva Béridzé

(*Translated by* Miss Nancy Williams)

In writing this study of the poetry of Georgia, a poetry which may be considered as unknown in France, I have been confronted by two great difficulties: (1) The lack of Georgian books in the Paris libraries, and (2) the complete absence of French translations of the best-known masterpieces in that language.

I give, however, a bibliography of this poetry in various European languages:

I. In French.—1. Achas Borin: "Contes Orientaux. Rousthawéli." 1886. Paris, Ed. Quantin (out of print).

2. M. F. Brosset: *Journal Asiatique*. 1828-32, Paris.

3. Ch. Béridzé: "M. F. Brosset," Picart, 1922, Paris.

4. Ch. Béridzé: "Rousthawéli," Maisonneuve, 1928, Paris.

II. In English.—5. Miss Scott Wardrop: "The Man in the Panther's Skin," a romantic epic by Shotha Roust'haweli, 1912, London, published by the Royal Asiatic Society.

III. In German.—6. Arthur Leist: "Litterarische."

7. Arthur Leist: "Das Georgishe Volk." 1904, Skizzen, 1903, Leipzig.
Dresden.

IV. In Russian.—8. C. D. Balmont: "Barsowa Schkoura." 1917. Ed. Sabachnikow, Moscow (out of print).

9. Iwan-da-Maria (Iwan Tchorjéwsky): "Les Poètes Géorgiens." 1897, 2nd edition, Tiflis.

10. Princess Amiradjiby: "Les Poèsies Géorgiennes." 1916, Moscow.

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CHAPTER I: ANCIENT POETRY

If French poetry is the outcome of extreme sensitiveness, if Italian poetry is one long song to the greatness of Italy, one might say that Georgian poetry is born from a deep-seated feeling of revolt caused by the continuous sufferings of that country. Attacked on all sides, torn in pieces, often devastated, but never completely crushed, Georgia still holds faithfully to her time-honoured poetic traditions.

In the course of the last few years (1920-1929), a great number of translations of foreign poetry have appeared in France. The poetry of Bulgaria, Russia, Serbia, Armenia, Haiti, Persia has been brought within the reach of French scholars, but the poetry of Georgia is ignored.*

The famous M. F. Brosset devoted some pages to it, a century ago, in the *Journal Asiatique;* the celebrated Rousthawéli was translated and published, in 1928, by the author of the present essay (ed. Maisonneuve, Paris), and that is all, at any rate until a more favourable opportunity arises.

The origin of this poetry is as old as the Georgian nation itself, which is fixed in the seventh century B.C., in Southern Caucasus, "sprung from Chaldea," as the Georgian annals tell us.

Under a famous king, Pharnawaz I. of Georgia, the alphabet, called Laic (Mkhedronli), was invented in the third century B.C., and the same century saw the birth of Georgian literature. At the beginning of the fourth century Georgia embraced Christiantiy, and the oldest example of Georgian literature is the "Martyrdom of St. Chouchanik, the Armenian Queen," by the hagiographer Jacob the Priest (479-484). Under the Persian persecution she died, a martyr for her faith, on December 17, 472.

At the beginning of the sixth century the Georgian Gospel appeared; at this period Georgian letters were under Armenian influence, later under Assyrian, and finally, from the beginning of the seventh century, under Greek influence, which contributed to the development of Georgian ecclesiastical literature.

The most celebrated writers of the following literary period are: John Sabanisdze, Seïth Thargmany, Gregory Khandzthéli, George Mertchoul, Gregory Oschkely, John Bolnely, and John-Zosyme.

* Many anthologies are being displayed in the bookshops, and among them the curious "Une Anthologie Nègre," by B. Cendrars. "Au Sans Pareil," 1927.

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This last dedicated one of his poems (in acrostics) to his collaborator, named George. In six inspired verses he sings of the majesty of the Creator, the learning of the monks, the wisdom and harmony of nature.

In 714, the Arabs invaded Georgia and Armenia, sweeping them with fire and sword, thus giving check to the development of Georgian letters.

The eleventh century is almost entirely occupied by the writings of the famous preacher and philosopher, George Mathazmindeli, a very subtle and learned scholar. He stayed for twelve years in Byzantium, handled Greek skilfully, and practised poetry. He was the translator of the Bible and of the Lives of the Saints; he was the author of several works on the Orthodox Ritual. To him is ascribed the translation from the Greek of the celebrated poem "The Bells," translated into Russian by J. J. Kozlow, which begins with the lines which have now become immortal: "The bells, the bells! how great their music, what memories do they recall to us!"

(Two poems of the same kind are found in the works of Thomas Moore and W. Harrison, "The Bells.")*

The folk-songs of Georgia are full of passion and music. They sing of the majesty of the Creator, of home and children, and of nature. The tuneful folk-songs of Mingrelie are calls to action, inspiring fresh strength to fight the evils of this world.

Each season has its charm, its attraction, and its attributes. Gaiety, great activity, and an Eastern liveliness have always been the characteristics of the improvising travelling musicians (bagpipers) of the country.

Winter, white with snow, encourages attachment to the fireside. Gradually the days lengthen, the sun grows warmer, flowers begin to smile, the swallows call, and spring is here.

Violets and roses of all colours laugh up at the amorous nightingales, up at the encircling heaven; clear streams gush forth, and the flowering fields await the hands of the labourers.

The fertile land, moistened with the dews, grows ceaselessly before the joyous eyes of the husbandmen; happiness fills their hearts and fires them with a marvellous energy.

Summer, which is propitious for journeying, gives us the joys of travel; an invisible but all-powerful spirit sends his blessing over the whole world, promising all the joys of fruitfulness.

* *Cf.* "La Cloche" of Lamartine and "La Cloche félée" of Baudelaire.

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Autumn is the most pleasant season according to the folk-songs of Georgia.

Proverbs in verse, composed by the singers of the country, set forth for us a whole popular philosophy, of which the following are some examples:

1. It is preferable to shorten one's life rather than drag it out in a stifling atmosphere of grief, shame, and suspicion.
2. We are fellow-travellers through this world; we shall leave it and others will take our place. Joy, pleasure, sacrifice for the good of others—that is the chief ideal to guide us on the thorny road of life.
3. The weak and improvident man escapes neither death nor destiny.
4. What is the Universe? It is a rock unattainable by blind mortals; once born, they are laid in wait for and spied upon by unseen graves.
5. The true source of life is love, noble, unselfish, utterly sincere and boundless.
6. Devoted and chivalrous friendship is a contribution to the well-being of the country itself.
7. No joy, happiness, or delights apart from our country.
8. The Creator and St. George have planned our beautiful Georgia to fight against the unbelievers.

Among the legends of the country, the most popular is "Amirany," which is reminiscent of the Prometheus of the Greeks, "Mher" of the Armenians, and "Aberskils" of the Abkhases (Gr. Abasgoi).

Prometheus is the famous stealer of fire, who was cruelly chained to the top of Mount Caucasus by the Lord, and here are the details according to the Georgian version:

Amirany (Prometheus), the bold son of a hunter, having conquered all the most formidable giants, was moved by pride and cunning to summon to combat the Lord Christ Himself, his Godfather. This holy adversary was not slow to appear, and caused a huge tree trunk to be embedded in the earth. Amirany succeeded in raising it twice, but the third time, the miraculous tree having fastened its vast roots round the whole universe, it refused to respond to the efforts of the proud and misguided hero.

The Lord chained him to the top of Mount Caucasus to punish him for his foolishness and vainglory (or, according to a variation, for the theft of fire). A great vulture brings him bread and wine every day. His faithful dog helps him

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to raise the chain, but each time a bird alights on the log to which Amirany is fastened; he tries to beat off the bird with a stick, but it takes wing, the stick falls with full force on the log, which is again driven into the earth, and the martyrdom of the hero begins again, and goes on without ceasing.

The faithful dog, who is strong and young, goes on working at the hero's chain. Endowed with supernatural strength, he nearly achieves his object; but when the blacksmiths, according to their bad custom, strike their great hammers on the anvil on Holy Thursday, the chain becomes as solid as ever.

The dog goes on with his kindly work of trying to free the suffering hero, the blacksmiths go on with theirs, and Amirany continues to be chained. . . .

It will be a bad day for them, the legend finishes, if Amirany manages to free himself from captivity. . . .

Literature developed little by little until it reached its culminating point in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The great king, David Bagration, surnamed the Builder (1089-1125), assured the political and cultural power of the new Georgia.

Himself a scholar, educated and ardent, he was the devoted friend of Georgian letters. His attention was continuously engrossed with poetry, the sciences, astronomy, and history.

Arsenius Ikaltoeli, John Petrizi, Arsenius the Monk, King Dimitri (*d.* 1154), the son of David the Builder, John Chawthely, Arsenius Boulmaisidze, etc., are the prominent writers of this period (eleventh to thirteenth century); but the greatest poet of the "Golden Age" of Georgia is *Chota Rousthawéli*, the treasurer of Queen Thamar, to whom he dedicated his admirable work, "The Leopard Skin," a poem written in verse of sixteen syllables.*

After Rousthawéli came disaster, the political and literary downfall of the country. The Queen died, the Mongols invaded the land, and threw it into confusion for three hundred years.

Religious poetry, which had arisen at the beginning of the fifth century, had its part in the development of Georgian letters. Their hymns, chants, and sermons are full of poetic fervour and of religious and moral concep-

* The Georgian Annals praise the happy reign of Thamar, and compare it with a lion: "The lion is recognized by his talons, and Thamar by her decrees."

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tions. The lives of the saints serve as a groundwork, and the heroism of kings find an echo in patriotic poetry.

Spoken and non-religious poetry grew up gradually under two influences: Byzantine (eleventh to fourteenth century) and Persian (seventeenth to eighteenth century). The various Georgian tribes had been united since the eleventh century, and formed a nation under the name of Karthwels,* their language being called "Karthouli;" that is to say, "Georgian."

The "Golden Age" (eleventh to twelfth century) was followed by a period of decline (thirteenth to sixteenth century); the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are looked upon as a period of renaissance, and called the "Silver Age."

To the Golden Age belongs the famous romantic poem "Amiran-Doredjaniani," ascribed to Moses Khonely; "Wisramiany," a poem imitated from the Persian by the poet Sargis Thomogwely, which compresses into a small space a whole catalogue of psychological observations concerning love and passion in Eastern countries; but all the writings of the period pale before the supreme work of *Rousthawéli*, who is the real glory of Georgia.

His "Leopard Skin" is considered as beyond the reach of ordinary mortals, and the name of Rousthawéli is the symbol of fame and wisdom, of the whole art of poetry, of infinite beauty, and complete devotion.

He dedicated his poem to Queen Thamar, whose lover he was, according to common report.† The numerous maxims in the poem have passed into the language as proverbs, and are quoted today in ordinary speech even by illiterate people. The following are a few examples:

1. A soft answer is stronger than the violence of anger.
2. A true poet should be brief, because the shortest poem may be the richest and most human.
3. Poetic language should be flowery, as fertile in similes as in ideas.
4. The evil man is always cruel, even in his speech: he loves a bitter word better than his heart or his soul.
5. The equality of the sexes should be complete: the offspring of the lion is still a lion, whether it be male or female.

* Klaproth placed it among the unknown languages, Max Müller among the Turanian, and Bopp-Brosset among the Indo-European (Aryan Branch).

† For a study of this poem and the sources of this essay, see my "Ch. Rousthawéli." Paris, 1928. Ed. Maisonneuve fr.

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6. Social equality is necessary for complete sovereignty: the sun shines equally on the rose and on the dung-hill.
7. No enemy can hurt a man so much as himself.
8. Nothing can stop the triumphal progress of death: neither smooth nor thorny roads.
9. Do not follow the dangerous road of desire: it leads inevitably to disaster.
10. All secrets will be revealed one day.
11. The world is like the winds: it is so often variable.
12. The world is governed by money, which is the complicated invention of demons.
13. If the raven had a rose he would think himself a nightingale.
14. My paper is the heart of my beloved, my ink is passion, my pen is my whole life.
15. The most touching friendship is that between lords and their slaves, between the strong and the weak.

According to "The Leopard Skin," the part played by the poet and his poetry in social life is a very great one. The poet should be listened to and followed; he should live an exemplary life and lead his people towards the immeasurable beauties of the universe. Love and desire govern the world; the violent passions of mankind would know no bounds, and it is for the poets, who are inspired from on high, to guide them along the road of suffering and danger, it is for the poets to give the highest and purest direction to passion which seems to be chivalrous but is more often ineffective. He admires feminine friendship, and devoted chapter on chapter to it and addresses poetic eulogies to it. Thinathine, Nestan-Daredjan are beauty itself, their perfections are matchless; wise and discreet, they allow nothing to interfere with the attainment of their appointed object.

Rousthawéli is terse in his expression, but powerful and exact. His phrasing is eloquent, his similes as vivid as Nature herself. For poetic expression he addresses himself to the moon, the sun, birds, flowers, and precious stones.

The nightingale or the rose, ruby or pearl, turquoise or diamond, are only symbols to him of the glowing fires of love.

Friendship, the brotherhood of chivalry, devotion to a dominating idea, self-sacrifice for the good of others, and ideal love, are the main themes of Rousthawéli, which have

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made his immortal poem one of the most enlightened works in the poetry of the Middle Ages. Pascal in his "Pensees," Rousseau in the "Contrat Social," and Gerard de Nerval in his "Poesies," repeated the thoughts of Rousthawéli at a much later date, without any knowledge of the fact.

Another poem in verse of the same century, "Thamariany," attributed to the poet-traveller Tchakroukhadze, praises in the most poetic language the greatness, sweetness, courage and generosity, the power and wisdom, the justice and impartiality, of the great Queen Thamar.

Some translations of poetry which deserve to be known are: "Chah-Name" of Firdoousi, "Leile and Mejnoun" of Nizamy, "Rostomiani," "Baamiani," "Dilariani," "Omaniani," "Wisramiani," and several others.

The most popular of the translations is the Persian form of the didactic tale of "Kalilah and Dimnah," which has had a very great influence on Georgian literature.

Native Georgian literature gradually rose again towards the beginning of the seventeenth century, under the reign of Theimouraz I., who was himself a man of letters, author of the poem in verse "Ward-Boulbouliana,"* as well as various lyric pieces full of poetic charm.

King Artchil named his poem, "Artchiliany," and gives us an animated dialogue between Rousthawéli and Theimouraz I. He calls the former "the king of Georgian style and versification."

With his usual modesty, the author of "The Leopard Skin" defends himself against the attacks of his august literary rival Theimouraz I. In the end the latter gives him the supremacy in poetry while reserving for himself the supremacy of kingship.

The life of the great Intendant, the national hero, George Saakadze,† has been made the subject of a poem, "Didmoourawiany," by his grandson, Bishop Joseph-Tphileli-Babatchachwili (*d.* 1688). There is deep feeling in the poem, which arouses sympathy for the great politician. He complains bitterly of the incalculable evils of the world, of the fickleness and falsehood of mankind, and injustice on all sides. Saakadze speaks himself, and pours out deserved reproaches on the world in distinguished and melodious verse:

* "The Rose and the Nightingale," in Georgian language.

† Surnamed the "Father of his Country" in Georgia, and "Dux supremus exercitus georgiano" in Italy, which was always on friendly terms with Georgia.

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"My life, my hateful existence, a martyr for the faith of suffering Georgia! Oh, my life, devoted to my country and my King, devoted to my countrymen, driven into exile, tortured at Stamboul with longings. . . .
How hard it is for me—this absence from my friends!
I am consumed with longings for my home; fate smiles no more upon me.
My tears are tears of blood;
My sufferings rend my feeling heart.
Oh, my Country!"

Theimouraz I., the poet-King, is pessimistic in his poetic ideas. He calls the world "cunning as a fox," full of dangers and cruelties of all kinds. Married against his will, an exile in Turkey, Russia, and Persia, he mourns the sad fate of his country. A poet from his birth, a friend of letters, he called himself "the king of flowers."*

King Artchil I. (Bagration) continued his poetical work, and philosophized in verse on the same subject. His religious faith alone supported him in his hours of suffering.

Wakhtang VI., the law-giver King, founder of the Georgian printing press at Tiflis in 1709, was kept as a hostage in Persia for twenty-two years. A translator of Persian, a poet, and a man who was farseeing enough to anticipate the disaster coming upon his country, he made overtures again and again to the European States (France, Italy, etc.) to obtain a long period of protection for his martyred country. He is the author of the "Georgian Code," which is still famous. An example of this remarkable work is preserved in manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (Anc. fonds georgien, No. 5), written in the old ecclesiastical characters—"Khoutzouri."

He sings of love, of the love of brothers, of religion, of his country and her beauties, of those who have died for her, and comforts himself a little by hoping for a brighter future.

Prince Mamouka Barathachwili defines in his "Tchachniky" ("The Pattern") the function and the aim of poetry. which should be, according to him, the expression of patriotic and religious thought. Much appreciated in his own times, he was looked upon for two centuries as the Boileau of the country. He contributed to the simplification of Georgian verse.

The poets David Gouramichwili (*d.* 1774) and Wissarion Gabachwili (*d.* 1791) composed sonorous lines on the method advocated by "the Boileau of their country."

Prince David Gouramichwili is a perfect example of the

* In Georgian "Me war khwawiltka Khelmtziphe."

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pessimist poet; recalling the sad memories of the far past, he complains of the falsehood and injustice of the world.

A refined man of letters, highly educated and learned, he sets forth in persuasive verse the necessity for learning:

"Nothing is more lovely than learning.
Wisdom gives life to man;
She helps him bear the inevitable sufferings of old age;
She directs man towards a better, more enduring life.
Learning makes for the happiness of both sexes.
The learned man cannot be separated from his intellectual treasure;
He is great, he is independent.
The beginning of learning is hard,

. . . . .

The conditions of life are perverse and contrary,
Illogical and against the living;
The raven, too, often fondles the rose,
And the nightingale mates with a thorn.
The loveliest flowers are often breathed upon by bulls
Instead of receiving the life-giving rays of the Sun. . . ."
The end is sweet and fruitful.

The poet is sometimes symbolic: the rose is his country, the ravens are the enemies of that country. The nightingales beat themselves defencelessly against the dreadful thorn branches: when the land is suffering, occupied and attacked by enemies, that is not the right moment to think of poetry; the best poets are condemned to hold their peace, and to seek a happy issue from the sorrowful situation.

Here are, in short, the leading ideas of this poet of the eighteenth century.

The world is the work of the Creator; everything was conceived for the good of living creatures; Nature herself was in harmony. Heaven smiled on this wonderful creation, but evil spirits, the relentless enemies of humanity, brought into this life lying and craftiness, treason and falsehood, deceit and disparagement, spoil and battle. A heavy burden of suffering was laid for ever on the frail shoulders of humanity; nostalgia, grief, weariness have spread their roots everywhere, and grievous hatreds have found their way into the life of whole nations. The strong of the world will not so much as recognize the existence of the weak. A cruel arrow pierces through the poet's heart; no one is with him, neither sons nor daughters, no one to call him "father," his songs give place to cries of grief, tears rush to his eyes, and his heart breaks for his country.*

* A little later a martyred French poet, André Chénièr, was to repeat the words of Gouramichwili, without knowing it, in his poem "Sans Parents," written in London (Dec. 15, 1782): "Sans parents, sans amis et sans concitoyens."

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Wissarion Gabachwili devoted all his life to lyric poetry, and he was the author of several odes. A poet pessimist, far from his country, in Russia, he asks in a despairing elegy:

> "Is there any happiness on earth,
> Can we cross the ocean of our life?
> Everywhere we are followed by despair,
> And tears burn in our eyes. . . ."

The popular poet of the eighteenth century, K. Saiathnowa, was of Armenian extraction. Born at Tiflis, he adopted Georgia as his second country. Patronized by King Izakly II., he sings in excellent Georgian of his reign, his spiritual and moral power, his justice and his generosity.

In 1770 he became a monk in one of the monasteries of the country. In 1795, during the siege of Tiflis by the Persians, he greeted the enemies of Georgia, standing before the cathedral, the cross in his hand, with the words: "I will never betray my Lord. . . . Death only shall make me leave His holy temple." This was said in Persian and with unusual courage. The brutal enemies put him to death by way of answer (1795). His love poems were sung fervently by the wandering minstrels of his time, and, having been published at Tiflis in 1918, are quoted by heart by poets of today.

The same eighteenth century saw the birth of dramatic poetry. Incited by popular festivities, above all the Carnaval ("Keenoba") under Irakly II. (about 1792), Armenian, Russian, and Persian singers made their first appearance on an improvised stage at Tiflis. Mysteries and popular comedies were played there successfully under the direction of a certain Gabriel-Major.

In 1820-1822, certain young Georgians who had come from Moscow founded a permanent theatre at Tiflis. The first play was from the pen of Prince George Awalichwili; his piece is called "King Theimouraz," and the theme is purely patriotic and directed against foreign domination in Georgia. He translated the following comedies of Soumarokow: (1) "The Cuckold"; (2) "The Mother Confounded"; and (3) "The Quarrel about Nothing." Russian literature, at this period under the influence of Corneille, Racine, and Voltaire, had a similar influence on Georgian dramatic poetry.

In a didactic poem he expresses his ideas on the drama: it should be ennobling, it should heighten patriotism, and

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should point the way to heroic actions. The theatre ought to improve the manners and behaviour of the audience, and should be a real force in the country.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the tragedies and dramas of Voltaire ("Alzire,"* "Zaire"), Corneille ("Edipe," "Cinna," and "Cid"), Racine ("Esther"), etc., were translated. Prince George Fristawi was the great moving spirit and founder of the Georgian theatre at Tiflis from the beginning of the nineteenth century under the viceroyalty of Manesthik-Worintzop. He was much influenced by Molière, and his best comedy, "The Miser," deals with the same subject used by Molière. G. Eristawi has a sympathetic mention in his comedy in verse ("The Madcap") to the tragic deaths of Chénièr and Gerard de Nerval.

The works of Molière were translated shortly after by Dimitri Kipiani, a man of letters and a great Georgian patriot.

* Preserved in manuscript, at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. Ancien fonds gêorgien, No. 12. Laic script "Mkhédrouli."

(*To be continued.*)

[*End of Inner East Section.*]

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NOT TO BE ISSUED

FRENCH DEVELOPMENT WORK IN INDO-CHINA

By Pierre Cordemoy

(*Translated by* Miss N. Williams)

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COMMUNICATIONS (*continued*)

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(*c*) Navigable Ways

To complete our study we must examine two remaining kinds of development work: navigable ways and agricultural hydraulics, which are closely allied to each other.

Navigation and hydraulics are of vital importance in a great country which has on its exterior a seaboard of 2,500 kilometres, with wide openings at either extremity formed by the deltas of two important water-courses, the Mékong and the Red River, while its interior is penetrated by the long valleys of the two rivers, whose courses are hampered by obstructions, the whole system being full of difficulties.

Security, prosperity, the very existence of the native population, are bound up with the carrying out of river works, because of the concentration, in the fertile deltas of Cochin-China, of the inhabitants and the rice fields from which they derive their principal means of sustenance.

Contrary to the development of land communication, which was, as we have seen, practically non-existent before the coming of the French, it is only fair to state that the organization of dykes, canals, and rice fields has long been an honourable art among the highly intelligent and civilized people established on the sea coast of Eastern Indo-China.

The Annamites have great aptitude and a real genius for this kind of work. For centuries they have fought a great battle against floods and tides, and have succeeded in establishing their villages and fields on the alluvial plains by confining rivers and forcing back the sea.

This patient, desperate war against the waves has earned them the title of the "Dutch of the Far East."

These remarkable works, however, were behind the times in technique and management, and lacked the vigorous forward movement which only the knowledge of more modern methods and machinery could give them.

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The honour of introducing Western progress into this ancient country of the East belongs to French engineers, and the natives have reaped a generous benefit.

Let us see what results have been obtained with regard to navigable ways by studying—

I. Maritime Navigation.
II. Navigation of the Interior.

Agricultural hydraulics will form the subject of a special chapter closing this series of articles.

I. *Maritime Navigation*

In the administration of Old Annam, which was a self-contained country, buying and exporting very little, this navigation was confined to a fairly brisk coasting trade with neighbouring China, and very occasional transactions with the distant East. In French Indo-China, now opened up to international life, whose population, needs, and resources are incessantly being augmented, sea-borne traffic, which provides the greater part of the traffic with the exterior, must take, of a necessity, an important place.

At the present time the great ports of Indo-China, Saïgon and Haïphong, are in regular and frequent communication with the French capital, by means of the fine mail steamers of the Messageries Maritimes and the Chargeurs Reunis. The colony equips her ports, organizes her commercial fleet, and perfects her coast navigation service. She is improving and developing her relations with Hong-Kong, Bangkok, Singapore, and is endeavouring to extend them to all the dwellers on the shores of the Great Ocean. In these waters the flags of foreign countries are largely represented, particularly Great Britain and Japan.

In 1928, the Indo-Chinese ports had reached the following figures for the total incomings and outgoings of all sea-going ships (foreign service and coast services included together): 26,360 of a combined burden of 13,200,000 tons, carrying 1,100,000 passengers and 5,100,000 tons of merchandise,* of which one-quarter is coming in and three-quarters are going out.†

The development of maritime commerce proved by these figures is a natural consequence of the improvements made

* More exactly 5,100,000 tons of 1,000 kilogrammes, of which 1,234,000 are imports and 3,866,000 are exports.

† On these totals foreign service transports are represented by 2,339 ships with a burden of 7,200,000 tons, carrying 110,000 passengers and 3,880,000 tons of cargo.

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by France in the country. It has only been possible thanks to the great work done on the littoral and in the ports.

LITTORAL.—The equipment of the littoral of a great country is a work of international importance.

In Indo-China this equipment serves not only the navigators who frequent the estuaries of the rivers and the difficult coasts of Annam, the land of typhoons, but also all those who follow the great sea route from Singapore to Hong-Kong and can just sight the southern capes of this country.

This equipment comprises, as well as wireless and a system for typhoon warnings, a complete organization of semaphores, light-houses, and beacons.

Wireless telegraphy allows passing ships to communicate with Saïgon through the intermediary of the station at Mytho (70 kilometres from Saïgon. Long journey mail boats can set up communications with Mytho from their entry into the Malay Straits. Short wave stations have been installed, in addition to the Nao-Tcheou light-houses, at the entry of Kouang Tcheou-Van Bay (the French enclave in Chinese Kouang Toung) and the Norway Isles, in the Tonkin Gulf, at the approach of Haïphong. In 1928 other stations have been set up on the coasts of Annam at Poulo-Canton, Poulo-Gambir, and Honlon.

The system of light-houses and beacons comprises principal lights, with a beam reaching 20 to 30 miles, and secondary fixed lights. There are about ten of the principal lights scattered between the already mentioned Nao-Tcheou and Ha Tien on the Gulf of Siam, and some sixty of the second grade lights—white, red, or green—marking passages of the estuaries and the entries into ports.

This system of safeguards appears to give complete satisfaction to navigators. At this moment a commission is preparing a complementary programme of lighting and electric beacons.

PORTS.—There are at present in the Indo-Chinese Union some ten maritime ports already in use or under course of construction. These are:

1. Two great river ports:

In Cochin-China: Saïgon.
In Tonkin: Haïphong.

2. In Tonkin, two great coaling ports in deep water, one, *Hongay*, is in use, the other, *Cam-Pha*, is under construction; both are under the organization of the Société Française des Charbonnage of Tonkin.

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3. In Cambodia, on the Mékong, a river port, *Phnom-Penh*, which takes sea-going ships.

4. In Annam, four secondary ports, at intervals along the coast, which are, from north to south:

Benthuy
Tourane
Quinhon
Bankhoï

Saïgon-Cholon.—Under this denomination are united the seaport of Saïgon and the greatest river port of Indo-China, Saïgon-Cholon. Alongside with these commercial organisms the French Navy has the fortified port and the arsenal of Saïgon, which constitutes her chief naval base in the Far East.

The swift development and the future prospects of Saïgon-Cholon are due principally to its admirable position in the heart of an immense rice granary, and to the advantages offered by the port to shipping on a large scale.

It is an exceptional situation.

Saïgon, the wonderful capital, rightly called "the Pearl of the Far East," and Cholon, her Chinese neighbour, the great storehouse, where the rice of Cochin-China is dealt with, contain together 300,000 souls. United by the Chinese waterway and many canals, they include a river port developed to an extent of 12 kilometres, uniting one part to the sea and the other part to a network of navigable ways of about 4,000 kilometres extent, which traverse the delta of the Mékong, on which come, by sampans or by junks, paddy* from the provinces.

This great centre of navigation is, moreover, in the heart of one of the most fertile countries in the world, producing rice and indiarubber in abundance; its population and areas of cultivation are growing without ceasing, and it offers thus greater and greater possibilities of import and export.

Let us remember that, as well as the huge river system of which we have spoken, this port has, by roads and railways, convenient communication with the progressive regions of South Indo-China—Lower Laos, Cambodia, South Annam (the Moï District)—and, in consequence, is in control of their commerce.

The advantages of Saïgon from a maritime point of view are equally remarkable. The port is situated about 80 kilometres (45 miles) from the littoral, on the River Saïgon, a

* Rice before the removal of the husks.

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tributary of the Donnai. The navigable way is subject to ebb and flow* in communication with the China Sea, and has a usable breadth of 250-300 metres and a depth of at least 10 metres at low water.

The movement of vessels of heavy tonnage, the 20,000 ton mail boats of the Messageries Maritimes, or cruisers 183 metres long, such as the *Hawkins* of the British Royal Navy, can be accomplished easily by day or by night.†

The commercial port of Saïgon, situated below the fortified port, is formed, on a bank 6 kilometres in length, by the width of the river, which is 300 metres broad. Its area of 180 hectares allows forty-five large vessels to anchor there simultaneously and to carry out their operations in complete safety.

Since the beginning of the century, 10 million piastres have been devoted to its equipment. In 1927 and 1928 more than 900,000 piastres have been expended on new works.

There are 1,000 metres of quays in deep water, 2,500 metres of embankment at a lesser depth, and forty mooring posts.

The land equipment (railroads, fixed and electric cranes, hangars, docks, platforms, workshops for construction and repairs, appliances for careenage) is already very comprehensive and is constantly increasing.

Moreover, the Saïgon Arsenal, situated in the military port, can put at the disposal of commercial vessels two dry docks, a floating dock, and stocks.

The floating equipment includes tugs, launches, lighters, pumping apparatus.

Since 1914, this port which we are considering has been a public autonomous institution with a civil administration. It is managed by an administrative council of fifteen members, whose president holds the same office in the Chamber of Commerce of Saïgon. Having the disposal of a special budget, this Council decides each year the programme of work to be carried out.

The progress of the port is greater every year.

Open to international commerce on February 11, 1860, by the decision of the French Rear-Admiral Page, commanding the Expeditionary Forces in Cochin-China, it has received, in outgoings and incomings together:

In 1861, 250 vessels with a combined tonnage of 81,000 tons.

* Running at a speed of three knots.
† Except for mail boats, the port is only open in the daytime.

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In 1911, 911 vessels with a combined tonnage of 1,975,000 tons.

In 1928, 1,869 vessels with a combined tonnage of 4,600,000 tons.

If we add to these eloquent figures that of the river tonnage the total is nearly 9 million tons in 1927, thus classing Saïgon among the first rank French ports.

From the point of view of weight of merchandise handled and numbers of passengers, the sea traffic in 1928 has reached 2,418,000 tons and 85,000 passengers, of which total 587,000 tons and 61,000 passengers are coming in, 1,831,000 tons and 24,000 passengers are going out.

The high proportion of outgoing traffic is due to the importance of the rice export, which has increased from 58,000 tons in 1860 to 1,660,000 tons in 1928. The exportation of rice from Cochin-China is today twenty-eight times greater since the coming of the French, even though the native population is doubled, because the extent of the rice fields has been multiplied by six in thirty years, in consequence of agricultural hydraulics.

This remarkable growth in the production and wealth of the colony is one of the most evident signs of the work undertaken by the protecting nation.

Haïphong.—This is the great port of the north, as Saïgon is of the south; the second port of the Indo-Chinese Union, it owes its rapid growth and promising future to its position at the outlet of a large, rich, and thickly populated district, where France has set up an important system of communications.

With the exception of the Hongay-Cam-Pha coaling stations, Haïphong is the only outlet to the sea for Tonkin, North Annam, and Chinese Yunnan; that is to say, a territory inhabited by more than 15 million people, whose output, requirements, and consequent commerce are constantly progressing.

It has many sources of communication with the interior. It is linked (1) by great navigable ways with the network of the Red River, whose tributaries and canals cover a vast agricultural region; (2) by a good colonial road and the railway to Hanoï, the northern capital, the centre of communications with China, Upper Tonkin, Laos, Annam; (3) by a railway, crossing all Tonkin to Yunnan-Fou, the chief town of Yunnan. While Saïgon has a chiefly agricultural traffic, Haïphong has both an agricultural and industrial activity. For Tonkin, with its densely populated alluvial plains, its encircling wooded mountains, and its very rich

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subsoil, offers an abundance of hand work and raw materials, building wood, vast fields of coal and phosphates, zinc, and tin mines, iron, lead, graphite, etc.

The port of Haïphong is situated 25 kilometres (14 miles) from the sea on a molth of the Thai-Binh* (called the Cua-Cam).

It is now permanently accessible to large vessels drawing 8 metres of water, such as the mail boats of the "Chantilly" type of the Messageries Maritimes.

But Nature has shown herself more rebellious here than in the estuary of Saïgon.

Since the beginning of the century it has been found necessary to undertake extensive dredging operations to the bar of the Cua-Nam-Trieu† to maintain a channel of convenient access and sufficient depth.

In this unstable river region the depths obtained can only be preserved by means of intensive dredging operations for five or six months of the year.

In 1928-1929, on the bar of Cua-Nam-Trieu alone, it has been found necessary to dredge up 1,414,000 cubic metres of silt; in spite of these efforts it is probable that dredging alone will not suffice for the necessary improvement of the canal, but that recourse must be made to embanking the passage.

Thirty years ago the port and the town, which used to serve as a revictualling base for troops, could scarcely be said to exist.

Today, thanks to considerable efforts, beside the port with which we are dealing there has arisen a commercial and industrial town of more than 100,000 inhabitants. There are large factories, making cements, chemical products, and phosphates, as well as a glass-works, a cotton mill, rice factories, engineering workshops, and naval shipbuilding yards.

Since January 1, 1928, Haïphong has been made, as in the case of Saïgon, an autonomous port, receiving an annual grant from the general Indo-Chinese budget as a contribution to the work of maintenance (225,000 piastres in 1928).

The Chamber of Commerce, which was formerly in

* The Thai-Binh is a river whose delta is contiguous to that of the Red River, with which it communicates by two great canals, the Rapides and the Bambous.

† The Cua-Nam-Trieu is another mouth of the Thai-Binh. It was chosen and linked to Haiphong by an artificial canal because the bar at its entry had twice the depth of water of the Cua-Cam.

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charge of the administration of the port, devoted for new work, from 1921 to 1925, the proceeds of a loan of 3 million contracted by them (for the construction of docks, quays, landing-stages, etc.).

At the present moment the fixed plant comprises 800 metres of frontage (quays or bridgements), about ten mooring places, about ten cranes, and docks and hangars covering two hectares.

The floating material comprises some thirty buildings, dredgers, lighters, tugs, launches, barges, and buoys.

The movements in the port of Haïphong (ingoing and outgoing, foreign trade and large, medium, or small coasting trade) reached in 1928 the following figures: 17,026 vessels of 4,547,000 tons burden, carrying 1,319,000 tons of cargo and 897,000 passengers.

According to these figures, foreign trade accounts for 778 vessels of 1,797,000 tons burden, 801,000 tons cargo, and 63,000 passengers.

On comparing these figures with those of before the war (1914), it may be seen that in fourteen years, four and a half of which were war years, the tonnage has been nearly doubled, and the weight of cargo more than triplicated.

Hongay-Cam-Pha.—These two deep-water ports are in Tonkin, on the Bay of Along, near the magnificent coal-fields, which are worked by the Société Française des Charbonnage of Tonkin. The ports are primarily intended for the coal export of this company.

In 1928, Hongay, which has about 100 metres of quays accessible for vessels of 6,000 tons burden drawing 7 metres of water, has accommodated (in imports and exports) 4,336 vessels of 1,565,000 gross tonnage (of which 404, on foreign service, have a tonnage of 1,161,000).

The weight of cargo, almost exclusively coal, was 1,072,000 tons for export. Imports have been almost negligible (9 tons).

This port, by reason of its cargo tonnage, is the third important one in Indo-China, and for some time has not been equal to the increased trade.

The Society, therefore, has undertaken, in the same district, the building of the port of Cam-Pha, which was completed in 1928. This port can accommodate simultaneously two cargoes of 10,000 tons, drawing 10 metres of water, and can send out every year 500,000 tons of coal.

The new port and the railway which serves it are electrified, and the port has a quay 300 metres long, linked to the land by two jetties.

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It is the public property of the colony, but ships working for the Charbonnages Company have right of priority.

Phnom-Penh.—This is the picturesque capital of Cambodia, with a population of 76,000, situated on the Mékong, 320 kilometres (180 miles) from the sea. There is a river port, which is, for all intents, a maritime port, for, since 1908, sea-going ships of all nationalities have had free entry there, and it is within reach of tides.

Following on recent improvement and extension works (dredging of passages, construction and equipment of bridge work), cargo boats with a draught of 5 metres can use this port.

Phnom-Penh shelters principally those boats which carry on a coasting trade in the China Sea, particularly with the Philippines, carrying cattle, rice, and dried fish.

In 1928, movement in the port amounted to the following figures (imports and exports included): 1,888 vessels (of which were on foreign trade) of 414,000 tons burden, carrying 112,000 tons of cargo and 109,000 passengers.

In contrast to nearly all the other Indo-Chinese ports, the activities of this port have declined. Probably the road system of Cambodia, particularly heavy transport by lorries, is a chief cause of this retrogression.

THE PORTS OF ANNAM.—There are four ports, still incompletely equipped: Benthy, Tourane, Quinhon, and Bangoï, of whose total cargo traffic 71 per cent. (viz., 128,000 tons) is provided by the coast trade plying from north to south along the vast sea front of Annam, which is also served by the Transindochinese road and railway.

Moreover, the development of Laos and the Red Lands of South Annam, and the construction now going on of lines of communication for these countries, will make for a greatly increased activity in these ports in the near future.

Benthuy.—At the present time, Benthuy deals solely with the coast trade.

Linked to Vinh, a station on the Transindochinese railway, by a branch line 5 kilometres long, it is situated on the River Song-Ca, 19 kilometres (11 miles) from the sea.

It will be the most important outlet for Laos when the inland railway from Tanap to Thakhek is built.

Navigation of the Song-Ca is impeded by a bar of shifting sand, and in the upper reaches by a rocky ledge; plans are being made for the improvement of the channel so as to allow vessels of 5 or 6 metres draught to have access to the port.

In 1928, the position of Benthuy was as follows (entries

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and outgoings combined): 294 ships of 111,000 tons burden, carrying 44,000 tons, of which 35,000 were export.

Tourane.—This port, which is the most frequented one in Annam, is now the terminus of the north section of the Transindochinese railway. It consists of a seaport in a great bay, and a river portion in the great river which empties itself into the bay.

Insufficient depth at the river mouth obliges ships to anchor at the entry to the roads, near the Observatory Island, and carry out their operations by junks or lighters.

Efforts are being made to improve this by dredging a channel through the river bar, providing communication between the anchorage at the island and the quays built on the river bank. A dyke is just being made to prevent the encroachment of sand in the channel, which was dredged in 1927 to a depth of 4·30 m. below the charted depth.

In 1928, Tourane accommodated (entries and outgoings included) 608 vessels (262 on foreign trade) of 1,231,000 tons burden, carrying 101,000 tons of cargo, of which 50,000 tons are export.

Quinhon.—The port here is formed by a lagoon, where ships are perfectly sheltered, which communicated with the sea by a channel 75 metres wide, excavated to a depth of 6·50 m. The depth of this canal is well maintained.

There is a pier in reinforced concrete, and a new one is under consideration.

Quinhon has a great future as the sea outlet of the rich province of Kontum, where European colonization is in full development.

In 1928, it was used by 318 vessels (38 on foreign service) with a burden of 707,000 tons (entries and departures included), carrying 26,000 tons of cargo (of which 14,000 were outgoing).

Bangoï.—Bangoï owes its importance to its position on the magnificent Bay of Camranh, which is completely sheltered at all times, and is capable of accommodating an entire fleet.

It is already served by the south section of the Transindochinese line (Saïgon-Nhatrang), and its traffic, which is not yet very great will develop in proportion with the colonization that is being carried out in the fertile plateaus of South Annam.

A dock is being built there, 81 metres long, of reinforced concrete, which can be used at low tide by ships drawing 7 metres of water.

In 1928, it accommodated 22 vessels (4 on foreign ser-

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vice) with a burden of 38,000 tons, carrying 8,000 tons of cargo.

In the course of the year 1929, two interesting things occurred with regard to maritime navigation in Indo-China:

1. The constitution and working of a Commission of inquiry charged with the drawing up of a programme of work for the fitting up of ports and water-front.

2. The development of French subsidized sea services by the general Government of Indo-China for the organization of regular relations with neighbouring countries.

The commission of inquiry, presided over by M. Perrier, the Inspector-General of Public Works, has been operating in Indo-China since the end of 1929 and has not yet finished its work.

The French sea services organized to increase and regularize the relations of French Indo-China with the adjacent countries, are as follows:

1. The bi-monthly line along the Annam Coast: Saïgon, Quinhon, Tourane, Haïphong.

2. Lines belonging to the Société Maritime Indochinoise—

(*a*) *Dutch East Indies:* from Saïgon to Sourabaya, Batavia and Saïgon (leaves Saïgon every twenty-eight days.

(*b*) *South China:* from Saïgon to Swatow, Hong-Kong, Haïphong, Tourane, and Saïgon (leaves Saïgon every twenty-eight days).

(*c*) *Siam and Singapore:* from Saïgon to Poulo-Condor, Phuquoc, Ream, Bangkok, Saïgon, with optional extension to Singapore.

3. Lines belonging to the Compagnie Indochinoise de Navigation—

(*a*) Direct mail service between Haïphong and Hong-Kong (the steamer *Canton* doing thirty-six voyages a year).

(*b*) Bi-monthly service from Haïphong to Hong-Kong, calling at Pakhoi, Hoihao, Kouang-Tchou-Van (the steamer *Tonkin*).

II. *Inland Navigation*

In spite of the difficulties put in the way of water transport by the uncertainties of the great rivers, the magnitude of their rising and the volume of their floods, French Indo-

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China, particularly in Cochin-China and Tonkin, has an interior navigation system of unusual importance.

The water system, on the whole a very simple one, consists of two great rivers coming from outside the country, and including in between their deltas a number of other rivers, generally broad and short.

In the north, the Red River (Song Hoï) comes from China, and irrigates, fertilizes, and sometimes endangers, with its floods, Lower Tonkin.

On the west and to the south, the river is the great Mékong, which, coming from far off Thibet, separates Laos from Burma and Siam, and lower down brings fertility and richness to Cambodia and Cochin-China.

On the east are the rivers of Annam running into the China Sea, sending down their waters from the long mountain chain which forms the backbone of the colony.

The Red River.—The navigable system of Tonkin is formed by the two chief tributaries of the Red River: the Black and the Clear Rivers, and, above all, by the outlets and canals of the vast delta, linked to the course of a neighbouring river, the Thai-Binh.

The course of the Red River is very uncertain and very dangerous for the river dwellers. Formidable floods sometimes raise its level at Hanoï as much as 12 metres above the low-water-mark (11·95 m. in 1926); at such times it rolls towards the sea as much as 30,000 cubic metres of water a second. The silt brought down, whose volume reaches 80 million cubic metres a year, forms huge banks, which slip slowly downstream.

In spite of dangers and obstructions, navigation by steam launches, junks, and sampans is very active, particularly in the delta, where the most frequented ports are Haïphong, Hanoï, and Nam-Dinh. Hanoï alone has an annual movement of entries and outgoings of 3,000 launches carrying 250,000 passengers, and Haïphong receives by boat the produce of the rich agricultural provinces of the Lower Country.

Since 1907, Tonkin has had a subsidized service of steam boats working on the river system, and there are now four steam navigation companies, thus insuring regular transport.

The extent of water that is available for steam boats varies according to the season. During the high tides (July to October) the navigable system extends for 700 kilometres, and stretches up the Red River as far as Laokay,

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on the Clear River as far as Tuyen Quang, and on the Black River as far as Chobo. At times of low water the distance is reduced to 450 kilometres, owing to sandbanks and shallows.

What we have mentioned on the subject of the risings and the mass of alluvium of the Red River will help the reader to understand the strenuousness and the hardship of the struggle waged through the centuries by the Annamites against the terrible forces of the river.

The work undertaken by the French engineers at Tonkin have for their object the better protection of population and crops against floods, and the improvement of navigation conditions.

We shall see, when we come to speak of agricultural hydraulics, the considerable effort made to strengthen the protecting dykes.

From the point of view of navigation, important results have been obtained by means of methodical work carried on for many years.

This work consists of dredging and embanking.

These embankments consist of rubble groins, and, above all, masses of heavy rubble planned to fix the sandbanks in place.

Thus the minor bed of the river has been successfully fixed, navigation has been improved, and at the same time the risk of the dykes being broken is minimized.

The Mékong.—This river is one of the largest in the world, being 4,500 kilometres long, rolling down vast masses of water in times of flood; however, it is navigable along the greater part of its course to a moderate degree, in spite of its torrential character.

The Indo-Chinese portion of the Mékong may be divided into three sections, corresponding nearly to the three French colonies that it passes through:

In the upper reaches, the Laotien section, from the Chinese frontier to the falls of Khone.

In the centre, the Cambodian section, from Khone to Phnom-Penh.

In the lower part, the Cochin-China section, from Phnom-Penh to the sea.

Navigation increases as the river flows downwards.

In Laos, which is a thinly populated region, the Mékong and its tributaries are impeded by rapids, falls, and reefs, and only allow the passage of boats of very low tonnage—small steamers or canoes. Although the commercial traffic of Laos is done almost entirely on the Mékong, the annual

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traffic returns are of limited importance (rather less than 8,000 tons in 1928, imports and exports included).

The diminution noticed on the 1928 tonnage refers entirely to the exports. It seems to be the result of the lightening of the tariffs of transport by river and the improvement of the conditions of circulation on the Dongha-Savannakhet road, which connects the Mékong with the coast of Annam by motor transport.

In Cambodia, which is a well-peopled and easily accessible kingdom, the Mékong, the Great Lake, which acts as a regulator, and the tributaries, constitute much more convenient channels of communication. The annual river traffic exceeds half a million tons.

In Cochin-China, which is a rich and thickly populated colony, the alluvial delta of the great river, linked up by canals such as those of Vaicos and Dannai in the north-east, covers 42,000 square kilometres and has a navigable system of a very compact kind. The river navigation is of particular importance, and the annual returns of outgoing transport amount to some millions of tons.*

To sum up, the navigable possibilities of the Mékong present the following features:

In Laos, from Luang Prabang to Khone, there are three great navigable reaches separated by rapids, which necessitate travellers and cargo undergoing frequent changes from steamer to canoe or *vice versa*.

At the southern outlet of the colony the Khone Falls offer an insurmountable obstacle to navigation, which is circumvented by means of a railway, involving two transhipments.

In Cambodia, the section Khone-South Kratie includes rapids, which necessitates transhipment to canoes for forty-five kilometres.

Below Kratie nearly to Phnom-Penh there are hardly any obstacles to navigation, with the exception of a few sandbanks, which are troublesome at periods of low water.

Lastly, it should be remembered that Phnom-Penh is a port which can take in sea-going ships without difficulty by the delta of the Mékong, through the mouth of the Cua-Tien.

The Mékong is, in its upper reaches, strewn with so many obstructions that it still takes sixteen to twenty days to travel the 1,700 kilometres which separate Saïgon from Vientiane (the administrative capital of Laos), and a month

* We will deal with river navigation in Cochin-China at the same time that we deal with agricultural hydraulics.

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to a month and a half to go from Saïgon to Luang-Prabang, in the centre of Upper Laos.*

The use of motor canoes has reduced the length of the journey by the Mékong between Vientiane and Luang-Prabang to a considerable extent. Governor-General Pasquier, visiting Laos at the end of last year, was able to do the journey in two days by the use of this mode of transport.

For a long time the Public Works Department of Indo-China has endeavoured to improve the navigability of the Mékong, and thus to open up Laos for colonization. Up to the end of 1924, 580,000 piastres had been set aside for these improvements. In 1925 a programme was launched involving a total expenditure of 2 million piastres and a contract for nine years' work, beginning from 1926.

The work provided for and now in course of execution includes:

The making of navigable channels in the difficult passages by means of removal of rocks, the installation of signals to mark obstructions and define passages.

The equipment at Laos, between North Khone and Vientiane, of 30 to 35 metre boats provided with powerful motors of the semi-Diesel type burning Mazout oil.

The improvement of the railway and the transhipment stations at Khone.

The realization of the scheme will provide for:

1. Facilitation of canoe transport between Vientiane and Luang-Prabang.

2. The reduction to two, perhaps to one, of the transhipments at low water between North Khone and Vientiane.

3. The improvement and acceleration of transhipments at Khone.

4. Assurance of the continuity of transport by 30 to 35 metre launches between Phnom-Penh and South Khone.

When this work is completed, it may be hoped that the annual traffic returns on the Mékong, which has mounted already from 6,000 to 10,200 tons (1927), may go up to 20,000 or 30,000 tons.

This last figure, however, would appear to be the maximum, for there can be no question of undertaking on this difficult river any work whose cost must be out of proportion with the object to be obtained.

As we have already stated, when dealing with railways

* The Compagnie Saigonnaise de Navigation et de Transport is in charge of transport on the Mékong from its mouth to Vientiane.

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and roads, the opening up of Laos will be mainly effected by road—by the Tranninh towards Hanoï, by Thakkek towards Benthuy, by Savannakkek towards Dongha, and by Khone towards Kratie and Saïgon.

The Rivers of Annam.—These waterways have not as a rule extensive courses, the line of the ridge of the Annamite Chain, where they rise, being never very far from the sea.

They are longer in North Annam, where are the Song Ca, the river of Vinh, and the Song Ma, the river of Thanh Hoa.

In the centre of Annam the rivers are short and broad in their lower courses, and usually open out into lagoons.

The rivers of Annam have annual risings, which, by reason of the small extent of their basins, are never as formidable as those of the great rivers. Added to this, in Central Annam canals complete the navigable system, which for small navigation has a total development of 3,000 kilometres, available at all times.

Steam navigation is possible on 1,000 kilometres at periods of high tides (September to February) and on 3,000 kilometres during the rest of the year.

Perhaps even more than the study of roads and railways a survey of navigable routes, benefiting not only the protecting nation but international commerce and the native population, shows forth the altruistic character and the real greatness of French public works in Indo-China.

At this cross-roads of the world, which is the South Pacific, where four great civilized nations of the West live side by side with the Yellow race, France has equipped and opened to the commerce of nations two great ports—Saïgon and Haïphong, she has equipped for the general profit an immense littoral, and she is about to develop seven other maritime settlements.

We have stated that the traffic of the colony, which is constantly increasing, bears witness to a magnificent progress, which uses each year nearly 26,000 vessels carrying 5 million tons and 250,000 passengers, with an export trade twice as big as the import.

On an examination of interior navigation and the means taken for its development we can see that the representatives of France are concerned, above all things, with the existence and the interests of the population. Governors and engineers have guided and helped the natives in their age-old struggle against the blind forces of Nature, against the fierce Red River and the rushing Mékong.

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Let us take count of the results obtained: In Tonkin and Cochin-China, a river system and an inland navigation of extraordinary activity; in Cambodia, a considerable increase in traffic by water; and in Laos, successful efforts to open up the country by the Mékong.

Everywhere in modern Indo-China the examination of facts and figures shows us how the collaboration of the French with the native population has proved, in spite of the attacks made upon it, fruitful both of present results and of promise in the future.

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THE INTERNATIONAL COLONIAL EXHIBITION OF PARIS, 1931

[The information upon which the article that follows is based, and the accompanying photographs, are supplied to the ASIATIC REVIEW by M. Cayla, until recently General Secretary to the International Colonial Exhibition to be held in Paris in 1931 under the direction of Marshal Lyautey, until recently French Resident-General in Morocco. M. Cayla has held high office in Syria and elsewhere, and has just been appointed Governor-General of Madagascar.]

CHARACTER AND PURPOSE OF THE EXHIBITION

THE idea of organizing a Colonial Exhibition, which had been under consideration by the City of Paris before the year 1914, assumed, as was to be expected after the War a new form and a wider scope.

From a national standpoint, it was natural that Paris should wish to be the centre of a demonstration which would give the world a picture of the whole of France and indicate the closeness of the union that exists between that country and the territories dependent upon its methods and traditions.

From an international standpoint, it is evident that the importance of colonization is daily increasing. It would now seem that after being duly rewarded, by means of the consolidation of their security, for the help given to their respective mother-countries during the War, colonial territories are becoming more and more the regulating factors of modern life.

Thus, under the pressure of new ideas and facts, the original national plan was abandoned. Today international co-operation promises to bring the Colonial Exhibition of Paris all the advantages of world-wide experience and knowledge.

* * * * *

In demonstrating that well-managed colonization is part of the general system of civilization, the Exhibition of 1931 will only illustrate facts which have already been brought to general notice by the evolution of colonial methods. There has been enough evidence in the past to show that rough methods create nothing and lay no solid foundation. No one would credit the barbarian invaders of the fifth century with a part in the development of our civilization.

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On the contrary, the history of Rome and Greece is closely connected with ancient civilization.

What is colonization but the extension to another population of the benefit of a tradition or organization superior to its own? In other words, to colonize is to civilize.

It is true that time brings about changes in ideas and customs, thus involving an evolution in the methods and principles of colonization.

The colonizing countries have long ago abandoned the selfish principle of the Colonial Pact, which only considered the interest of the mother-country. The present conception of colonization is essentially one of respect towards the dignity of mankind—*i.e.*, intelligent aid, but not oppression. To colonize does not mean exploiting those who are being colonized; it means giving to them the opportunity to associate themselves with the colonizing countries. It also means facilitating the work of education and rational leadership to pacification.

It is easy to exert compulsion when one is the stronger; but to educate and advise gently in order to bring weaker races gradually to the level of the most civilized nations is a more difficult task requiring patience, a sense of justice, and a stern conception of duty.

If there is a form of colonization which fulfils these requirements, it is that of this policy. It bestows advantages upon the country which follows it, while its methods uphold the dignity of the colonized race.

In order to emphasize the ever-increasing contribution which colonization brings to the advancement of mankind, the Exhibition of 1931 will first proceed to draw up a schedule of the work accomplished by the colonizing countries. This work covers so much ground, and the territories under its scope vary so much and are so far apart, that in spite of the development of communications and various means of investigation at the disposal of the Press and other information agencies, yet even today the greater part of the public is still ignorant regarding its importance.

This scheme will, therefore, enable the public to get some idea of what has been done to pacify and organize immense territories, to furnish their populations with modern economical equipment and social help.

It will be a display which will not only give people a great object-lesson in the matter of colonization, but it will also elucidate a number of errors and add to the general knowledge on the subject. It will, moreover, interest the

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public in the prospects of colonization and the further developments which must follow the results already obtained. At the present time the requirements of modern life, especially since the War, are compelling people to pay more attention to the careful management of their property. Labour is strictly controlled, and it is impossible nowadays for any country to leave large areas uncultivated, natural forces unutilized, or any kind of material wealth undeveloped.

Any colonizing country must consider the development of its overseas territories, not only as a national necessity—*i.e.*, that of providing itself with a market for its manufactured products, a source of raw material and food supplies—but it should also assume it as part of its international duty towards civilization.

In the future old and young countries should stand on the same level with perfect equality between them.

How is this equality to be obtained ?

The Exhibition of 1931 will indicate all the aspects of this problem as well as providing the means for finding its solution.

It is for this reason that the General Organizing Committee has decided to group the different services of information into a kind of "International Centre of Information," which will be independent of the Exhibition as a whole.

This Centre of Information will distribute from its various offices a full documentation, such as maps, plans, illustrated graphics, posters, and commercial files complete with corresponding samples. This documentation, fully commented upon by technical experts, will enable the public to get quick and reliable information.

Besides the offices privately owned by the various countries, a large hall for general use will also be found in the Centre of Information, where quotations of the main colonial products and principal colonial securities will be permanently posted up, as well as other information which might be of interest to the public. A general post and telegraph office will facilitate the publication abroad of the gathered documentary material.

Offices of the most important travel agencies, banks, shipping and railroad companies will also be found in the hall. In a large reading-room newspapers, magazines, and other literature issued by every country represented at the Exhibition will be at the disposal of the public.

A large cinema theatre, containing 2,500 seats and a room for broadcasting, will facilitate the transmission, by means of the screen and loud-speakers, of the

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documentation furnished by the various information offices.

It is easy to conceive the interest that such a centre of information may present. However, something more than information for personal use will be found there. In bringing together so many technicians belonging to all fields of activity and embracing various aspects of knowledge, the Exhibition of 1931 will enable everyone to acquire a general idea of various problems which until now have received inadequate attention.

There are numerous subjects which might benefit by the exchange of ideas; such, for instance, as international communications, sanitary measures, and agreements in the matter of production and other subjects of international concern.

The General Commissioner has already constituted a Colonial Economic Committee, which, as the result of careful investigation, will facilitate any agreements in the matter of agriculture, trade, and industry.

Besides a Colonial Economic Committee, and in co-operation with it, the Committee of Congress will participate on a large scale in the preparation of meetings where opinions and views may be exchanged.

The Exhibition of 1931 will therefore have an importance enjoyed by few of its kind.

The General Commissioner and the members of the Organization Committee are particularly anxious to give the Exhibition the character of a "workshop," where practical knowledge will be available to all those who wish to take advantage of it.

Business men and others holding responsible positions should make it their duty to visit the Exhibition in order to become acquainted with foreign administration and methods.

To all those who, either deliberately or through ignorance or indifference, have not so far acknowledged the methods and results of sound colonization, this Exhibition will open large fields of investigation, giving them a wider conception of the noblest and most generous sides of human endeavour.

The organization of an International Colonial Exhibition coming so soon after the World War will be a salutary lesson to mankind by emphasizing the fact that civilization can spread its activities to fields other than battlefields, and that the twentieth-century nations can compete to a more useful end in peace than they can do in war.

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Situation and General Management of the Exhibition

The importance of the Exhibition made it necessary to provide for it a site of sufficient size and of suitable appearance. All former exhibition grounds were considered to be wholly inadequate in size and surroundings. The portion of the park of Vincennes which has definitely been selected seems to answer all requirements.

This part of the park is divided by wide lawns, in the centre of which gleam the smooth waters of Lake Daumesnil. The picturesque setting of this lake will be a good background for the exotic scenery of the Colonial Exhibition.

Built along some 1,500 yards of what were formerly the fortifications of old Paris, the Exhibition will be a living picture of life in the tropics.

In the French Section the first monument to be seen will be the palace of Madagascar, rising nobly from the midst of gaily coloured native dwellings. Further away the delicately chiselled cupolas of the magnificent temple of Angkor Vat will give the visitor an idea of the perfect architecture of ancient Cambodia. Surrounding the temple, smaller monuments and native villages from Laos, Cambodia, Tonkin, and Annam will complete the wondrous picture of beautiful Indo-China.

Facing the temple, a wide avenue will lead into the centre of the park. From each side of the avenue various pictures of tropical life and native architecture will meet the gaze and charm the imagination. To the right, half hidden among the trees, the dainty houses of French Guadeloupe, of Martinique, and of Réunion will stand side by side with the rough dwellings of the Newfoundland fisher-folk. Close to them will be found the rural pavilion of Guiana, the palace of the French settlements in India, the shaded plantations of Tahiti, and the sunny pavilion of French Somaliland. To the left of the avenue the squat monuments of French Africa will stand in curious contrast to the light architecture on the opposite side.

In the centre of the avenue a tall tower will shelter the French army and remind the visitor of its contribution to the work of civilization.

The three palaces of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunis, standing close to each other, will give the visitor a graceful picture of Moorish art and architecture, with their wide loggias, cool patios, and walled-in gardens, where the dense

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branches of the cypress-tree shelters the gaily coloured flowers from the fierce rays of the African sun.

As the French colonies, so also foreign pavilions will find a picturesque setting along the wooded banks of Lake Daumesnil. Strolling leisurely by the waterside, the visitor will thus have the illusion of a trip in wonderland; every step will disclose a new marvel to him as well as making him acquainted with another side of tropical life and scenery. The far-away beating of the native drums, the sensuous and sweet-smelling odour of exotic plants, the noise of the looms, the shrill voices of the people in their bright cotton garments—all will help to create the perfect atmosphere of life in tropical lands.

This great object-lesson will be completed by the various sources of knowledge within the palaces, where samples of native handicraft and oversea production will array the various stands. Every information regarding overseas development, the education of natives, the progress of civilization abroad, the results already obtained by the colonizing nations, together with the future prospects of colonization, will be fully given to those willing to take advantage of the opportunity.

The Exhibition is designed to become the great book of knowledge where everything relating to the world should be taught and pictured in the light of attractive settings. Standing in the midst of the French Section, the Permanent Museum of the Colonies will outlive the other buildings and inherit their documentary material. The only decoration relieving the simple lines of this austere-looking building will be a bas-relief picturing the life and soul of overseas territories.

The lifelike atmosphere of the Colonial Exhibition of 1931 will help to interest the public in problems which will require further examination at international congresses and conferences before finding a solution likely to benefit the whole of mankind.

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ILLUSTRATED SECTION

A NOTABLE LANDMARK IN FRENCH COLONIAL HISTORY

THE centenary of the occupation of the town of Algiers by French troops falls due this month. But already since the beginning of the year the whole country has been *en fête*. The crowning-point of these manifestations was the visit of the French President in May. The manner in which he was received wherever he went, in the capital, in Oran, Constantine, the Tell, and the mountain districts, bear eloquent witness to the success achieved by France in her policy of assimilation. Much can be written concerning the material benefits bestowed upon the inhabitants by the French régime: the smiling cornlands and vineyards, the roads and railways, the irrigation and the seaports. There is also in the minds of Europeans and Algerians alike a sense of solidarity. This feeling was expressed on the Algerian side by M. Sisbane in a speech of welcome on May 6. His opening words were: "In the name of her elected representatives Mussulman Algiers respectfully welcomes you, and assures you of her attachment to France. If this signal honour falls today to a mere youth, the reason is that the Algerians desire to pay a special homage to the educational work which is being carried on in our country. In fact, my only claim to the privilege of addressing you on this occasion is that I have passed my examinations in one of your schoolrooms." After emphasizing the importance of the spread of education as a means of bringing a clearer realization of the benefits of the union of the two peoples, he continued: "Turning to the future, we can see in our country, definitely united with France, only this: that the diverse ethnic elements will be united in a collaboration based on a common love of justice. In this sentiment our hearts are with you, for we feel that we can claim to reflect, even though it be in a modest degree, the clarity of the French mind."

M. Doumergue in his reply said: "The Algerian population which we wish to instruct, make prosperous, and raise to us by stages, thanks to the wise and devoted collaboration of its élite, came forward unhesitatingly to shed its blood for the defence of our soil and our independence. They have stood by us in the hour of need, and are therefore closer than ever to our hearts. I give them that assurance, and thank them in the name of our common motherland."

The accompanying photographs have been kindly lent by the Photographic Section of the Commissariat of the Centenary Celebrations in Algiers.

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THE CENTENARY OF FRENCH RULE IN ALGERIA

Scene in the harbour of Algiers, with the Admiralty building in the background, where the French President landed in May amid scenes of general enthusiasm. M. Doumergue received an ovation wherever he went.

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THE "LITTLE PARLIAMENT" IN ALGIERS

In addition, Algeria has direct representation in the Houses of Parliament in Paris.

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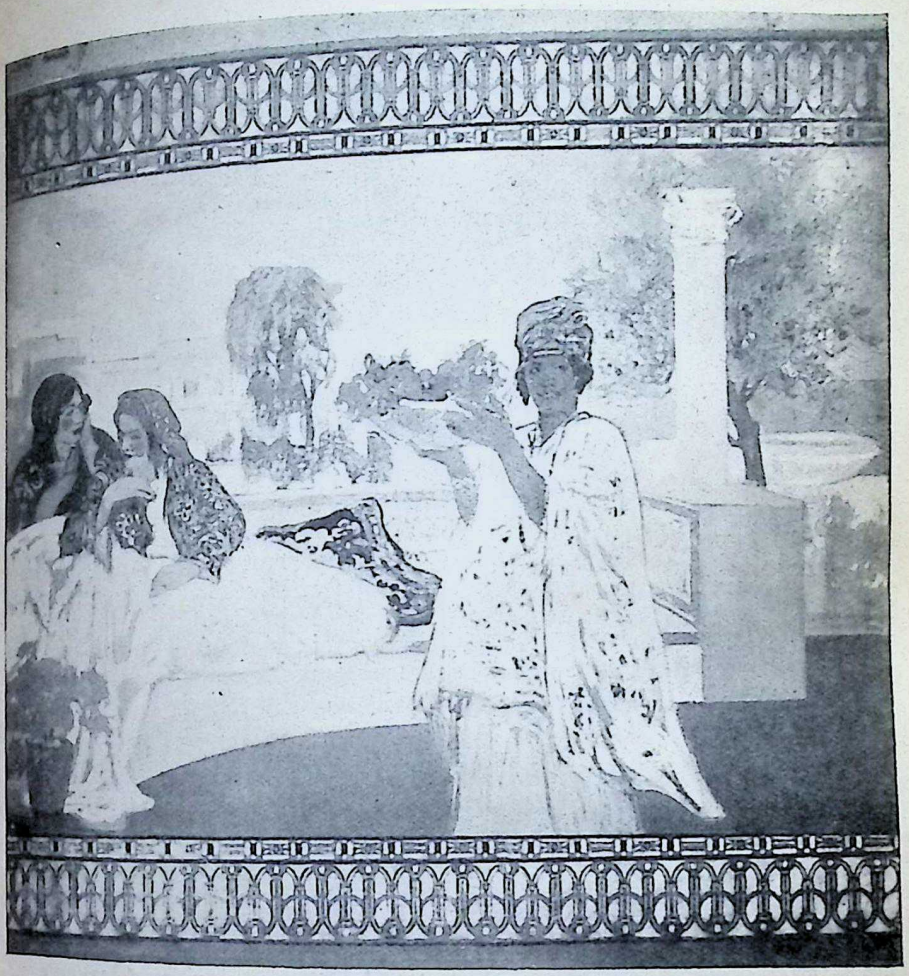

FRESCO IN THE SUMMER PALACE OF THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN MUSTAPHA-SUPÉRIEUR, ABOVE ALGIERS, VISITED BY M. DOUMERGUE DURING HIS TOUR

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INDIA AND THE IMPERIAL CONFERENCE—II*

By Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M.A., Ph.D.(London), F.R.Econ.S., F.R.Stat.S.

The fifth and last Colonial Conference (1907) is important in several ways. First, it defined the constitution of the future Imperial Conferences. The Prime Minister of Great Britain will be its *ex-officio* Chairman and the Premiers of the self-governing colonies members in the same capacity. The Secretary of State for Colonies will have the right of automatic representation, and will take the chair in the absence of the Prime Minister. Except under special circumstances, not more than two persons can speak on behalf of each government which will have only one vote—a procedure which was later adopted by the Assembly of the League of Nations. The Conference passed important resolutions with respect to colonial representation on the Committee of Imperial Defence; the Imperial General Staff for service in the Empire; emigration and naturalization; judicial appeals to and the systematization of the Privy Council; preferential trade within and commercial relations between the Empire; British shipping; navigation laws and coastwise trade; treaty obligations; uniformity of trade marks and patents, trade statistics and company law within the Empire; international penny postage; Imperial cable communications; and the development of communications within the Empire.†

As far as India is concerned, the most important question discussed at this Conference related to preferential trade within the Empire sponsored by Sir Joseph Ward, Premier of New Zealand. Mr. Deakin, Premier of Australia, singled out India as being the pivot of the whole discussion. In a tone of general approval he drew attention to the fiscal policy of the Government of India and the methodology of Sir Edward Law, Finance Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council at this time. In particular, he recognized the validity of the methodology adopted by Sir Edward in the preparation of the Blue Book entitled "East India Tariffs: Views of the Government of India on the Question of Preferential Tariffs" and published in 1904. The Government of India took separately each country with which India had commercial dealings and the quantum of the trade was given; the subject-matter of the trade was defined; its value to the customer country was considered; and the trade from India to that country was also passed in review. All this was done despite the deficiency of statistical materials. One significant feature of the trade position in India at this date was the steady fall in imports from Great Britain as compared with those from foreign countries.‡

The position of India as regards the implications of the preferential trade proposition, put forward by New Zealand and generally accepted by the self-governing dominions, was thrown into clear belief by a Memorandum prepared by the India Office§ and by the speech by Sir James Mackay,‖ who attended the Conference on behalf of the India

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* The first paper of this series has appeared in the Asiatic Review for April, 1930.

† Cd. 3,523, pp. v-x.

‡ Cd. 3,523 (1907), pp. 236-39.

§ *Papers laid before the Colonial Conference*, 1907. Cd. 3,524, pp. 453-57.

‖ Cd. 3,523, pp. 297-304.

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Office, notwithstanding the fact that Secretary Morley was also present in his *ex-officio* capacity. For our purposes we may take these two statements as embodying the case for India.

The Memorandum declared that the Indian fiscal system is that of a tariff for revenue purposes only. At this period it consisted of an export duty on rice and low import duties, the general rate of which never exceeded five per cent. *ad valorem.* On cotton manufactured goods the import duty was three and a half per cent., and to prevent the duty from having a protective effect a corresponding excise was levied on the cotton manufactures in India. The duty on iron and steel was one per cent., and coal and railway material were admitted free of duty.

With most foreign countries India enjoyed most-favoured-nation treatment. In some cases, as, for instance, in the Anglo-Russian Treaty, India had been included without separate mention. In other cases India had exercised a facultative power of adhering to commercial treaties concluded between the United Kingdom and a foreign state. In the case of France, the British Government had entered into a separate convention on behalf of India, whereby the latter formally conceded most-favoured-nation treatment to French goods imported into India, and had secured the benefit of the French minimum import tariff for certain Indian products, such as coffee, which found a market in France.

The external trade of India with foreign countries being considerable, it was of paramount importance to the country that these foreign markets were favourably disposed. On the other hand, Indian trade with the self-governing dominions was insignificant as compared with her trade with foreign countries, such as the continental states of Europe, the Far East, and countries bordering on the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the Bay of Bengal.

India is a debtor to England on a very large scale. In 1903-04 her total indebtedness was estimated to be near three hundred and twenty-two million sterling. Of this more than three-quarters consisted of external obligations which were held in London on which interest was piled year after year. About four and a quarter millions were to be remitted annually to the United Kingdom towards the retired pay of civil and military officers, while the home charges of the Government of India in 1906-07 were estimated about nineteen million sterling. There was, further, a large amount of English capital invested in various undertakings in India, the earnings of which have likewise to be brought home. The whole weight of these obligations fell on India's export trade. For these reasons the development of the Indian export trade concerned England as much as India and must be regarded as an object of Imperial importance.

The Memorandum then passed on to deduce certain principles in connection with the external commerce of India:

I. The external commerce of India, which was considerable in its extent even at this time, on the whole, ran in natural channels and had not as yet been perceptibly deflected from them by the protective tariffs of other countries.

II. The fiscal system on which this external trade was based had so far resulted in larger markets for exports and in cheap imports from abroad, for which latter there is an ever-growing demand in India.

III. As a debtor country India requires the freest possible market for its exports, and as a poor country it requires cheap imports.

IV. The present system had secured two-thirds of India's import trade to the United Kingdom, while the United Kingdom afforded a market for only one-fourth of India's exportable produce.

V. For three-fourths of this produce markets had to be found outside

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the United Kingdom, and seemingly did not exist to any appreciable extent in the self-governing dominions.

VI. Any diminution of India's trade with those foreign countries that were the largest buyers of her exports would at once lessen her power of buying English produce and meeting her obligations to English creditors.

The practical difficulties of the proposed preferential tariff scheme were, the Memorandum pointed out, considerable. Any preferential tariff would apply unequally to the trade of different foreign countries and would present itself to them in an evermore objectionable form than would a uniform all-round percentage reduction of tariff in favour of British goods. The continental states of Europe, whose trades would be most affected by a preference of this nature, were large importers of Indian produce, provided markets for commodities for which there was no sufficient demand in the British Empire, and were in a position to make reprisals on India should they think fit to do so.

The Memorandum further argued that it was doubtful how and whether the measure of preferential treatment would commend itself to public opinion in India. There was a considerable amount of feeling in India in favour of affording protection to the industries of the country by means of a tariff—a feeling fostered by the influence of tariff schemes of the self-governing dominions. "If, however, the principle of differential treatment of British imports, for the benefit of the United Kingdom and other members of the Empire, is introduced, with its concomitant risks and sacrifices, into the Indian tariff system, the change might be regarded as implying the abandonment of a tariff for revenue purposes only. The claim would probably be made that if India is to fall into line with the colonies in this matter, it should also be allowed to imitate their example in developing its own industries by the imposition of protective duties, such as are levied by self-governing colonies, on goods imported from the United Kingdom"—a prophecy the implications of which are well understood at this very moment in India. The India Office, therefore, suggested that in view of the exceptional circumstances of the Indian foreign trade and the advantages accruing to the British Empire from the Indian fiscal system being already great, the produce and manufactures of India be reasonably admitted to any preference which may be granted to British goods in other parts of His Majesty's Dominions "without the requirement of reciprocal arrangements."

Sir James Mackay opened his speech by saying that the Government of India, "as in duty bound, have looked at this question from the Indian point of view, but they have considered it no less from a wider and Imperial point of view." He declared that, while recognizing the interdependent nature of the trade questions of the Empire, "it is a matter of deep regret to those responsible for the government of India that they should find themselves at variance on this most important question with the statesmen of the several self-governing dominions of the Empire." The improved trade position of India, with an increase of forty-seven per cent. in imports and sixty per cent. in exports since 1896, made her less dependent upon the favours of the dominion governments, with which her trade was not considerable. Further, some of the best customers of India were the protected countries of Europe. "It was obviously the interest of India to retain the goodwill of our foreign customers."

Sir James argued that it was not conclusive that India enjoys an effective monopoly in any large number of articles that are essential to the existence of foreign industries. In case a tariff, as suggested by the dominion governments, which must necessarily add to the prices of the articles exported to foreign countries, it would sooner or later tend to

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the production of those articles in other countries, to the discovery of substitutes for them, or to a lessened demand. In all these cases the export trade of India would seriously be jeopardized. "An analysis of the export trade of India suggests the conclusion that India has practically nothing to gain from the adoption by the Empire of a system of tariffs discriminating against the manufactured products and foodstuffs of other countries." On the other hand, in case India joined the proposed tariff crusade, "there is no doubt that she has more to give than she could possibly receive." The policy of the United Kingdom and of the Government of India was, at this period, essentially one of free trade. Just as London is the clearing-house of the world for money and credit, so India is one of the international clearing-houses for commodities. In case the self-governing dominions decided in their wisdom to grant any preference to the Mother Country, the same might be extended to India, but India could never support any scheme by which her ever-growing trade with foreign countries would be annihilated.

Despite this emphatic statement of the India Office view, the resolution of Sir Joseph Ward, as amended by Lloyd George, President of the Board of Trade, was passed as follows: "That it is advisable in the interests both of the United Kingdom and His Majesty's Dominions beyond the Seas that efforts in favour of British manufactured goods and British shipping should be supported as far as practicable." Even though India was not specifically mentioned in this resolution, its results were of a far-reaching nature.

It is not the place here to discuss the economic implications of this resolution as far as they affected India at this period. But two interesting points must be noted. First, the sharp edge of the original motion of Sir Joseph Ward had been blunted. More than this, the India Office, quite according to its lights, refused to be stampeded into any action which the self-governing dominions thought fit for the Empire and which might stifle Indian trade with foreign countries, since any discriminating legislation passed in India would find their echo in foreign governments which buy heavily from India. It is significant to note that the India Office presented its case with vigour and conviction against the whole weight of the influence of His Majesty's Government and the governments of the self-governing dominions.

The first Imperial Conference, as such, was held in 1911.* Even before the Conference was convened, the India Office had to take a definite stand in connection with the resolution tabled for discussion in regard to the uniformity of trade statistics in the Empire. John Morley was Secretary of State for India, and in a letter to the Board of Trade dated February 27, 1908, he clearly stated the case of India with respect to the compilation of statistical returns.†

The Government of India had always used the fiscal year as the basis of the compilation of trade statistics. When the adoption of the calendar year was pressed in 1891, the Government of India demurred to any change on the ground that statistical comparisons with past years would be difficult for a long time; that financial transactions were recorded for the official and not the calendar year; and that as the busiest commercial season in India ends in March the present arrangement is advantageous. Further, the Government of India emphatically declared: "We are strongly of opinion that any change is, from the point of India, greatly

* See Cds. 4,475 and 4,948 (1909); and 5,272 and 5,273 (1910). dealing with the preliminaries of the first Imperial Conference. At the Imperial Copyright Conference of 1910 India was represented by Sir Thomas Raleigh (see Cd. 5,272).

† Cd. 5,273 (1910). Enclosure No. 104, p. 933.

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to be deprecated, and we consider that the advantages to be gained from the adoption of the calendar year would be more than outweighed by the break in the continuity that would result."* As such, Morley refused to press the matter on the Government of India any further.†

This is another instance where the India Office was able to refuse to swallow any scheme put forward by the Imperial Conference.‡

The most important question discussed by the Imperial Conference of 1911 was the status of Indians overseas.§ Once again the India Office submitted a Memorandum to the Conference, surveying the general position of Indians overseas.‖ Another important document submitted to the Conference was the petition by the Hindu Friend Society of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada¶—a document full of human interest and trenchant criticism of the Canadian policy towards Indians.**

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* *Government of India to India Office*, January 16, 1908. *Ibid.* Lord Minto was at this time Viceroy of India.

† *India Office to the Board of Trade, loc. cit.*

‡ Other documents dealing with the organization of this Conference are Cds. 5,513 and 5,741.

§ Cd. 5,745, pp. 394-412.

‖ Cd. 5,746—I. Appendix No. 23, pp. 272-79.

¶ Dated April 28, 1911. *Ibid.*, pp. 279-81.

** The discussion on the position of Indians within the Empire, which is by far the fullest so far, will be summarized in the next number of this series.

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CHINA REVISITED

By Philip Burtt

I am going to arrange my account of my second visit to China under the three headings of "The Coming of the Motor-Car," "The Memory of Dr. Sun Yat Sen," and "The Dominance of Militarism throughout China." These were the factors which left the most permanent impression on our minds.

The Coming of the Motor-Car

As soon as we set foot on China soil—that was at Canton on December 6—we were met by my friend from the university with his car. We went by car through the main streets of Canton, and visited the hill on which stands the temple of the goddess of Mercy, near which is the new memorial to the seventy heroes of Canton who lost their lives in the revolutionary campaigns of three years ago. The Government are gradually developing the ground adjacent to this memorial into a people's park.

There were several things reminding us of the change that has come over China since I was there twenty years ago: absence of queues, women working on boats, women coolies carrying suit-cases.

The broad, well-paved streets through which we travelled by car are a great contrast to the narrow, old-fashioned Chinese streets or alley-ways which still make up the greater part of Canton. Twenty years ago a motor-car would have been impossible in Canton. This change—widening of streets and roads—is typical of what is going on throughout China. I think every town that we went to had its big road, or broad street (*ma lu* it was usually called), and was proud of it.

Twenty years ago when I was in China it is no exaggeration to say that there was not a road in China as we understand the term "road" at home. Now I calculate there are between six and seven thousand miles of road, and more are being rapidly made. Nearly every province is busy roadmaking, though there are five provinces that have not yet begun to construct.

Shansi, the model governor's province, seems to be at the head of the list for roadmaking, and I believe this province has between fifteen hundred and two thousand miles already completed.

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The map, which is supposed to show the roads at present built or actually under construction, brings out this feature of Shansi's pre-eminence in road building; and another factor it also brings out is the way in which the province of Sze-chuan, the largest and richest province in China, is cut off from the rest of the great country by mountain heights and the difficult navigation of the Upper Yangtse.

The Yangtse Kiang is the great highway of communication between Western China and the sea and "down river" China, the great transport connection between East and West. And here, too, a vast change is taking place. When I went up the river from Ichang to Wan Hsien twenty years ago it took me nearly three weeks on a Chinese junk. This visit I went up by steam, and it took me four days to do double the distance. It is not easy for us to realize what changes of this kind mean as we read of them in two or three lines of our daily newspaper.

There is now a daily service of mails by air each way between Shanghai, Nanking, and Hankow; and whilst I was at Chung King, when in conversation with one of the authorities—he was civil governor over the eastern half of the province—he told me how he had received a telegram from Nanking—*i.e.*, from the Government—saying they were sending twenty or more aeroplanes over to Chung King and the municipality must make arrangements to house and care for these.

It is one of the very extraordinary factors in the development of transport in China that she is able to skip over whole stages of progress that other parts of the world have had to pass through. When railways are constructed in Sze-chuan they will probably be electric. The steam train stage will simply be omitted, as also the horse traction stage. West China will take a great leap from wheelbarrows to electric trains, as many provinces today are going from the stage of human power or pony or donkey power in road transport to motor-cars.

Now, before passing on to memories of Sun Yat Sen, I must say a few words about the railways of China. I always associate Sun Yat Sen with a great railway policy, for I remember how, when at the call of the Revolution, Dr. Sun went back to China some eighteen years or so ago, he propounded a great scheme for building seventy thousand miles of railway, the furtherance of which was to be one part of his great task for the future progress and development of China.

China sadly needs a great extension of her railway

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system; she has at present, including her northern provinces, about six thousand five hundred miles of railway. With a better system of communication there need be no perishing of millions of people, as in the famine-stricken provinces today, for want of food.

Whilst Sun Yat Sen was an idealist, he was a practical idealist, and he recognized that an industrial programme was the material basis for the establishment of a modern state in China, and his industrial programme included, as finally worked out and expounded, a scheme for building one hundred thousand miles of railway in China. No doubt he had in mind these perishing millions in the famine areas, as well as the general question of commercial expansion, when he spoke of railways as occupying "a paramount position as the means of enhancing the development of our national economy." This is only a modern expression from an Eastern thinker of what great minds in the West have said before him.

Adam Smith: "Good roads, canals, and navigable rivers, by diminishing the expense of carriage, put the remote parts of the country more nearly on a level with those of the town. They are on that account the greatest of all improvements."

Francis Bacon: "There be three things which make a nation great and prosperous: a fertile soil, busy workshops, and easy communication of men and things between one place and another."

If I were to put China's deficiency in the matter of railways into figures, I would point out that whilst the United States have constructed a mile of railway on the average for every three hundred and fifty of her population, and Great Britain one mile for every two thousand two hundred and fifty, the railways of China constructed up to date represent one mile for each seventy thousand of her population!

The Memory of Sun Yat Sen

All over China one sees portraits of Sun Yat Sen, the founder of the Republic and the originator of the Revolution. His portrait is in every school, and once a week—on Monday morning—by Government decree the scholars do obeisance to Dr. Sun's portrait. The reading of his will, three ceremonial bows before his portrait, and then three minutes of silence, is the formula prescribed and carried out throughout China, with the exception of a few institutions whose principles are opposed to the whole

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affair. I don't think this exceptional stand applies to very many, but there is, let it be said, a very large proportion of those who carry out this ceremony who feel that it is a routine business shewing a spirit of loyalty to the Government or to the idea of Nationalism, which is not likely to have much permanence as an act of worship; these do not regard the ceremony as having any religious significance. But it is, of course, throughout China a matter of very grave controversy.

More serious really is the daily teaching of the Three Principles which is given effect to to the extent of half an hour a day under Government requirement. Personally, I see nothing wrong in these Three Principles as I understand Sun Yat Sen laid them down; but in the amplification of them into book form for the schools and for popular consumption there is so much of anti-foreign propaganda embodied and inculcated (which I cannot think the founder ever intended) that its practical effect, especially in the far-away districts, is to instil in all school children a rooted dislike to everything non-Chinese and an active hatred of the foreigner, whom they have never seen or come into contact with, but whom they are learning to regard as an arch-enemy of China, on the watch every moment to do her injury.

It is in the far-away districts like Sze-chuan one finds very friendly feeling between Chinese and foreigners wherever contact is being made; and yet in these same districts the abstract teaching which is being given in the schools, based on the teaching of Nationalism in the Three Principles, gives the children a rooted objection to foreigners which expresses itself in ribald remarks and insulting epithets shouted along the streets whenever any foreigners appear on the scene. Many of the teachers themselves acknowledge they only carry out this teaching because they have to.

There are, of course, some districts which are much worse than others in this connection. Going up the river as we crossed the frontier, between Hupei and Sze-chuan is a well-known anti-foreign district, and here was placarded in Chinese characters very conspicuously four sentiments, in full view of all the strangers, which I was told were: "Down with imperialism!" "Out with the foreign steamers!" "Complete the Revolution!" "Uphold the Three Principles!"

Hankow and Changsha are in the midst of a very unsettled area, being geographically in Mid-China and

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some halfway between the north and south factions. Feeling at Hankow is nothing like so tense or so bitter as it was three years ago, when the British Concession was perforce surrendered to the Chinese authorities. There are still two of the five Concessions at Hankow which continue "foreign" and show no disposition to surrender, and this keeps the anti-foreign feeling alive. There is much propaganda in this city, showing itself by notices (these were printed in English): "Support our Nationalist Government so as to abolish consular jurisdiction;" and another: "No matter at what cost of life and property, we must abolish the consular jurisdiction." If these were printed in English, one can only draw on one's imagination as to the extent and effect of the Chinese placardings, conspicuous throughout the town, which in extent must be ten times that of the English printed notices. Propagandist leaflets and handbills are distributed in the towns, on trains, and on steamers in a very aggressive manner.

But whilst all this is very apparent throughout China, we need hardly regard it as directly attributable to Sun Yat Sen. He was much more concerned about the upbuilding of China than with denunciation of the foreign element in the country, though a great deal of the anti-foreign doctrine seems almost the necessary corollary of his Nationalist teaching. I have already spoken of his great industrial programme, and this we are reminded of as we move about Nanking.

The present Government are rebuilding Nanking. East to west and north to south are two great roads, the north to south road being continued to the river five miles away at Hsia Kwan, and the east to west road being carried forward through the wall of the city to the western hills, on the slopes of which has been erected the great monument to Sun Yat Sen and over his tomb. We arrived in Nanking one Sunday evening late, and our first outing the next morning—Monday morning—was to the great tomb, an imposing structure set on the slopes of the hills to the west of the city and commanding a magnificent view of the latter. Moreover, from all the higher parts of the city, and from any point on the walls, twenty-two miles in length, which surround the city, a view of the tomb in white marble is conspicuous and is in evidence before the eyes of all the people in this capital city to remind them that the spirit of Sun Yat Sen, their great deliverer, still watches over their fortunes and destiny.

The Government authorities are developing a people's

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park around the beautiful monument, and this, when completed, will be a magnificent and very attractive resort not only for the people of Nanking but for pilgrims from all parts of China and the world at large.

The monument is quite near, perhaps three-quarters of a mile away from the great tombs of the Ming Dynasty—that is, of those of the Ming Emperors who found their last resting place here—and one remembers as a great historic incident that occasion on which, when Sun Yat Sen was recalled to China to take up the Presidency, his first act was to visit these tombs—the tombs of the Mings—to do reverence at the shrine of the pre-Manchu Emperors, and to invoke their support in the great political task he was about to undertake.

Driving out to the west, we passed the Manchu city, or what was the Manchu city. It is absolutely razed to the ground, and now the present authorities are building up a new city on the ruins of the old.

Many new Government buildings are going up along the new roads; new offices are being built for the Ministry of Railways, and Sun Fo, the Minister, is now living in a delightful new official residence near to the large new suite of offices.

We had the pleasure of meeting Mrs. Chang Kei Chek when we were at Nanking, and she was very insistent that we should go and look at three great institutions that the Government have erected—I believe not a little at her instigation. She and the President are very much interested in these buildings.

First, there is a hospital with three hundred beds, equipped in very modern and up-to-date style—six wards with fifty beds each—intended primarily for soldiers injured in the revolutionary battles; but, as the Minister of Health who took us round told us, they hoped it would soon be available for general civil purposes.

Secondly, a splendid set of buildings as an orphanage, intended for the orphan children of soldiers whose lives were sacrificed in the revolutionary wars. There were five or six dormitories accommodating fifty children each; splendid playground accommodation, a large dining-hall, and a very imposing auditorium for entertainments, cinemas, lectures, etc. It was interesting to observe the hortatory mottoes and advice displayed. In the dining-hall, for instance—"Don't talk whilst you are eating"; and near the entrance: "Before you eat, don't forget to wash your hands; after you've eaten, don't forget to wash your

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faces." Dr. Sun's picture was, of course, prominent in both auditorium and dining-hall.

The third institution was the club-house of the Officers' Moral Endeavour Association. Its name pretty well describes its function—a club for all officers, military or Government, intended to inculcate and encourage social pleasantry, moral aspirations, and high character. It has been referred to as similar in aim to a Y.M.C.A. without the C. It comprises a large auditorium, a reading and games-room, a physical training department, a canteen, or, rather, cafetaria, where Chinese food, excellently cooked, can be obtained; a co-operative store is also a very popular institution. The foundation of its morals is embodied in ten commandments, all negative, and differing in a good many respects from the Mosaic decalogue; it may interest readers to see them. They run:

Thou shalt not covet riches.
Thou shalt not fear to die.
Thou shalt not advertise thyself for vainglory.
Thou shalt not be proud.
Thou shalt not be lazy.
Thou shalt not commit adultery nor gambling.
Thou shalt not smoke.
Thou shalt not drink wine.
Thou shalt not borrow money.
Thou shalt not lie.

These ten commandments are preceded by wise advice that the only way in which the outward revolutionary movement in the nation at large can be satisfactorily pressed forward is by individuals first undergoing a thorough revolution of their inner hearts, whence come all kinds of outward misbehaviours.

The Dominance of Militarism Throughout China

The dominance of militarism, so evident everywhere today, cannot but be a passing phase, for China is not, and, I believe, can never become, a warlike nation. The Chinese are a quiet, peace-loving people: as to ninety per cent. or more, a rural population industriously employed in agriculture, and who have been inculcated in peace principles from time immemorial. In this respect there is no more likelihood of change than in the spots of the leopard or in the skin of the Ethiopian.

Soldiers who carry umbrellas as they march to battle,

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who run like wildfire when they hear the sound of a big gun, and whose generals carry both cash and cartridges as weapons of attack, to be used alternatively, whichever they think will have the most effective results in the securing of their aim, are never likely to loom large in the military world as we know it today.

But undoubtedly and unfortunately China is overrun with militarism at this moment. One sees it everywhere. On the first train that we made use of, travelling from Canton to Kowloon, there were thirty or more soldiers on guard, and soldiers were picketed all along the railway line. This is characteristic of what we saw throughout China: on every train a strong posse, probably thirty to forty soldiers; every steamer on the Upper Yangtse (and, I believe, on other rivers as well) carries its military escort.

Soldiers are acting sentry at nearly every public institution: at all Government offices, at post offices, hospitals, all official residences, many private houses—wherever there is thought to be wealth in a form that might be looted or is tempting to bandits, there you see armed men on guard. Everywhere soldiers, soldiers, soldiers. The number runs into millions. And what little money there is available in China goes into their pockets instead of into productive enterprise; and the military are felt to be, and are, a standing menace to the industrial population. The temples are in many cases simply turned into military camps, often into military stables. Schools also are commandeered for the same purpose.

The development of this military spirit has turned China into a system or series of armed camps under various generals. They are the bane of China today. There is not, unfortunately, one amongst them of so outstanding a personality as to stand out as the man for China rather than for a section of it.

There would appear to be three alternative ways of emergence from the present anarchic and militaristic conditions which are or have been under discussion:

1. A Government such as the present, representing the Nationalist spirit, guaranteed permanence by the offices of the foreign Powers (possibly through the League of Nations).

2. Separate local governors, say one North, one South, one Central, and one West China commanding territorial districts, but acting in harmony in regard to foreign and international agairs, and matters affecting the nation as a whole.

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3. That a new leader should arise who, with a keen Nationalist instinct and a loyal devotedness to the teaching of Confucius on this question of peace, could hold together the people at large and unite them in a common aim for the future.

The Confucian Society of New York has published a short summary of Confucius' contributions to world peace, from which I quote a few sentiments and some of Confucius' principles. Universal peace was Confucius' goal.

For centuries every child in China began its study in school from the "Great Learning," a book or series of volumes which seems to embody Great Sage's system of philosophy, beginning with the investigation of things, leading on to the extension of knowledge, then to sincerity of thought, and so on by careful gradation to the regulation of family life, then of the State, and ending with the equalization of the whole world. So that for ages past every child has been trained through study of the Great Learning to enter life with the idea of world equalization or an idea of purposive unity in the world as the goal towards which we are all moving. Amongst the principles enunciated under this teaching are:

1. Universal Love of Mankind, irrespective of racial differences.

2. Truthfulness is the real binding force in international relations.

3. War cannot be justified, because all nations standing on an equal footing have no right to make war against each other.

4. The whole world is a Great Unity disregarding national strength and geographical advantages of locations.

If I have digressed a little from speaking about China today to refer to these principles enunciated in the Great Learning of the Great Sage of China, it is, firstly, because in the light of present happenings it seems as though some evidence were necessary in support of my statement that China is not a warlike nation; and, secondly, because without in any way wishing to belittle—I would rather wholeheartedly encourage—the "moral endeavour" effort of the general who today presides at Nanking, I cannot but feel the insufficiency of the Republican doctrine as now being taught or the ten negative commandments which I have referred to as a basis upon which to build China's future greatness.

If only some new leader would arise who, loyal to the great principles of the Old Sages and possessing the moral

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fervour of a man like Mahatma Gandhi, could call the people of China back again to the great aims of Confucius, what a power he might have in once more making China a great and united nation!

For we cannot deny the greatness of China. Whether we think of the development of her internal industries or of the growth of her educational work and institutions, both of these going steadily, if not remarkably, forward during all these recent years of civil strife and bloodshed; whether we think of that extraordinary coup through which a quarter of a century ago, by a stroke of the pen in Peking, she put an end to the educational system of centuries throughout her Empire; or whether we remember the valiant effort she made twenty years ago, made successfully at the time, to put an end to her national bad habit of opium smoking, we have to admit that, whatever superficial happenings may show or newspaper reports at a distance may try to persuade us of, the people of China still constitute a great nation, and one we should be proud to help and befriend.

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SHINTŌ WORSHIP OF LIVING HUMAN GODS IN THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF JAPAN

GENCHI KATŌ, D.LITT.

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IN the religious histories of human races from the lower levels of culture to the higher it is by no means uncommon for us to meet with the deification of a living man or the worship of a living human god in some form or other. Among peoples in the lower stages of culture, their chieftains are oftentimes deified not only after their death but even during their lifetime, while in some religions of a higher order we find the same thing sometimes done, though with a higher and higher signification attached to it in this way the followers of the Buddha Gautama deified their glorious master, whose faith is very often considered by Western scholars a kind of atheism, and his disciples called him the God of the gods, *devatīdeva*, finding in him "the true divinity of the highest humanity," as the late Professor Tiele put it. This is one of the characteristics of "theanthropic religion" in contrast with "theocratic religion," which draws a sharp line of demarcation between God and man, man being unable ever to attain to the throne of divinity. In the fields of theanthropic religion—*e.g.*, in the Greek and Roman religions of old as well as in the religions of India—we find as a rule different forms of human incarnation of the Divine and in especial a number of living human gods. For instance, Alexander the Great, an earthly manifestation of Zeus-Amon, the Greek Admiral Lysander, Demetrios Poliorketes of Athens, were all living human gods even in their lifetime, just as the Roman Emperor Augustus was revered as an incarnate deity while living. In the religions of India, needless to say, we have many avatars or human manifestations of the Divine. Among them the historical human Buddha is a deity *par excellence* in the religious consciousness of Buddhists, taking refuge in the Buddha just as the ancient Israelites took refuge in their God Yahweh. And in like manner we may find a number of living human gods throughout the religious history of Japan.

In Japan from ancient times up to the present the

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Emperor has been called the *akitsukami* or *arahitogami*, meaning a god visible to naked human eyes even in his lifetime. Likewise in Japan Imperial princes, heroes, and Shintō high priests may also be manifest gods or gods incarnate in their lifetime. In the course of the past few years I myself have discovered some Shintō shrines, historically genuine, dedicated to some living human gods during their lifetime, and I am going to mention them with some of their cults.

First of all, Okada-Kansen (1740-1816), a Japanese scholar of Chinese classics and follower of Yamazaki-Ansai* the founder of the Suika Shintō in the early part of the Tokugawa regime (from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth), was a very famous magistrate at Shimo-Ome Village in Tsukuba Gun, Hitachi Province. He was very virtuous, and governed the people with justice and righteousness, so that the villagers came to revere him as a living god in human form by erecting a small Shintō shrine to him in Shimo-Ome in 1810, when he was seventy-one years old, and nowadays every visitor may see the very same stone shrine still standing at the old site.

Moreover, we have Shintō shrines of a similar nature, dedicated respectively to Ishikawa-Tadafusa (1755-1836), in 1820, the local Governor of Annaka Village in Kōtsuke Province, and to Kojima-Shōen (1771-1826), the magistrate of Tanaka Village in Kai Province, about 1818.

The Kaiseisha Shrine was erected, in 1923, at Ozoe Village in Nomi Gun, Ishikawa Prefecture, in honour of the living human god Matsumoto-Gensuke, who was once a local official of the Meiji Government there, and now is living a happy rural life in retirement in his native place.

The case is nearly the same with the dedication by the people of Hida of a shrine to Prince Matsukata-Masayoshi (1835-1924), one of the ablest elder statesmen of the Meiji Era. When Matsukata was once Prefectural Governor of Hida in Oida, Kyūshū, he won great fame and popularity of the people of that locality because the education and industry of the same district were in enormous progress under the watchful care of the Prince, bringing thereby abundant wealth and happiness to the people, and at last inducing them to raise him above the rank of the ordinary

* Yamazaki-Ansai himself deified his own spirit or guardian genius while living, and worshipped it by erecting a Shintō shrine to it. We can understand this as the imperfect Yamazaki's worshipping of his own perfect self. To put this in Emerson's terminology, it amounts to saying that "I the imperfect adores my own perfect."

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man—*i.e.*, to regard him as something extraordinary or superhuman; and the people erected to the living, divine Prince a shrine in 1919 in the precincts of the Hinokuma Shrine in Kameyama Park, Oida Prefecture. In short, the pious folk caught a glimpse of the Divine light in the noble personality of the Prince through his sympathetic loving-kindness to his people.

We need not wonder if we note that the Shintō high priest of the Konkō sect in Okayama Prefecture is even now looked upon actually as a living human god by its religious adherents.

Matsuoka-Yorozu (1838-1891), a very competent Government official and wise judge, quite impartially decided a law-suit in favour of the villagers of Ohara and Minamida in Iwatagun, Tōtōmi Province, against their opponents, and thereby gave them permission to enjoy the water-supply from a certain *ōiké* or large pond for irrigating their paddy fields; the question of securing this permission was in those days a matter of life or death for the inhabitants of both villages. The petition was granted, as I mentioned above. Consequently, in 1876, in overwhelming gratitude the simple village folk agreed to erect a Shintō shrine in honour of their benefactor and wise judge Matsuoka by the pond, and the pilgrims are still allowed to go to pay respects to and worship at the very same shrine by the "large pond." In nearly similar circumstances another Shintō shrine, dedicated to the same living human god Matsuoka, was erected in Megurizawa Village in Okabe Machi, Suruga Province, in the first decade of the Meiji Era.

The shrine of a living human god, Kanai-Shigenojō (died 1829), was erected in 1782, by his ardent followers, at Miwa Village, in the suburb of Ashikaga City, because he was a great inventive genius in the art of weaving, never excelled by other human hands, so that his devout admirers at last came to see something superhuman—*i.e.*, divine—in his person, and in consequence he was worshipped as a living guardian deity of the art of weaving. His descendants still live close by the shrine in Ashikaga.

I have recently discovered that there are two Shintō shrines dedicated to the Emperor Meiji, the late august ruler of modern Japan, beloved and lamented by all people, high and low, rich and poor, young and old, throughout the whole Empire of Japan, who was believed to be an *akitsu-kami* (*arahitogami*) or human manifestation of the Divine, as his august Imperial predecessors, in his actual lifetime. One is at Ono Village in Kami-Ina Gun, Shinano Prov-

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ince, while the other is in Ishinomaki, some miles distant from the city of Sendai, although these two are not so well known as the Meiji Jingū or Meiji Shrine at Yoyogi in Tokyo, erected immediately after his death. The former was built in the precincts of Yahiko Shintō Shrine during the Chino-Japanese War (1894-1895), while the latter was erected in 1875 by the late Konishi-Kyūbei of Ishinomaki, a certain druggist, in his small private garden. The Emperor Meiji was pleased to confer a quantity of timber, obtainable in the Imperial forestry district in the Kiso Mountains, upon the villagers of Ono as a special favour the gift to be used in the reconstruction work of the Yahiko Shrine in the same district, so that the simple, good-natured villagers, overcome by the deep sympathy thus shown by the Emperor, erected a Shintō shrine to His Majesty, who was really a living god in flesh and blood to the Japanese religious consciousness; while Konishi erected a shrine in honour of the Emperor Meiji for the purpose of commemorating a special Imperial favour which Konishi enjoyed in the Emperor's visit to Matsushima* and Ishinomaki, when Konishi was given an Imperial pleasure boat that he had presented to the Emperor for His Majesty's use in Matsushima Bay for the Imperial visitor's sight-seeing at that time. Thus we had two Shintō shrines dedicated to the Emperor Meiji in his lifetime.

Not to multiply instances of a similar nature, let me pass on to mention the Shintō cults with which living human gods have been worshipped.

Before the Meiji Restoration of 1868, the Shintō high priest Ōhafuri (or Ōhori), of the Suwa Shintō Shrine in Shinano Province, was regarded as a human manifestation of the deity Takeminakata of the same shrine, and in spring every year seventy-five deer heads were presented as a sacrificial offering with due ceremony, not to the deity, but to the high priest himself, because the latter was an actual incarnation of the unseen deity. But now times have changed, and the animal offerings are presented direct to the deity Takeminakata himself, the Shintō priest attached to the shrine, a Government official of today, only being a secular officiant or ritualist *de jure*.

There is another Shintō cult still preserved in connection with a living human god at Tanushimaru-Machi in Fukuoka Prefecture, Kyūshū. The Shintō cult or rite is observed in the oratory of the Gion Shrine in Tanushimaru-Machi on

* One of the famous three finest sights of Japan.

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November 17 every year in honour of the genius or living spirit of Hayashida-Moritaka (born in 1848), another manifestation of the Divine, who is still living at the advanced age of eighty in that locality—an example of the cult of a living human god now existing in the civilized Japan of the twentieth century! And, indeed, I was an eye-witness of the ceremony in the autumn of 1927. Why has he become glorified? He has been a great benefactor and bosom friend of the folk, willingly devoting himself to the benefit of the people's true welfare. Such self-denying philanthropic saintly acts done by Hayashida have raised him to the rank of a living, human god, and induced the people to worship him as a god incarnate once a year with due Shintō ceremony in front of the Gion Shrine. Here we can clearly see that the motive of this Shintō cult for this living human god is purely ethical, and never magical or ritualistic (legal) at all. In like manner, in the long course of development, Shintō once passed through the lower stage of nature religion, and yet it has now enhanced itself to its higher or ethical stage, in which Shintō sees its living, human god not in the light of nature religion but from the standpoint of ethical religion. Therefore, when Kitabatake-Chikafusa, a celebrated warrior statesman and learned Shintō theologian of the fourteenth century, saw a human manifestation of the Divine in the person of a living Emperor, he was right in saying:

"As a righteous man, pure in mind and just in conduct, is himself a Deity, we recognize, in this ethical sense of the words, a manifest Deity or Living, Human Deity—often mentioned in the Imperial Edicts—in the person of the Emperor" (the Nijū-Issha-no-Ki). If this short article by the present writer for the seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford may answer the purpose of illustrating how the theanthropic religious mind conceives the Divine, in contrast with the theocratic religious mind, by way of the religious consciousness of Shintō, which through its stage of nature religion has afterwards grown into an ethical religion and has produced so many living human gods with some cults of ethical significance, the writer will be well repaid, while it is hoped that those who have read with interest the chapter entitled "A Living God" in the "Gleanings in Buddha Fields," by Lafcadio Hearn, and also the late Professor Ladd's description of "Hiromura, the Home of a Living God," in his "Rare Days in Japan" (Chapter XI.) may also have patience enough to read the present article.

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N.B.—Both foreign scholars and native savants in Japan formerly entertained the view that there was no Shintō Shrine dedicated to an actual living man (*vide*, *e.g.*, *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Vol. XLIX., Part II., p. 152, May, 1922). My recent investigation, however, proves quite the contrary, and such an opinion has now gone to the limbo of old controversies (also *vide* my Article, "Notes on Some Shrines Dedicated to Certain Kami or Japanese Human Gods during Actual Lifetime," in the *Transactions* of the Meiji Japan Society, Vol. XXIV.).

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THE ASIAN CIRCLE

A SURVEY OF ASIATIC AFFAIRS

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It is understood that where articles are signed in this section they do not necessarily represent the views of members of the Circle other than the writer.

The present contribution is by a young Frenchman, who was awarded the Kahn Travelling Scholarship, and is the author of "Foules d'Asie." In accordance with the provisions of his scholarship he has travelled widely in the Far East, especially in China, and the accompanying account of incidents of daily life there will prove of interest to readers in giving circumstantial detail of life under the present conditions in Yunnan.

A KIDNAPPING IN YUNNAN

BY ETIENNE DENNERY

(*Translated by Miss Nancy Williams*)

TRAVELLING on that branch of the railway which connects Hanoi to Yunnan-Fou, I am crossing the Chinese frontier this morning. The frontier here is not the Wall of China, but the Red River, grey-green and winding, covered with rafts and sampans. On one bank is Laokai, the last town in Indo-China, with its commercial hotel, its French Residency (I was going to say its "sous-prefecture"), its militiamen, and its customs-house officials. On the other bank is Hokeou, the Chinese city with its swarming population, a city of smugglers and opium.

"You have chosen an odd moment to visit Yunnan,"

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says the official who visas my passport, "for some days coming out of there has been better than going in. There is a rumour that the pirates have swept down on the province."

I had heard about pirates already in the mountains of Upper Tonkin, which are inhabited by primitive tribes, all along the stretch of the frontier of China and Tonkin. In the French military stations which command these hot, wild districts, young officers told me of their pursuit through the forest of these insatiable bands. Mountaineers found them suddenly in their village, and no one in the surrounding villages had seen them.

Completely terrified by the thought of possible reprisals, the inhabitants dare not denounce them. On the contrary, in the hope of getting the reward offered to informers, they would invent raids, the imaginative descriptions of which despatched the soldiers and their leader on vain expeditions.

Most often the personality of the pirates was wrapped in mystery. Some pirates were the inhabitants of a Chinese village, who came, driven by hunger, to pillage the neighbouring village, on the other side of the frontier; other pirates were deserters from the militia who had taken refuge in the forest; others again were smugglers in flight; lastly, there were the mountaineer bandits who swept down on the houses in the valley, moved by race hatreds and the traditional hostility between the people of the valley and of the mountain. France has managed to wipe out piracy in the whole of Indo-China, but the process is not yet complete in these uncivilized provinces cheek by jowl with the great anarchy of China.

Here, on the other side of the frontier, in Chinese territory, piracy is not an accidental manifestation, but a recognized force, either for government or rebellion; bandits are real mercenaries, paid and commanded, but in secret, by the leaders of the province or by the rebel generals. It has been said that the pirate has more vim than the regular soldier; he is moved more strongly by the attractions of plunder, he is fanaticized by the fear of execution in case of failure, and is more at his ease in an adventure on a high road than in the ranks of a discipline copied from Western traditions.

In the train which climbs towards Yunnan-Fou, we are the only three Europeans; N., a Hanoi official, who is utilizing his leave to visit the Chinese province, accompanies me. On the platform we had met one of the Company's engineers, Patou, who was being sent on a mission

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to observe the security of the permanent way: he is a large young man of sporting appearance.

We talk about pirates.

Were they famished peasants who robbed because they were hungry and had no other aim but plunder and theft? Or were they rather organized bands of camouflaged soldiers, mysterious troops obeying an unknown general, with precise political ends?

"You must confess," says N., "that this piracy which has suddenly developed is strange. Armed bands have spread themselves over the country at the very moment when the political situation in Yunnan is most complicated, when communication is in progress between the heads of the province and Canton. Pure coincidence?"

As N. observed, the Hanoi newspapers had been speaking for some time of the troubled situation in Yunnan. The head of the province, Marshal Tang-Ki-Yao, had seen his ambitions crumble. He had dreamed of uniting into one federation the neighbouring provinces of Setchouen and Kouei-Tcheou. But, on the other side from the bulk of Yunnan, Canton, the revolutionary was troubled by the plans of the "Toupans." The Kuoming-Tang accused the Yunnanese dictator of treason, won over his generals and forced them to revolt against him. Little by little, the Yunnanese troops rallied to the cause of the Chinese Southerners. Three of Tang-Ki-Yao's generals brought off a *coup d'état* against their chief, forced him to give up the dictatorship, and to form instead a directorate of which he was no more than the nominal president. A bitter enmity had smouldered since then between the fallen governor and his all-powerful generals. These were at the moment in Canton receiving their powers of directorate. Were the pirates then in the Cantonese service, or were they, on the other hand, in the pay of the dictator who might be raising up troubles only to repress them again, and appear as the peacemaker of Yunnan?

The train leaves the last houses of Hokeou. The line is sunk in a valley, between hummocks covered with yellowish grass. The only vegetation: banana trees, their great leaves in tatters. No houses, no cultivation. The Chinese solitude rugged and monotonous. A fine steady rain beats against the windows.

In the fourth-class coach beside ours, Chinese soldiers are piled. They accompany the convoy half way. Seated on the benches, back to back, they have settled down to sleep. Guns are everywhere—in their arms, against the door,

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under the seats. Their khaki caps roll over their ears. Mixed with the rhythm of the train I hear the snores of the men.

Further off, the mountaineers of Yunnan or Upper Tonkin, fine, square-shouldered fellows with copper-coloured skins, are coming down from their mountains. These are fur-traders, perhaps smugglers of salt or opium who are returning from Indo-China. Delicate and distinguished, enveloped in a black robe clasped with gold beneath the shoulder, an Annamite teacher seems lost sitting on the seat among them. He smiles, uneasy among these strong countrymen, these hulking primitives that he despises.

Outside the windows the country is improving. The valleys narrow. On the face of the rocks hang low bushes. We run alongside a torrent. "This is a wild but safe district," says N.; "order is maintained here by a former pirate, one of the most famous chiefs of the bands. The price once placed on his head would have made the fortune of a whole village. The pirate has now become a policeman and has joined Tang-Ki-Yao."

Pouo-Tou-Tsing.—The train slows down in the middle of a track under repairs, then it stops. Annamites throw themselves frantically on the convoy. Before the train stops, even, we hear their cries. At dawn that morning armed bands had appeared near the railway-station. At the noise of the bullets the workmen had fled. A foreman had been murdered by the bandits and his body stripped. But had theft really been the motive of the crime? Three times in one week had these raids taken place. Might not the band be trying to cut the line at the very place where it was being repaired? The man's body is still in the station waiting-room, under a tarpaulin.

At the following station we meet the down train. A well-dressed man is in tears; he urges with loud cries that everyone should be prevented from getting out of his train; two suit-cases have been stolen from him, and they contain important diplomatic documents. Is it a plot? On the platform Europeans, Chinese, and Annamites are mixed up together. The soldiers get out of our train and others take their places. A Chinese civilian in gold spectacles, wreathed in smiles, oversees the exchange: they tell me he is their chief. Three Yunnanese mountaineers, Lolos women dressed in blue woollen material bordered with great red pompoms, run away when we try to photograph them: a Chinese soldier grasps one round the waist, and, bursting with laughter, makes her face the camera.

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The train now pants its way into magnificent country. Gorges and chasms. Perpendicular rocks over precipitous valleys. Innumerable tunnels, embankments which are works of art, bridges slung across precipices. The track becomes more complicated. In order to pass from one side of a ravine to the other the railway has to make a great number of circuits in the course of an hour.

Lo-Chouei-Tong.—On the platform the staff of the station is drawn up awaiting us. In their midst a Frenchman, the station-master, I think, holds a telegram in his hand—an order from the French Consul at Yunnan-Fou—all French women and children must be evacuated to Tonkin. There have been fresh developments, then, in the capital of the province. What has happened? No one here knows.

The train goes on again. Now amphitheatres appear one after the other in the mountains. The squares of the rice fields, dried up at this season, are like tiers of seats. Hanging on to a slope, a village of turf-sods appears, far away, a mass of ruins. Then once more the silence of the barren mountains, wrinkled and freckled with stones.

But here, already at our feet, is the plain of Mongtseu, the great plain where the rice fields sparkle and white squares of poppies. Mongtseu, the town where General Hou, a sufficiently untrustworthy lieutenant of Tang-Ki-Yao, waits with an army of ten thousand men.

A branch junction station rises above the plain—Pichetchai. We get out. In this centre doubtless we shall find news. The station-master runs towards us and he, too, has a message in his hand. The line has just been cut by the bandits about ten kilometres from the town of Amitcheou. It is impossible to get as far as Yunnan-Fou.

The station-master knows nothing more. But Amitcheou is close; and we shall get all information there.

Amitcheou.—A great assembly on the platform. All the French officials and the Annamite employees of the railway are there. The train which is taking back to Hanoi the evacuated women and children is just about to leave. Men are still disputing with their wives, who do not want to leave them. Around one young employé, who is trying to hurry them on, Tonkinese are surging, bundles in their arms, babies on their backs. Cries, weeping, and then a waving of handkerchiefs.

Night falls. There is still time to visit the Chinese town. A long, nearly silent road; stalls for the most part

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empty; one can hear the heavy steps of the patrols and the shouts of the soldiers. Perhaps the pirates may attack the town tonight. The inhabitants keep in their houses, or better still, seek shelter in the citadel, of which I can see the walls and the two massive towers which guard the entrance.

Where are the pirates, and how many of them are there? In the little French concession where N. and I. go in, every man is asking that question. We await with feverish expectation the return of Patou who has gone with an Annamite mechanician on an engine up to the place where the line has been broken.

Ten o'clock in the evening, Patou has just come back with news. The neighbouring station, ten kilometres from Amitcheou, has been pillaged; the head of the district, Poli, has been carried off by the pirates; the Annamite station-master has disappeared. Patou saw as he got off the train a good many of the Chinese take off, on his approach, a badge which they wore on their breasts. Was this a sign of complicity with the pirates? The pirates themselves were not at the place where the line was cut. The train from Yunnan-Fou which conveyed a company of Chinese regulars was only not derailed thanks to the courage of an Annamite who, to ward off the outrage, was able to explode a time-fuse. Patou had to go back to the place where the line was cut the next morning.

We slept in the little French concession—a concession which is no more than a lane bordered with villas and kitchen gardens. On one side are the railway and the station, on the other a low wall with an iron gate, which can be shut, in case of attack, to separate the French from the Chinese town.

We wake late, the next day. Patou has been gone since dawn, about six hours. He ought to be back at half-past eight. At ten o'clock no one has arrived. All the men in the concession are on the station platform, anxious. "Perhaps he has stayed there to reorganize the service?" suggests a clerk. "Do you think so?" answers an engineer. "He should have returned at half-past eight. If he has not come back it is because he is not able to." Half-past ten: still no one. Eleven o'clock. From the heights of the station roof, where the Annamites have climbed to watch the track, comes a cry: "There they are! They are coming back!" We gaze along the line: far away there is a lengthening puff of white smoke; then comes the engine. She has not yet stopped, but already

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an Annamite has jumped off. How about Patou? Patou has not come back. The Annamite engine-driver is stammering with emotion: "He's taken, kidnapped! The men have carried him off into the mountains!" Piece by piece we reconstruct what has happened. Patou stopped the engine at the place where the line was cut. Tall, bare-footed fellows in shorts surrounded the engine, but Patou got out just the same in the midst of the shouting band, and asked to speak with the pirate chief. Then the men ran off with him towards the mountain. The driver and the fireman stayed for a long time at their post. For some hours they waited in anguish and terror. At eleven o'clock he had not come back. They thought it best to come back to Amitcheou, full steam ahead, to give the news.

"Poor Patou," said a policeman. "In the clutches of those people. They won't let him go in a hurry, you can take my word for it."

"So much the worse for him; we must go and help, or at any rate find out what has become of him," said the engineer Louchecabet, at this time the highest-grade official in the concession. "Stoke up an engine with enough for two hours' run. I will go myself to the place where the line is cut. Two Annamites will come with me."

We have lunch at the paymaster's house in silence We are thinking of Patou with the brigands in the mountains.

"There is no doubt," said the paymaster, "that the pirates are about to attack Amitcheou. Our chief has had reliable information from the peasants who are in flight, and from the Chinese colonel of the place. About four o'clock the robber bands will be at the gates of the town."

After the meal a short council of war is held in the street of the concession.

"Let us collect together all the rifles, all the revolvers, and then, when the pirates come, shut ourselves up in the small blockhouse of the concession," said the commissioner. "When they know we are armed and enclosed they won't attack us."

"Do think!" answered the engineer; "they would massacre the lot of us. It would be much better to hide all the arms and appear to be perfectly peaceable; and then, when they do arrive, S., who knows Chinese, will talk to them, in his most amiable tones, with all the insignificant celestial politenesses."

It is therefore decided that, in case of attack, no one is to defend himself. No matter what may happen!

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In the meantime the paymaster, N., and I go to the Chinese town. The gates of the citadel are always closed. From the height of the walls the soldiers make friendly gestures towards us. The gates are opened. Under the entry arch lines of soldiers with fixed bayonets; some are dressed in long white tunics, others have jackets of black gabardine, yet others are in the regulation khaki. Only caps and guns are uniform. In their belts or in bandoliers slung across their chests bands of cartridges. As I take out a packet of cigarettes to smoke a young soldier, a thin rascal with laughing eyes, comes close to me and holds out his hand, asking for them. I offer him the packet. Instead of one cigarette he takes the whole packet.

We walk across the citadel. Streets swarming with people. On the muddy pavement children, wearing flat skullcaps, dabble about in the puddles. Under great umbrellas of oiled cloth, which serve ordinarily to shelter stalls, peasants wait, sitting silently in the mud. In a courtyard half-naked coolies feverishly gather together long stems of sugar-cane piled up on a cart. Pigs wallow in the gutters which run along the house. We pause to admire in the midst of a square a portico with a facing of blue china, and two stone dragons guarding the pillars.

We find ourselves at one of the gates of the citadel. Perched on the wall are Chinese officers as friendly as those at the other gate, and they sign to us to come up. From the ramparts we can see bare hills against a grey sky. Towards the north a line of posts disappears between two hummocks—the railway.

The city gate is still open. The peasants of the surrounding district can always come and take refuge behind the walls. We can see at this moment about a dozen dragging along a wooden cart; on the vehicle is a pile of bundles and various undistinguishable objects. Their bodies are strained with their efforts; their heads are bent downwards from their outstretched necks. Behind this team a few emaciated women with babies hanging on their backs.

Three o'clock. We go back to the station. Louchecabet, the engineer, has come back already. After running for three or four kilometres the engine had been forced to turn back. At the first bridge the pirates had fired on them. It was impossible to pass. Then the bandits are quite close to Amitcheou!

Four o'clock. Are the pirates going to come? Men argue in groups in the street of the concession.

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"Two thousand—there are at least two thousand of them," says the commissioner.

"What worries me," says an engineer, "is to be attacked without knowing why or by whom. The unknown—we are in the midst of the unknown."

Half-past four. . . . Five hours. Still no news. Chinese soldiers are spread out in skirmishing order along the railway line, kneeling and apparently all ready, with guns loaded, to receive the attackers. In the station waiting-room a section is massed.

"The pirates must be planning together to settle their line of attack," says the assistant station-master.

"No doubt about it," says the engineer. "They will cut the line below Amitcheou as they have done above, so as to surround the village before taking it."

"N—— de D——, what about the company's money?" says the cashier. "When I think of those dirty beasts clearing off the dollars in my safe!"

"We ought to send the money away," says the engineer, "and save at least all we can."

"An engine and a truck would be enough to take the strong boxes to Hanoi. That's a splendid idea, and you can escort them to Tonkin. But on no account must the news of the transport leak out. Strong boxes in the darkness and solitude of Yunnan—what a bait for the pirates!"

"Who would go with you?" the engineer continues. "You can't go alone with the money. Soldiers? Better not give them a hint, not even the Chinese regulars. There are not enough of us as it is to insure the carrying on of the service, in view of the repairs needed."

"Must the money stay here, then?"

N—— and I suggest that we should go back with the cashier. That is the only possible solution.

"But hurry up," says the engineer. "When the pirates have cut the line between here and Tonkin it will be too late."

At once the cashier and ourselves, helped by the paymaster and the assistant station-master, set to work. We bring the cases from the house where the gold is kept to an empty van on the line. We do not go in front of the station, but get into the van on the other side so as not to attract attention.

At seven o'clock in the evening, the work finished, we are ready to go. The station-master has procured at the last moment an Annamite fireman and driver. We settle ourselves in the truck on camp-stools surrounded with cases

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full of dollars. With great forethought the cashier has brought some bottles of wine and preserves.

The engine whistles. "If the line is cut, don't hesitate," shouts a voice from behind us. "Back the engine full steam!"

The train is going already, but there are more shouts. The train stops. Chinese soldiers are running on both sides of the engine. They call out in a language that we do not understand, and make signs to us not to go on. "Is the line cut already, then?" "Get on as quick as you can," shouts the cashier to the driver. The train goes on again.

Around us the night is calm. Beautiful moonlight silvers the low hills and plains round the line. I put my head out of the open door of the van. Odd shapes and strange silhouettes are seen along the line. Dead trees probably. The train begins to climb. We reach the next station—Setchouen. The pirate band from Amitcheou will not overtake us now.

At the stations where we stop men are waiting for us to hear our news. But do we know any more than they do? There *are* pirates, without any doubt, and Patou has disappeared, taken by them into the mountains. But what else can we say? "The unknown; we are surrounded by the unknown," as the engineer said.

At Pititchai the head of the district has come for news, anxious about us. Other bands have been heard of, close to Politzai. The station interpreter has overheard a conversation in Chinese between two Celestials, which referred to our passage through. Were they spies? "You would do well to tell your driver not to go quicker than about fifteen kilometres an hour. And don't forget to stop before crossing every bridge."

We go off into the night. The manœuvres in the stations seem very lengthy. The sky is overcast. It begins to rain. The mist grows thicker. The moon has completely disappeared. We go through tunnels without noticing them. A biting cold air comes into the van. We warm ourselves by drinking the cashier's wine.

The next day, about midday, we arrive at Laokai. The same evening we learn that the pirates have cut the line, this very day, between Amitcheou and Tonkin.*

* A few days afterwards the pirates were repulsed by Chinese regulars and the line repaired. Patou, the engineer, was not released by the pirates until October in exchange for a heavy ransom. Lastly, we learn that Tang-Ki-Yao, the chief of the province, died in the course of the summer of "acute appendicitis."

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TRAVANCORE

By Maurice Emygdius Watts, B.A., Barrister-at-Law
(Late Dewan of Travancore)

II.

Immediate Responsibility and Ultimate Authority: Constitutional Usage

The first article on Travancore in the last issue of this Review tried to draw a picture of this favoured State and of its teeming population, a democratic-minded and educationally advanced people—an advancement which has far outpaced the rest of India, as shown in the Simon Commission's searching survey of the India of today. In the course of its long history Travancore has escaped foreign occupation; and, notwithstanding close contact, in the peaceful ways of trade, with nations beyond the seas for a thousand years and more, and notwithstanding also that it has sheltered and nourished for centuries, as *mapillas* or "sons-in-law" of its sovereigns, large bodies of Christians and Moslems with all the quiet influences that go with implanted religions, the State has preserved to this day some of the finer characteristics of the ancient Hindu system of administration which sense no recoil from the assimilation of constitutional forms of government as distinct from the ways of pure autocracy. For the Government of Travancore is today, as it has been for a long time, in processes and in structure, a constitutional government: and so it may be said with truth that the free peoples of the State enjoy a form of government beseeming their education and their democratic ways of living and thinking.

Students of the forms and devices of government, whether absorbed in academic speculation or engaged in constructive effort, are all too prone to regard the upper layers of ultimate authority as carrying most weight in the constitution of a State. In practice the ultimate authority is a last resource so far as a people are concerned, since it rarely touches their daily life. Their everyday needs are met by that ministration which makes up the most part of administration; and it is only when the management of public affairs affecting them falls into conflict with their weal that concern awakens to the need for ways and means to seek and secure from the ultimate authority

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the smooth and proper working of the machinery of ministration—regular movement by fixed cause swayed neither by arbitrariness nor by capriciousness. In Travancore a thus ordered and sympathetic administration, serving the well-being of the people, exists today and has existed for several generations, certainly since the fifties of the last century. That happy position could not have been secured or maintained were there not certain settled standards, continuing influences, which acted as restraining, correcting, and impelling forces upon changing personnel. There have been in Travancore continuously bearing on the administration such impersonal elements as are associated with the broad concept of constitutionalism.

Over and above this well-founded arrangement rests the dominion of ultimate authority in the State's plan of political life. Sir Henry Maine described Ranjit Singh, the Lion of the Punjab, as "not only a ruler, but a despotic ruler, if ever there was one . . . as it were, the State in person." As a political abstraction viewed in detachment from the practice of paramountcy in India—a paramountcy which, necessarily reacting on ultimate authority in an Indian State, is clearly understood if wisely undefined, that description may still hold good of many an Indian ruler; but, as the Indian States Committee presided over by Sir Harcourt Butler found last year, "there are constitutional States like Mysore and Travancore," and, it may be added, Cochin. In Travancore the Maharaja does not act directly in the government nor accept public responsibility for the acts of the administration. The conduct of the administration is entrusted to a responsible minister, the dewan, and under him, as the source of delegated authority, to heads of departments, the ruler remaining in the remote background so far as the general public is concerned. Sir T. Madhava Rao, who was dewan of Travancore between 1858 and 1872, was never tired of speaking of the Maharaja of Travancore as a constitutional ruler; and Sir A. Seshia Sastri, who succeeded him, in drawing attention to the unique relation between the ruler and the dewan, described the latter as the trustee of the former for the administration of the country. That it is, in fact, a trusteeship for the daily work of administration is borne out by the wording of the "royal *neet*," the commission or patent of office issued to every dewan:

"Whereas . . . we have appointed you as Our Dewan to administer the affairs of Our land, you shall from this day manage all matters concerning

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the revenue, expenditure, and the general administration of this State having due regard to the laws now existing or may hereafter be made by Us; you . . . shall neither make, without Our sanction, any alterations in the existing laws, relating to the general administration of the State, nor introduce any new law into the country, but whenever it may be found necessary to make any such alteration or introduce any new law, shall duly make known to Us the reasons for the same and introduce the alteration and make the new law as We are pleased to sanction; and shall, keeping Us informed of all matters and receiving the salary assigned to your office, so administer the land that the long-standing relations of friendship and confidence mutually existing between Us and the Honourable English Government, may be fostered and cemented, and the general prosperity of the country and the welfare of the subjects may be increased and that charity and justice may thrive in the land."*

The phrasing of this formal document has, it is understood, come down unchanged for well over a century. Be that as it may, it correctly represents the relation subsisting between the Maharaja and the dewan. As a matter of fact, the ruler's abstention from the direct exercise of power goes back to much earlier days, There was a time when the management of the great Temple at Trivandrum and of its far-flung lands was inextricably mingled with the administration of the State—the two went hand in hand. In A.D. 1050 the management was placed in the hands of an organization called the *Ett-ara-yogam*, or council of eight and a half, the eight *yogakar* or great *jenmis* (landlords) having a vote each and the Raja being a member with half a vote. In course of time power passed from the *jenmis* to—employing the nearest English analogy—eight baronial houses; and, the historian records, a struggle went on during the reigns of seventeen sovereigns, extending over a period of 187 years, between these barons and the ruler who, whenever a strong personality, chafed at his relegation to a mere casting vote. In England the king was overborne; in Travancore the barons were eventually crushed and exterminated by Martanda Varma the Great, who, in January, 1750, "adopted a most important precautionary measure as a lasting and powerful check on any future internal commotion in the country. This was effected by connecting the government of the country with religion, and making the kingdom sacred in the eyes of all Hindus."† The Maharaja dedicated the State to Sri Padmanabha Swami, declaring that thereafter the sovereign was not ruler in his own right, but the servant of the deity whose kingdom it became; and being thus sacrosanct, anything said or done against the ruler personally

* Translation in the Travancore State Manual, Vol. III. (1906), p. 412.
† "History of Travancore," P. S. Menon (1878), p. 170.

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is to this day regarded as *deiva droham* — blasphemy, sacrilege. Ever since the Maharajas of Travancore have kept scrupulously in the background, as becomes a sacred personage, so far as the administration of the State is concerned, and they take great care to ensure the position that the dewan and the dewan alone is responsible for all official acts. In Travancore the term *Darbar* is unknown as indicating the ruling force: the government or the *sirkar* is the Dewan. This position of the ruler acting only through his minister and of the fixation of responsibility on the dewan was recognized as such by the British Government in 1860; and as far back as 1802 it is seen that the Governor-General of India showed concern in the selection of the Travancore minister, to whom the Marquis of Wellesley sent a present of "a pair of valuable shawls, gold dresses and kincob, according to the formality observed at the installation of Chiefs in India."* Even to this day the appointment of a dewan requires the approval of the Government of India. The relation between the Maharaja and the dewan, as regards administrative functions, was well described by the late Sir P. Rajagopala Chariar, who was dewan of Travancore between 1907 and 1914. In an article published in the *Hindu* of Madras on December 14, 1922, reviewing "The Travancore Constitution," by Mr. G. Parameswaran Pillai, he wrote:

"I turn next to the executive government of the country. That government is vested in the Dewan. Mr. Parameswaram Pillay gives an interesting account of the development of the Dewanship. He says that 'the Dewan influences and shapes action in all matters relating to the Government, and he takes upon himself complete responsibility for all measures during his tenure of office. I may be permitted not only to endorse this view but to amplify it somewhat. It has been the tradition of Travancore for well over half a century that the Maharaja enacts no law, makes no public appointment, sanctions no public expenditure, except on the specific recommendation of the Dewan. This was my experience during my tenure of office for about seven years. It was also the experience of my predecessors with whom I have had occasion to converse on the subject. And I believe the practice has continued since I left. The establishment of this important convention is due to the present ruler and his two immediate predecessors. It has to be recognized that with the Government of the country centred in a single officer, and that with such large powers, occasional abuse is inevitable; and congestion of work occurs with increasing frequency; and the time no doubt is bound to come when the Government will vest not in a single individual but in an Executive Council presided over by the Dewan; and it will be a great advantage for the working of such a body that complete ministerial responsibility for all acts of government had already been established. The term 'ministerial responsibility' is, of course, a misnomer just now, as the Chief Minister owes no responsibility to the Legislature, but that

* "History of Travancore," P. S. Menon (1878), p. 305.

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responsibility also is bound to come. All that should, however, be essentially an affair of *development*. Those who say that at one stroke it should be laid down that the government of the country should be placed in the hands of Ministers wholly responsible to the Council, are visionaries who do more to retard the consummation they ask for than to facilitate it."

In passing it may be mentioned that the income and expenditure of the State was first regulated by a fixed budget about the year 1757, when the minister drew up a *pathivu kanaku* which, until comparatively recent times, when a more scientific budget displaced it, formed the yearly guide of the State's financial department. It was then, too, that the palace civil list was first fixed, the Ruling Family's expenses being met from the annual income of the State's then existing "Commercial Department." The civil list allotment, which is included in the government's annual budget, has been rigidly adhered to for well over sixty years, although the arrangement of allocating to it the revenue of a particular department has long been abandoned; and it is noteworthy that the ruler does not, and under present arrangements cannot, draw money by direct personal order to the State treasuries. The amount of the civil list, only about 5 per cent. of the total annual revenue of the State, is credited periodically by the government treasury, under authority from the chief accounting officer, to the palace treasury, where careful accounts are kept by a staff of accountants and are at intervals audited by officers lent from the Government account and audit department.

The procedure in respect of matters where the dewan has to obtain the ruler's sanction under the terms of his commission of appointment and usuages that have grown up is interesting. After private and informal consultation with the ruler, whether in person or by the exchange of strictly confidential notes, and after agreement has been reached, the ruler's formal approval is sought by a communication addressed by the dewan to the Maharaja's private secretary through the chief secretariat; and the convention is observed that the ruler never withholds his sanction to any proposal or recommendation thus made openly through official channels. The Maharajas of Travancore for a considerable time past have prided themselves in the fact that they were constitutional sovereigns, and have sincerely tried to act as such. And when they and dewans differed, as is sometimes inevitable in human relations, the consideration that the dewan had to bear all responsibility to the public as well as to the

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paramount power weighed heavily with them in their final decisions.

The subject cannot be closed without a reference to the effect upon the powers and prerogatives of the ruler by the growth and progress of representative institutions on the British model. As an adjunct to good administration there is the Popular Assembly, now twenty-six years old, which drew its inspiration from Mysore, and of which there is no counterpart in any single institution either in England or in British India. The Legislative Council of the State is more on the lines of a British institution. The first of its kind in any Indian State, copied by Mysore some twenty years later, it came into being in Travancore in 1888. The late Maharaja's object in creating it was "that the Dewan should have the benefit of discussing and taking the opinion of respectable persons in matters of legislation which, as being one of the most important functions of the Government, should receive the most careful consideration before being submitted to the sovereign to be passed into law."

This council did valuable work for ten years, and every member, official or non-official, had complete freedom in discussion and vote. The council was enlarged in 1898 with an increased non-official representation. A remarkable feature in connection with the newly modelled council was that it was evolved out of the old council which discussed and passed the bill to amend its own constitution. Here again there was complete freedom of individual action enjoyed by the members, and the proceedings of June 9, 1906, revealed the instructive fact that a government bill was thrown out by a majority which included the votes of official members, the leader of the opposition having been a high State official! The council was again reconstituted in 1919, with a wide franchise conferring on the people the right of interpellation in certain directions and to discuss the annual budget. To a democratic mind there were certain features in the constitution of the new council which detracted from the earlier position; the measure constituting it was promulgated directly by a proclamation of the Maharaja's, and was not passed through by the council which it replaced. In other words, the council ceased to be a self-constituent body, a sovereign legislature; and in the proclamation there was a declaration expressly affirming the ruler's rights to legislate independently of the council. The declaration was made in consequence of *obiter dicta*

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by the High Court of Travancore in three separate occasions challenging the Maharaja's right to make laws independently of the legislative council except for certain temporary emergencies and in respect of certain reserved subjects expressly provided for in the instruments creating the earlier councils. The chief justice in a reported judgment observed that the sovereign, otherwise than as indicated above, had renounced his prerogative of independent legislation, "retaining only the power to veto laws made by his council, and there is a very real distinction in this State between laws and executive commands. . . . Well-understood constitutional usages therefore must be held to override arbritary or autocratic powers supposed to be vested in sovereigns in an 'historical or remote sense.'"* To the juriconsult devoted to constitutional principles, the conclusion may be insistent that the Maharaja, by divestiture of legislative rights in certain directions, had established a convention, and that, although such convention was of imperfect obligation, it should have been respected. However, when the council was remodelled in 1919, and again in 1921, the constituting measures were promulgated directly by the ruler, the council being expressly prohibited from considering and enacting any measure affecting the provisions of the regulations constituting it, and the ruler's prerogative of independent law-making was reaffirmed. The present council is that which was created in 1921; it is composed of 50 members, of whom 28 are elected on a broad-based franchise including women, and 22 are nominated, only 15 out of the latter being State officials. There is thus a non-official majority of 35. The Council is invested with powers of voting on the budget, a limited number of subjects being excluded, and members also have the right of interpellation and moving resolutions and "token motions." The dewan presides and has the power of certification, which, however, has never been exercised during the last nine years. The dewan also has the right to pass, with the ruler's assent, emergency legislation having force for six months. The council is an active body very much alive to its rights and privileges. It has done much valuable work, particularly in social legislation, while it keeps a watchful eye on every branch of the administration and on the work and conduct of the executive.

The present position and unquestionable influence of the

*XXI. T.L.R., p. 103, quoted in the Travancore Constitution.—G. P. Pillay (1922), p. 11.

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legislative council in the public affairs of Travancore is almost entirely due to a strong politically-minded people very sensitive to their rights and requirements. It is true that the first council was a generous gift from above in 1888; but it did not take the people long to appreciate the advantages of this possession. The largely elective character of its representation and the expansion of its functions are the direct consequence of a fierce agitation carried on throughout the country some years ago. The late Maharaja was never very hard upon this child of his own begetting; and though it is conceivable that he did not entirely escape moments of disquiet at the sturdy growth from strength to strength of this representative institution, he was so strongly imbued with the idea of being a constitutional ruler and had so much faith in the wisdom of that attitude, that he made no effort to constrict its development. On the other hand, there are two facts which cannot be lost sight of as restraining influences upon the representatives of the people in council and assembly: these are, firstly, the sacrosanct political aura in which the ruler is hallowed, and, secondly, the great social force of palace countenance and benison made manifest in a dozen different ways. Attack and criticism are never directed against the ruler; but when had recourse to, and indulgence is not rare, are directed against the dewan and heads of departments—and herein lies the sagacity of the ruler's keeping in the background and avowing no public responsibility.

The political aspirations of the people are not yet appeased. For some years past, and with growing voice of late, they have been demanding an Executive Council with one or more ministers responsible to the legislative council; and latterly they have been reinforcing their claim by reference to a speech delivered last year by the Viceroy at Hyderabad. Sir P. Rajagopala Chari referred to this in 1922. As he said, an executive council is bound to come as the next step in the political evolution of the country. And also, as that shrewd observer remarked, it is a matter of development. An executive council, with colleagues amongst whom he could distribute the load and with whom he could sometimes counsel take, must have been sighed for by many a work-weary and sorely tried dewan. In conclusion, it is perhaps befitting to point a moral: it would be impolitic to generalize from the circumstances of Travancore for most other Indian States; no less would it be universe to draw Travancore into a generalization applicable to many other Indian States.

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SIR THOMAS RUMBOLD—V*

By Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M.A., Ph.D. (London), F.R.Econ.S., F.R.Stat.S.

THE VIJAYANAGARAM SETTLEMENT.

The Vijayanagaram settlement was one of the chief charges brought against Sir Thomas Rumbold in the proceedings instituted against him in the House of Commons at the instance of Henry Dundas, later Viscount Melville. Hence it is necessary that an examination of its conduct and effects should be offered here.

In 1759 Sitarama Razu relinquished his claims to the zamindari of Vijayanagaram in favour of his younger brother Vijayarama Razu, to occupy the position of *diwan* for a period of eighteen years.† Jagannadha Razu, a servant of the Pusapati family of Vijayanagaram and an opportunist, fomented dissensions among the brothers. Vijayarama Razu, being timid and indolent, generally acquiesced in the efficient management of Sitarama Razu.‡ But family intrigues so thoroughly honeycombed the revenue affairs of the zamindari that the Madras Government were clearly misled into false estimates of the characters of the principal figures concerned in its management.

After the surrender of the fort of Vijayanagaram in 1777, Jagannadha Razu superseded Sitarama Razu in the office of *diwan*, generally mismanaged the revenue affairs, and appropriated to his personal benefit tracts of land belonging to the zamindari without the knowledge of Vijayarama Razu

* The previous papers have been published in the Asiatic Review for January, April, and October, 1929, and January, 1930.

† *Costford to the Court of Directors*, New Bond Street, January 13, 1777. See Rumbold: *Answer to Charges*. Appendix, No. 4.

‡ Accounts of Braithwaite and Fawke of the reconciliation of the brothers after the capture of Vijayanagaram. *Ibid.* Appendix, No. 5. See also *Second Report*. Appendices, Nos. 23, 45, and 51.

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and the prior sanction of the Chief of Vizagapatam.* Ever since, on the death of Payaka Rao, Raja of Anakapalli and tributary to Vijayanagaram, he had kept a steady eye on its acquisition and had temporarily managed its affairs to his own advantage.† He was particularly fortunate in having the confidence of the Vizagapatam Council. The accumulation of his arrears of revenue to Vijayarama Razu resulted in his imprisonment by the latter, but the Madras Government procured his release on the ground that he was the renter of the Company's *haveli* or demesne and that he was manager of the Anakapalli estate. His subsequent ascendency over the vacillating Vijayarama procured for him the remission of his debts and the disgrace of Sitarama Razu, who, thereupon, proceeded to Madras prior to the arrival of Rumbold to plead his case before the Government.

In August, 1777, Sitarama Razu and Vijayarama Razu started for Madras, whither they were ordered by the Whitehill Government for the settlement of their affairs.‡ But the latter dropped out at Rajahmundry and sent two letters through Sitarama Razu to be delivered to the governor in explanation of his revenue affairs.§ On February 6, 1778, Rumbold arrived at Madras, and on March 24 he ordered Vijayarama Razu to repair to Madras along with the other zamindars for the settlement of the *jamabandi*.

Immediately on arriving at Madras, Rumbold gave an interview to Sitarama Razu who, at his request, delivered a lengthy representation relative to the revenue affairs of the zamindari.‖ On March 11, 1779, the Vizagapatam Council informed the Government that grain worth Rs. 3,00,000 had been shipped to the Presidency on behalf of Sitarama Razu.¶ At a later time, the Court of Directors and the Committee of Secrecy attributed generally corrupt motives to Sitarama Razu, attached undue importance to this fact, and averred

* See *Second Report*, Appendices, Nos. 22 and 54. See also Appendix, No. 45, wherein the evidence of the two brothers and of Jagannadha Razu on these points before the Madras Council is recorded.

† Jagannadha Razu was appointed manager by the Vizagapatam Council on August 20, 1777. See *Vizagapatam to Madras*, November 6, 1777. *Rev. Cons.*, November 18, vol. xix., pp. 704-706.

‡ *Madras to Vizagapatam*, November 27, 1777, and *Vizagapatam to Madras*, April 22, 1778, in Appendix, No. 21, to the *Second Report*.

§ For these letters, see *Second Report*, Appendices, Nos. 23 and 54. One of these letters was in the possession of Rumbold. See *Briefs*, ii., f. 32. *Brit. Mus. Add. MSS.*, No. 28,160.

‖ See *Second Report*, Appendix, No. 24. Sitarama Razu's representation was dated March 8, 1778. See also *Briefs*, ii., f. 32.

¶ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, March 21, 1778. *Rev. Cons.*, April 10, in *Second Report*, Appendix, No. 42.

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that it had been instrumental in procuring for him the decennial lease of the Vizagapatam *haveli* and the settlement of the Vijayanagaram affairs in his favour.

With regard to the lease of the *haveli* in question, they were completely in the wrong. Actually, the Whitehill Government which preceded that of Rumbold granted its lease to Sitarama Razu as early as December 19, 1777, three months before the arrival of Rumbold at Madras.* The *kaul* or order had been delivered to him direct, instead of through the usual channel of the Vizagapatam Council, in view of the fact that he was present at Madras. The *haveli* was put in charge of his manager on January 17, 1778. Thus, the shipment of grain could not possibly have been made in consequence of his interview with Rumbold, a statement of which was placed before the Madras Council on April 24, 1778.† Sitarama Razu made good part of his *kists*, or revenue payments, before October 15.‡ Thus, again, it will be seen that there are strong reasons to believe that the shipment was made in no uncommon way and was presumably intended to defray his personal expenses during his stay at Madras and his *kists* to the Company.

Vijayarama Razu proceeded to Madras in compliance of the orders of Rumbold.§ By this time Jagannadha Razu also arrived there. At about the same time, Samuel Johnson, the patron of Jagannadha Razu, relinquished the chiefship of Vizagapatam and took his seat on the Madras Council. The presence of these persons at Madras prior to Rumbold's settlement gave occasion for further intrigues and complications.

At the instance of Rumbold the Madras Government thought it best to bring about a reconciliation between the brothers as a preliminary to the settlement of their revenue affairs.‖ This was effected in the course of meetings between them both in private and under the eyes of Rumbold and his Council.¶ There is a touch of the ridiculous in

* *Rev. Cons.*, December 19, 1777. *Second Report*, Appendix, No. 39.

† *Idem*, April 24, 1778. Rumbold informed his Council that Sitarama Razu assured him about the speedy payment of his first *kist*. See *Second Report*, Appendix, No. 43.

‡ *Vizagapatam to Madras*, October 15, *idem*, November 6. The total payments of the brothers and of Jagannadha Razu amounted to Rs. 1,49,151. *Second Report*, Appendix, No. 54.

§ *Rumbold to Vijayarama Razu*, April 4, in *Second Report*, Appendix, No. 28. See also No. 38.

‖ See *Madras Letters Received*, October 17, 1778 (Rumbold), para. 10, vol. ix. (pages not numbered).

¶ *Rev. Cons.*, July 29, when the brothers and Jagannadha Razu were

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this attempt to impose a "hearty" reconciliation upon the two individuals who had long-standing quarrels which were fostered by the intrigues of the palace. But the Committee of Secrecy and the Court of Directors were not justified in allowing this to figure in their criticism of Rumbold's administration. Such a measure was recommended by the Stratton Government as early as April 21, 1777, as a purely political measure to ensure the tranquillity of the Chicacole Sarkar. The possibility of a French war in the immediate future also demanded such a policy of reconciliation. How far coercion was used in bringing this about I cannot say, since the evidence is at once voluminous and conflicting. But this much can be asserted with reason, that Rumbold dominated the situation and was able to give effect to his intentions.

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examined by the Madras Council with a view to effect this reconciliation. *Second Report*, Appendix, No. 45.

Rumbold intimated his Council with the fact of the reconciliation on August 18. *Ibid.*, Appendix, No. 47.

See also Vijayarama Razu's allegations against Jagannadha Razu who had fomented dissensions between him and his brother. *Ibid.*, Appendix, No. 51.

That the reconciliation was genuine and necessary is proved by *Casamajor to Rumbold*, December 20, in Rumbold: *Answer to Charges*, Appendix, No. 6. Rumbold resigned his office and was on his way to England when this letter from the Chief of Vizagapatam was written.

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CONVERSIONS OF OUTCASTES

By O. C. G. Hayter
(Late Indian Police)

The conversion of the untouchables or outcastes of the Hindu world to the tenets of another religion has always been a subject of interest and importance. These communities appear to be descended from anciently enslaved tribes, and it is reasonable to suppose either that the Brahmins found it impossible to bring them to an observance of ceremonial purity and caste prohibitions, or that they were continued in the web and woof of India, in their "impure" state, for what they were worth, in plain terms to do the dirty work of society.

However this may have been, it is certain that being as they were, and are, these communities could never have been permitted to take part in religious worship and benefits which depended so much upon ceremonial purity. They may not enter temples, nor in some places even the roads close to temples; they may not take part in religious processions or pilgrimages with the clean castes. In some parts their approach within a certain distance of high-caste men causes defilement.

It was inevitable that people who held such an uncomfortable position in a religious system would be inclined to enter some other system which would not bear so hardly upon their inherited disabilities, and so it was that bodies of the outcastes were converted to Islam, others in the Panjab to the sect of the Sikhs, others again to Christianity. Islam holds certain taboos over the convert, but, these accepted, places him on a spiritual level with all the brotherhood of Islam. The Sikhs have not lived up to Nanak's aspirations (what religion can cast a stone at them for that?), but we have at all events this concrete spectacle of the Mazbi Sikhs, once mere village outcastes, now regiments of renowned warriors, and bodies of prosperous smallholders. In the Christian fold there are no taboos; the convert is taught that it is right to be clean in body, as in soul, not that he will not be allowed to do this or to go there because of his uncleanness.

The lot of the outcaste in ordinary town or village life is generally hard. In large town communities, indispensable

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scavengers have learnt to make terms for themselves, but it is always a struggle, amid unpleasant occupations, for scraps to sustain life with. Their huts are away from the village site, and their wells are often foul water holes in the bed of a contaminated stream. The outcaste is a landless man, a real proletarian.

It seems likely that the flow of conversion only did not go faster for two reasons. First of all, in turbulent times, the influential castes of Hinduism would make short shrift of outcastes who "deserted" the Hindu system and left it without the necessary scavengers, watchmen and messengers; and, secondly, without this instant fear, the outcastes would know that their subsistence depended on the village as a whole, and the Hindu village would not feed those outcastes who sought another fold. Christian missionaries have always found it difficult to maintain their converts, except where all or most of the village outcastes entered the Christian Church together, save by keeping them, and establishing them in industry, in mission settlements. This last method they have brought to a triumphant issue. One feels that the name of Britain will be indelibly stained if any of these mission settlements are allowed, by a lack of watchfulness, to come to serious harm. The missions have helped sections of the population which were in every sense the most needy.

There must always be a feeling among the outcastes, in addition to their fears of reprisal or destitution, that they should be able to rise, in these days, in the religious system to which they are supposed to belong, instead of having to leave it altogether before they can obtain betterment. This feeling is shared by reformers among the higher castes or among caste Hindus generally. The reformers are many, but in proportion to the vast numbers in the castes who are opposed to them, they are very few, and they have an uphill task.

An insistent attempt has been made by outcastes to secure entry into temples. This line of attack, in Travancore State, for long taxed the resources of the authorities. It did not go so far as to demand to enter the temple itself, but only the surrounding thoroughfare. In the end, some sort of peace was patched up or enforced. Later, the outcastes at Poona tried to invade the famous Parbati temple on its hill, and the legal rights of the Brahmins seem to have been upheld through the action of a British military force. Quite lately, outcastes at the important sacerdotal stronghold of Nasik sought to take part in hauling sacred

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cars containing the effigies of deities. This resulted in a serious fight between the outcastes and caste Hindus, presumably Brahmins and the higher trading castes of the city, and the result would certainly have been much graver had not the British District Magistrate, Mr. Gordon, secured the obedience of the outcastes and himself led them, many thousands in number, away from the danger zone—a very fine act.

It was as a result of this last fruitless effort, we are told, that a number of outcastes have sought conversion to Islam, and some have actually embraced that faith. They would be more inclined, apart from any religious preference, to seek the fold of Islam than that of Christianity in these uncertain times, seeing that the strength of the former in India is so incomparably greater.

The main objective of the Mahars, the outcastes at Nasik, is to secure entry to the Kalaram Temple, the "Holy of holies." They enjoy considerable organization and strategy of leadership. Grain has been subscribed for and collected to feed their encamped forces. Order has been maintained among them.

The efforts of political Hinduism cannot be omitted from the factors to be considered. Some politicians may be orthodox, others in favour of relaxation of caste rules, but the only real principle guiding these politicians is that power should be acquired by them. Some think to do this by intimidating the Mahars in the villages, saying that power is to pass from British to Hindu hands and then rebellious outcastes will suffer, while others promise to secure concessions for them if only they cease to seek Islam. It is very doubtful how far any of these political promises are likely to be honoured by fulfilment, especially since decision rests with the sacerdotal heads, whose bounden duty it is (to do them justice) to maintain caste purity. The Mahars on their side threaten to desert to Islam. Concessions or promises may deter them, but if the aim is not permanently attained, conversion will go on. Leaders of the Mahars may dream of leading triumphant followers into the Kalaram Temple, but it seems, on the evidence, a dream more likely of fulfilment that they should lead them into the Mosque. Mahars who were recently converted to Islam were dressed in fine raiment and mounted on horses to prance through the high-caste Hindu crowd.

This movement raises many important questions. It seems very difficult for Hinduism to do much to raise the

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status of the outcastes. It is, frankly, a perfectly horrible idea for the orthodox caste people that the unclean outcastes should enter their temples or even their dwellings, and we must try to understand their feelings. We must also remember this. The intricate caste system, with all its harshness, has operated to hold society together in India for ages, and still does so. I am going to give a policeman's view, which is not always the view that nothing matters but his baton. On the contrary, caste rules and their observance, touching as they do everybody at all times and places, are more important than all the statutes of governments, central or local. I rather believe the Indian Army commander would say the same. It would be a terrible day if there were a sudden "jacquerie" against caste laws. This consideration should make us pause before condemning the high-caste Hindu for opposing any sudden relaxation of caste "taboos."

In particular, many of their laws, even if distorted, are essentially bulwarks of the family life of the human race against Bolshevik promiscuity.

Mr. Gandhi himself had, so far as I know, small success in obtaining relaxation of rules against outcastes. At a large village in Gujerat there was a conference, held in a large tent, at which educated outcastes from a distant town, among others, spoke to the audience. Mr. Gandhi's influence was enough to induce caste Hindus of the village to attend, and enough to encourage the village Dheds (outcastes) to cluster in a shrinking manner about the tent door, and even enough to prevent the caste Hindus from making an open uproar when the educated outcaste visitors walked into their houses and sat down, but not enough to prevent what followed. The poor village Dheds, when they saw this profanation, fled in terror to the jungle, and would not return until they were assured that they would not be held responsible for any part in the outrage. This simple occurrence tells us that relaxation in such matters is likely to be slow. The writings of Mr. Gandhi and his followers are full of exhortations, lamentations, and even fulminations on this subject, which show conclusively how little ground the reformers have gained.

Recently a body of outcastes went to Mr. Gandhi in Gujerat from the Deccan. These were presumably Mahars, a far stouter race than the Gujerati Dheds. They sought to serve their purpose by demanding that the civil disobedience movement should wait until the outcaste grievances had been redressed. Mr. Gandhi appears to

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have replied, frankly, that they were asking the impossible, that in such case he would have to wait for ever; let them wait until he had finished waving his wand, and then see what might come of it. But the outcastes replied that they also could not wait indefinitely. It seems therefore that despair of help from nationalism, as well as despair of relaxation by sacerdotalism, has inclined the outcastes to seek other houses of prayer.

Whether the Muslim, the Christian, or some reforming, uplifting element among the Hindus or the outcastes themselves, or the ubiquitous communist, profits by this inclination, is a question of circumstances. If all such proselytizing bodies were to gain recruits more or less equally and gradually from the outcastes, no disturbance of the present balance of communities would take place, but it would be otherwise in case of a speedy acquisition of a great number of converts by one body.

At present, for several reasons, it seems that Islam is the most likely destination for discontented outcastes. We have the concrete evidence of such conversions at Nasik. The missionary power of Islam in India is traditional, and has many a hallowed hill-top to revive its memory. Religion in Western Asia has had severe set-backs; and zealous missionaries of Islam are likely to seize an Indian opportunity, as in former times. Then there is the actual and memorial strength of the Moslems in India. They were rulers, and drew strength constantly from Central and Western Asia. In the Deccan, where these conversions are reported, Ahmednagar and Bijapur were old Moslem kingdoms, as also Khandesh. Today Nasik, Ahmednagar, Sholapur have almost at their gates the Muslim centres of Aurangabad, Gulburga, and others, where Muslim domination has of late years been signally advertised, governorships of the greatest State in India, Hyderabad. The Muslim all over the Deccan is anxious to increase his numbers, resources, and influence, so great of old, so much beaten down in modern times by Brahmin political and economic superiority. In the present uncertain times, neither Christian missions nor well-meaning societies of polite Hindu reformers or liberals will have any appeal to outcastes needing a protecting arm.

If there were to be mass conversions, the results might be very striking. We may study the following figures for Nasik district, taken from the Census of 1921 (approximate):

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Brahmins. (Makes up the keen politico-religious element of Hinduism.)	30,000
High-caste Hindu traders. (Ditto.)	20,000
	50,000
Hindu agricultural artisan and lower castes (among whom much revolt against sacerdotalism has begun)	600,000
Outcastes	100,000
Moslems	50,000

When it is considered that a convert is often a zealot, the significance of any numerous conversion of outcastes to Islam becomes apparent. The Deccan Mahars and Mangs, hardy, somewhat pugnacious, and sometimes (as their history makes us comprehend) cruel races, number in all some four million.

I think it is still within the academic and philosophic realm to say that precisely ignorance of this sort of real "politics" causes the pacifist, the anti-militarist, the anti-imperialist to be so grievously apt to bring about wars. They act upon the demands of small numbers of intellectuals, while they ignore the vast masses of the "unclean."

The suggestion was made in this paper that, during many centuries, there have been inducements for a far larger volume of conversion of outcastes than has actually taken place, but the opposition of the Hindus, to the loss of these outcastes from their system, militated against it. This opposition might be divided between that of the high castes —namely, the Brahmins and those high trading castes which have obtained a large share of political, economic, and even religious influence, and that of the great mass of Hindus of agricultural or artisan or labourer castes. There is a great deal of difference between these two oppositions. The first comprises a determination to preserve the caste system intact for its own sake. The second is more a matter of convenience. The outcaste is so useful that the ordinary Hindu townsman or villager certainly does not want to lose him altogether.

It follows that in this matter, as in so many, events depend greatly upon the hold which the high castes still maintain over the mass of ordinary castes. The figures which I have given for one district are probably not out of the common. If anything, seeing that Nasik is a great place of pilgrimage, the figures are likely to favour the high castes unduly. Yet they are, here, as 1 to 12 of the ordinary castes.

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In all the western Deccan the village is a Maratha village. There are other communities, but they are decidedly "minorities": Brahmins, traders, various other tribal or occupational castes of Hindus, and outcastes, and here and there Moslems (these are mostly in towns). My own view of the real politics of this region is that in the end the question must be, "What do the Marathas want?" Certainly as to Bulgaria one would ask, "What do the Bulgarians want?" and the same ruling idea must eventually apply to Maharashtra.

Now the Brahmin had his religious influence, but it has been fast waning. It has suffered from the fact that the natural increase of Brahmin population has taken energetic and capable advantage of Western law and education to establish a commanding position in officialdom, bench and bar and landlordism, and the last has often been combined with usury. The jealousy of Brahmins among Marathas is a vital, historic fact. It may be said that we must not build upon it too much. We must not build upon anything too much; but that is an insufficient reason for ignoring it. While Brahmins are accused, sometimes with truth, of being simply "agin the government," the Marathas rather regard *them*, and remember them, *as a government*. The Maratha made of himself a nation, and has never been inclined to "sit down under it" like any ordinary Hindu caste. They accuse Brahmin schoolmasters of not teaching Maratha boys as keenly as they teach Brahmin boys, and so on. Whatever truth there may be in this accusation, there it is. They accuse Brahmin landlords of oppression and they accuse Brahmin lawyers and judges (perhaps quite unjustly) of unduly favouring them. To enforce the Maratha village standpoint, fierce boycotts of Brahmins have gone on. No villager has been allowed to work for them, even to shave them or to fetch them water. Disobedience has met with violence. All this has for long impaired Maratha respect for Brahmin religious guidance and priesthood. Boycotts have been accompanied by burlesques of Brahminical rites, sometimes very unseemly burlesques, and as this sort of scoffing is usually followed, unless it can be checked, by buffeting, and worse, Brahmin families have sometimes taken to their bullock carriages, or it may be even Ford cars, in the dawn, and fled the village for the market town.

The Maratha press at Poona, Bombay, and elsewhere (seemingly unknown to the press of London) has persistently written against Brahmin pretensions and domina-

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tion. There has been a campaign against pilgrimages reminding one of Southern England in the sixteenth century; only there has been an impartial King afar off, not a Henry VIII., and his army and police. But in the Southern Maratha country there was a Henry VIII., in the sense of a "majestic lord," who broke the power of the Brahmin, and asserted his rights as *fidei defensor*, the late Maharaja of Kolhapur, descendant of the Maratha hero and national founder Sivaji. This Maharaja's story of struggle should one day be given to the world.

This digression about Brahmins and Marathas has been necessary to my subject, because it contains the chief factor in the problem. If we eliminate Brahminical influence, in the matter of allowing or opposing the conversion of outcastes to Islam, or Christianity, or otherwise, we are reduced to the Marathas' own convenience. Certainly they cannot be their own scavengers and messengers. Messengers in Indian villages cannot be compared, say, to our "special messengers," honoured and rewarded by our city magnates and distinguished visitors from East and West, but are persons who have to go long distances afoot through dirty ground in dirty weather, day or night, and feed anyhow anywhere—a career impossible to caste Hindus. If the messengers are not outcastes, they are usually "aborigines" of forest tribes, and in a few instances Moslems of a poor class.

Nevertheless, if the Maratha needs these workers, he does not need too many of them. He has to feed them from the produce of the land, somehow. The outcastes used to be kept within "economic limits" by war, pestilence, and famine. Then, again, more used to be needed. They formed the garrison of the walled Maratha village, while the Marathas, sword in belt, tilled their lands or harried those of others. Now, when fewer are needed, they increase and multiply, and expect to be fed. If they are not fed, they poison cattle, steal grain, and burn ricks. I have studied this subject continually, as a police superintendent, in an office chair, afoot, and on horseback. It was a major problem, in the matter of crime. If outcastes were proceeded against for being without visible means of subsistence, with a view to inducing them to seek work far afield, they stated in defence that custom, incorporated in a revenue code, entitled them all to support. They were on an ancient, everlasting dole. In the district which I remember best, outcastes had been converted to Christianity, mostly in famine times, to the number of tens of

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thousands. These converts were collected in settlements and taught, or continued in, home industries. So far as I could judge, the conversion was an excellent thing in every way. I am sure that the villages were glad of it, and, if enough scavengers and messengers remained, would be rejoiced if all the superfluous outcastes went away and became Moslems or Christians or Communists or anything else under the sun, so long as they were "taken off the register."

The Maratha is a hard-headed man, a regular Bulgarian. I do not believe that even the Brahmin ever really got the better of the best of him. His leaders have acquired education. His "leading ladies" write articles for such of London as is wise or fortunate enough to read them. I do not think that, today, the possibility of the Maratha being "duped" need be considered. Therefore I think that conversions of the outcaste, if the ordinary decency of police control is maintained, will not meet with any strenuous opposition. But if Islam, or Christianity, takes over outcastes, Islam or Christianity must feed them, aided doubtless by the charitable among people of all faiths, as in past time, and, more than feed them, give them livelihood. If the money-lender exercises pressure against converts, and protection is not secured by them, the effect upon the probable outcome will be considerable.

NOTE

Owing to the pressure on the space of the Review in this issue in consequence of the publication of the Simon Report, it has been found necessary to hold over the Library Section, with the book reviews and some other articles, until October.

CORRECTION

In the analysis of Selenite (April issue, page 244, line 32, "The Mines and Minerals in the Netherlands East Indies Archipelago")

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should read

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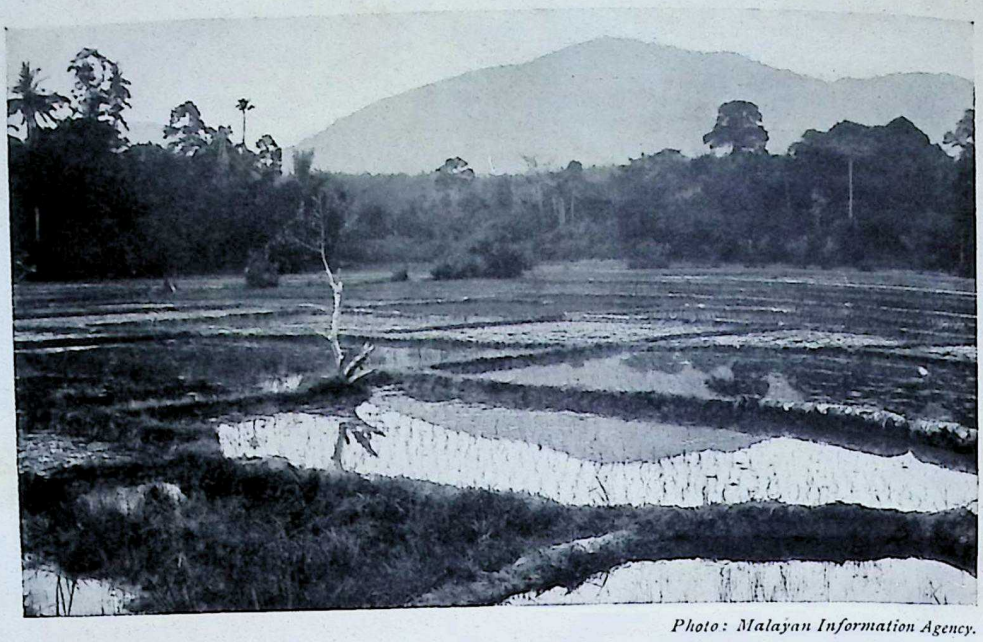

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PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE REPORT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION

By the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

The Simon Report, the issue of which has been so long looked forward to, is now available; and no one who has read it with care will deny that it constitutes a document of profound interest and of historic importance. It is true that in India the Report has met with a considerable volume of hostile criticism, but the value of such criticism is discounted by the fact that many of those who have condemned it have prefaced their condemnation by the statement that they have not read it. With such critics it is, of course, futile to argue; and in any case I have not come here this afternoon with the object of indulging in any battle of words over the merits or the demerits of the various proposals which the Commissioners have put forward.

The time will come, of course, when each one of the many proposals which they make will have to be subjected to exhaustive examination before it is either incorporated in a Bill or rejected and replaced by some other proposal; but this is not the time nor is this the place for such a task. The proper place for that task will be, in the first instance, the Conference Chamber, within whose walls are to meet in October next representatives of H.M. Government on the one hand and of the Princes and peoples of India on the other; and, in the second instance, the committee rooms and chambers of the Houses of Parliament, upon whose members must rest the responsibility for embodying in an Act the governing principles of the future system of government in India.

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My object this afternoon is a somewhat different one. In the dust of controversy already raised, and likely to increase rather than decrease during the coming months, there is a real danger of a serious loss of perspective both in India and in this country; and it is very desirable that before we settle down to a consideration of the specific proposals which are already before us and of others which may yet be submitted to us, we should pause for a little to examine the direction in which, and the speed at which, we have been travelling in India during recent years. We shall then be in a better position to estimate the direction in which, and the speed at which, we shall find ourselves travelling, if the lines of advance laid down in the Report of the Commission are adopted.

The Changed Outlook

The first thing which emerges from an examination of the history of constitutional development in India during recent years is this outstanding fact—that the attitude of responsible opinion in this country towards the whole problem of the government of India has undergone, in a very short space of time, a revolutionary change.

The association of Indians in the government of the country was, of course, contemplated by Parliament before ever the administration was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. That is clear from Section 87 of the Government of India Act of 1833, which laid it down that no native of the country should, by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, or colour, be disabled from holding any place, office, or employment under the Company. This pledge to India was, of course, taken over when control was transferred from the Company to the Crown. Under it Indians rose to positions of eminence in the State; they became High Court Judges and Chief Justices of the High Courts, and on the executive side they became members both of the Government of India and of

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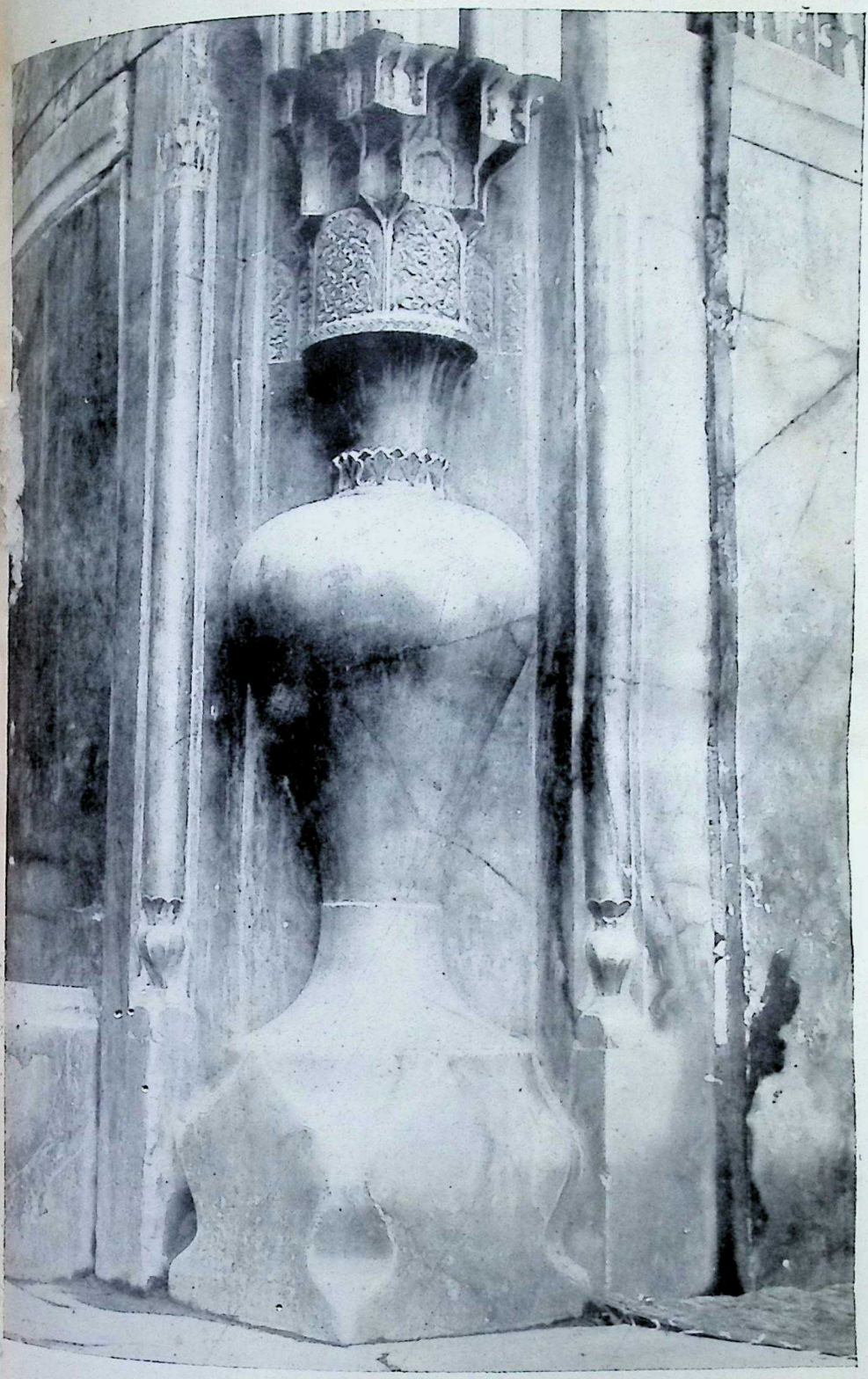

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MASJID-I-SHAH, ISFAHAN

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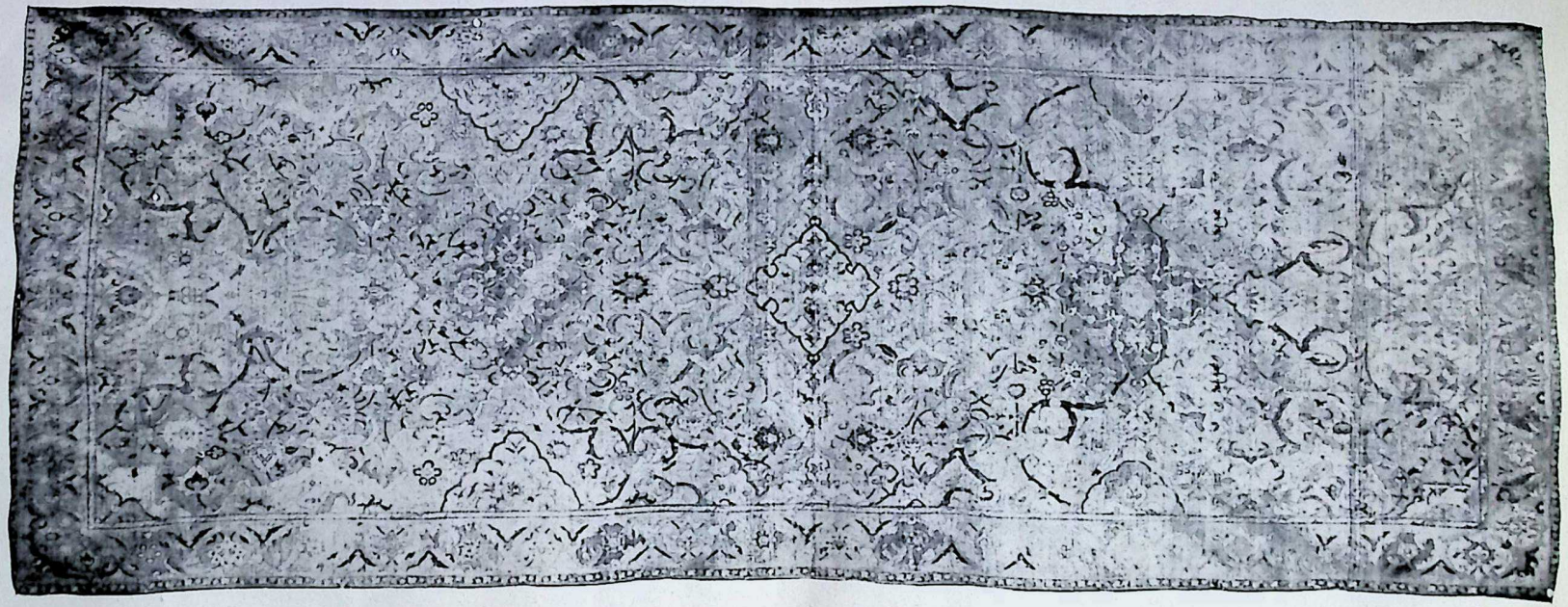

TAPIS POLONAIS

In spite of the name these carpets are of Persian workmanship, but considered as being in the Polish style to conform to the taste of the time in Poland. Their characteristic is a certain stiffness of lines, due perhaps to the introduction of silver and other metallic wires.

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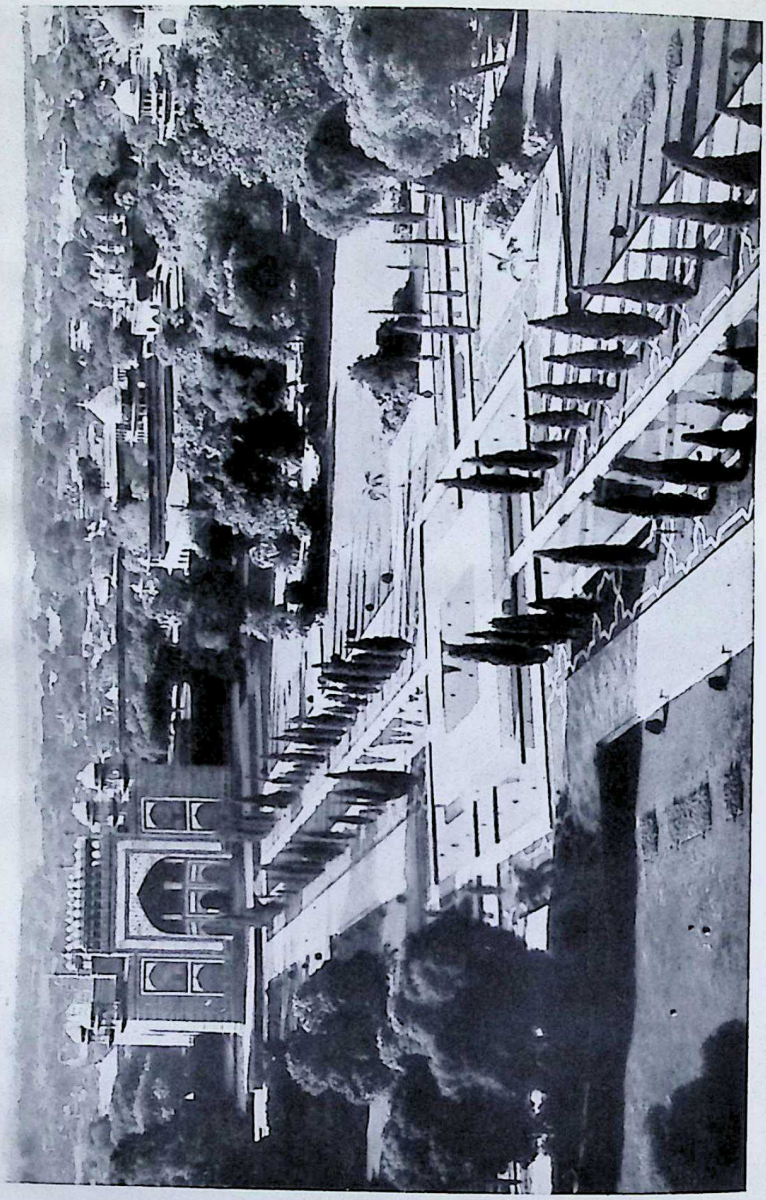

THE GARDENS OF THE TAJ FROM ONE OF THE MINARETS

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ARJUNA'S PENANCE, MAHABADIPURAM

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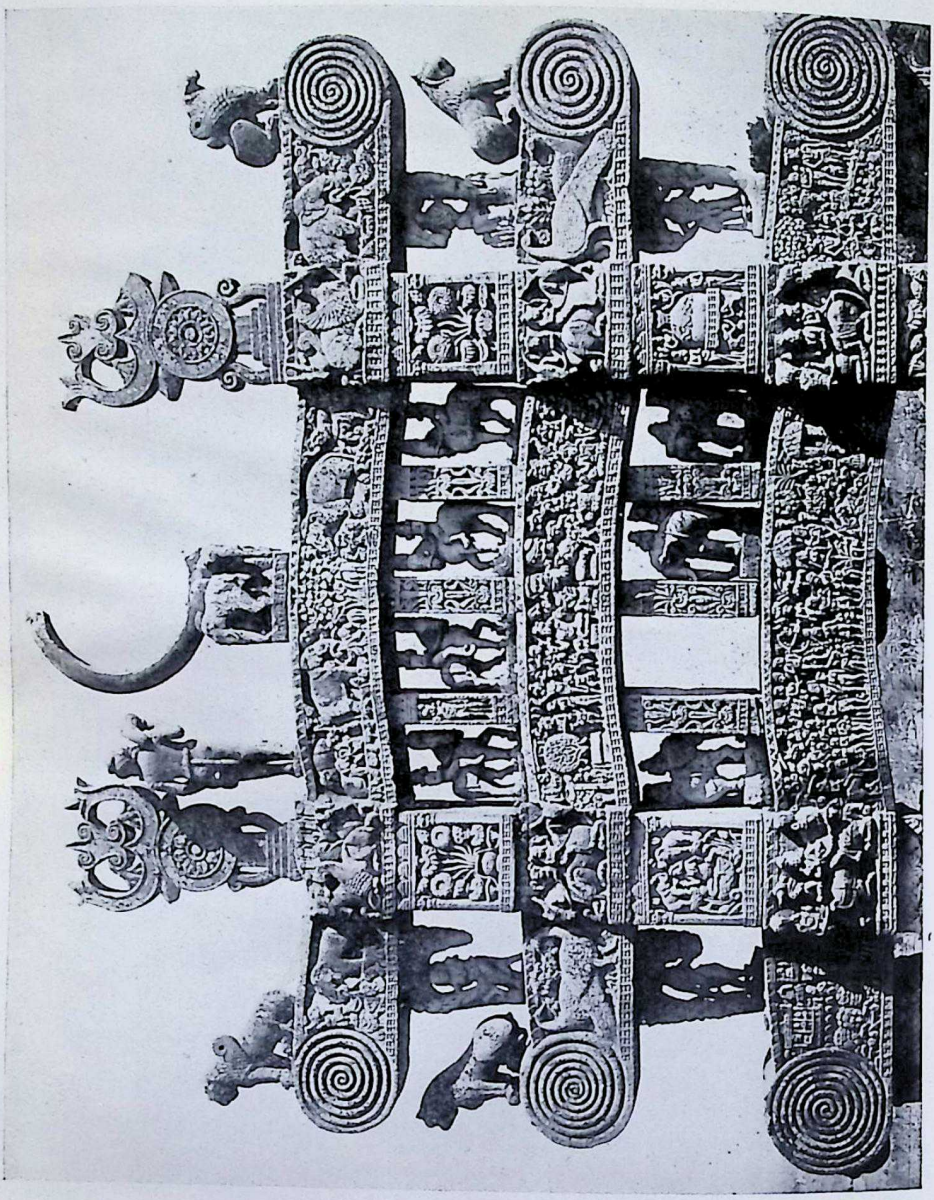

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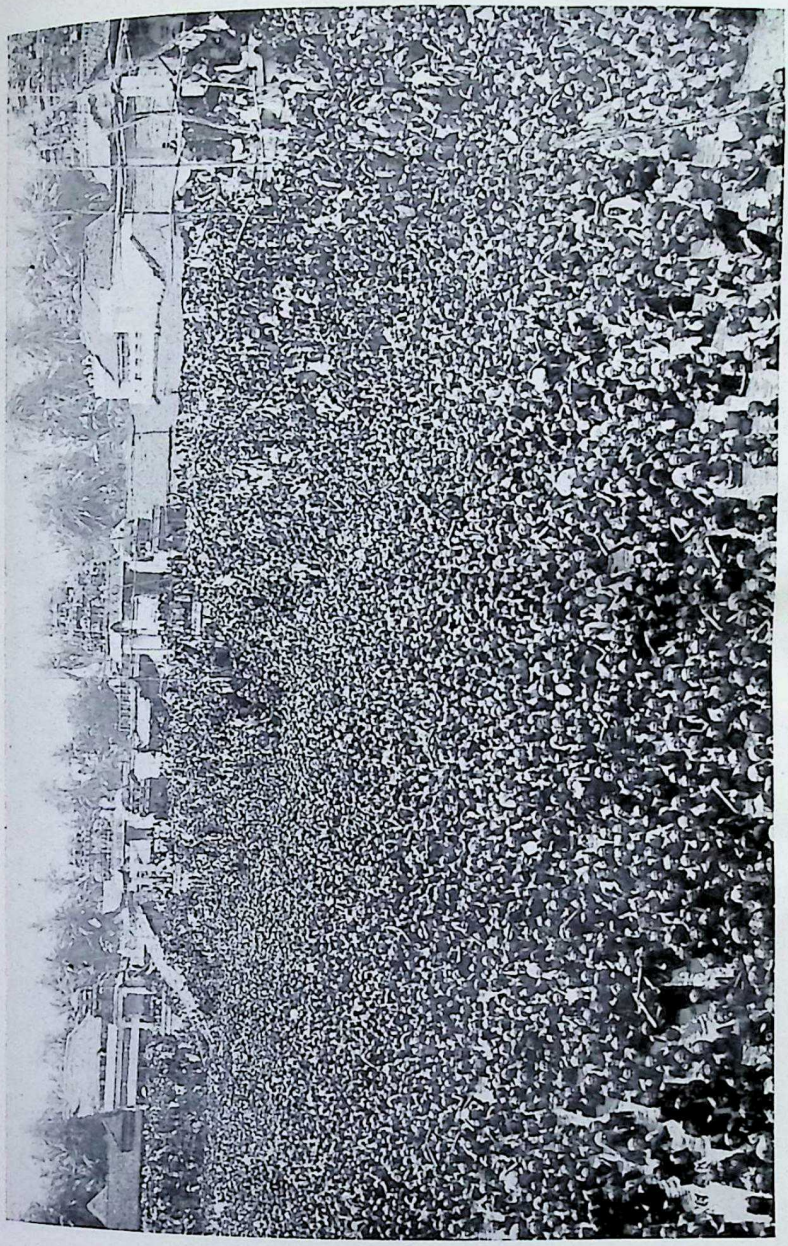

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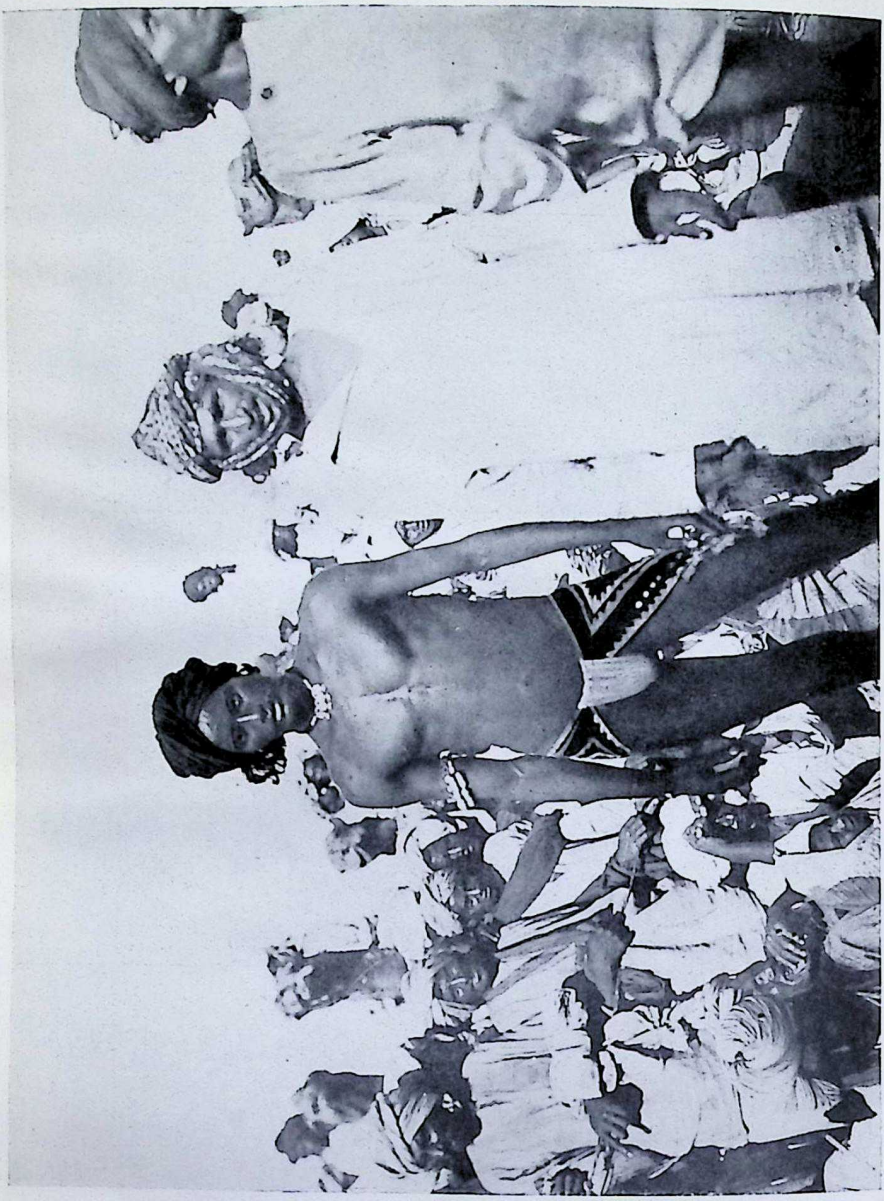

A "LITTLE" YOUNG WRESTLER

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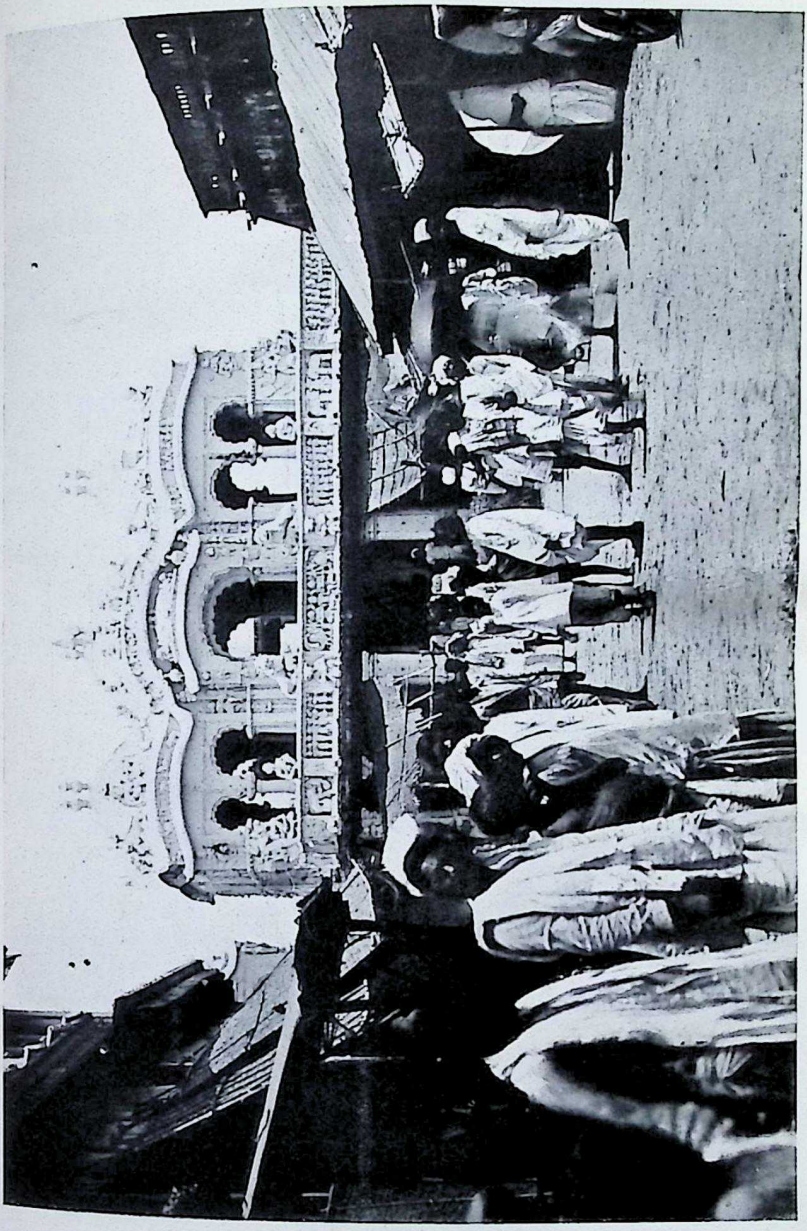

THE TEMPLE, VIZIANAGRAM

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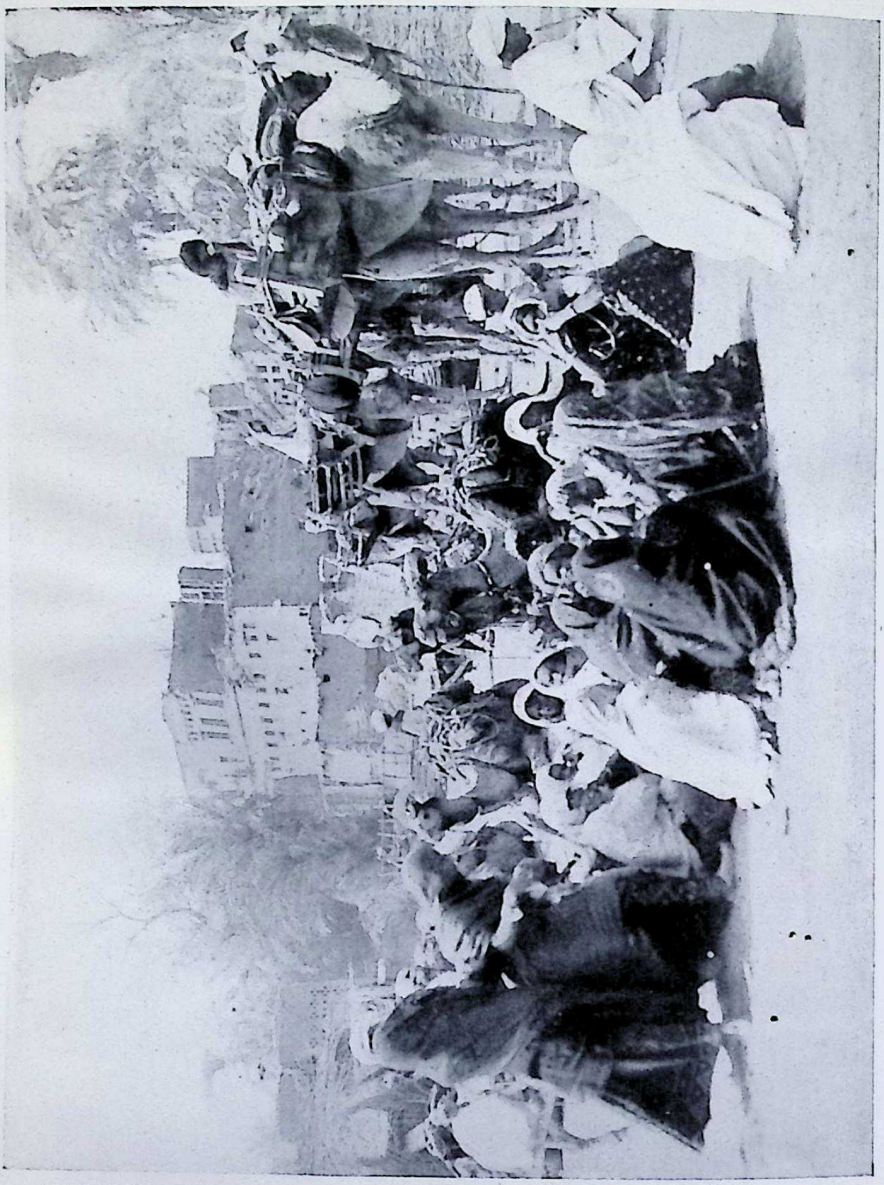

PEASANT WOMEN AND CAMEL LITTERS

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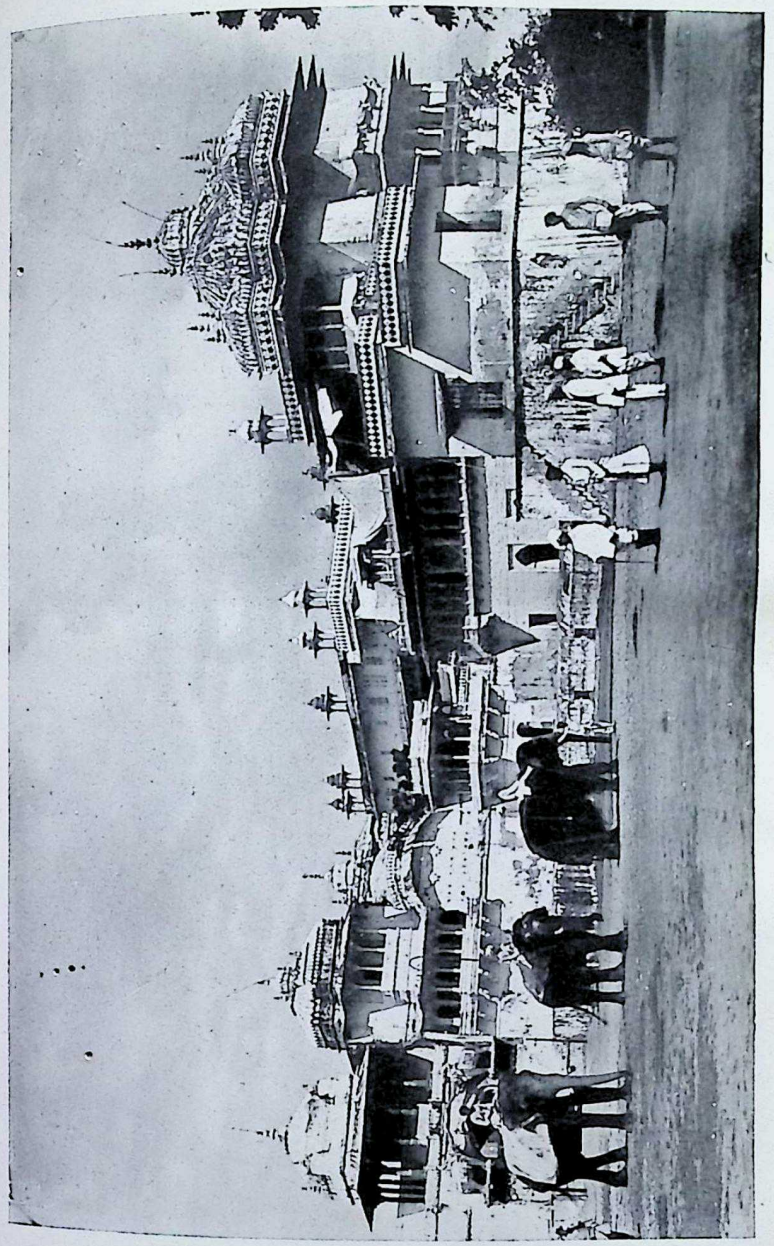

THE OLD PALACE, KOTAH

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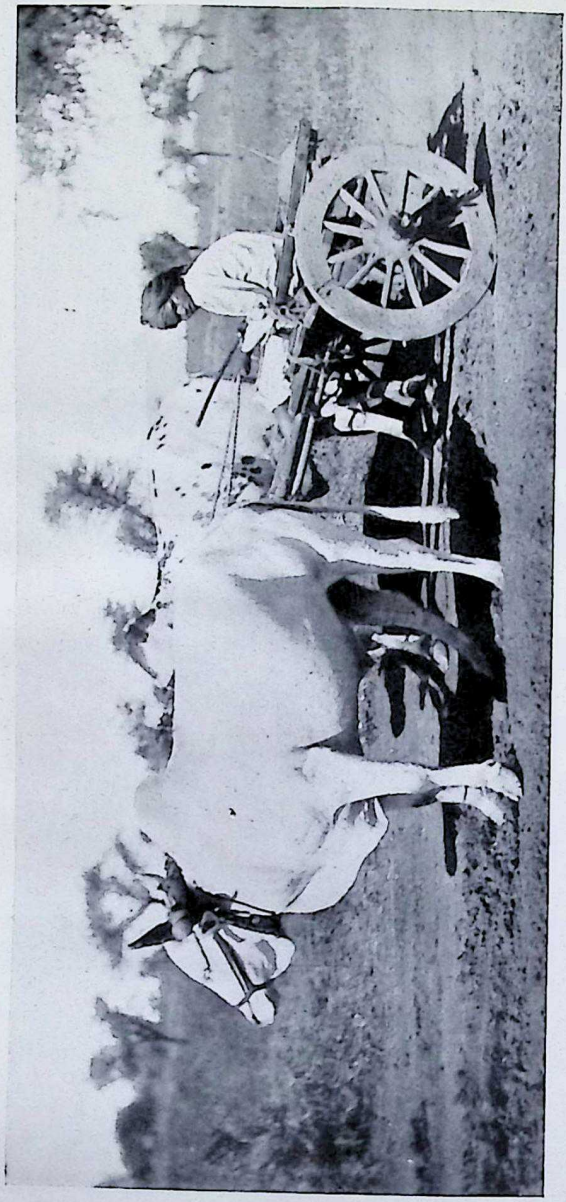

A LARHA, OR TROTTING BULLOCK-CART

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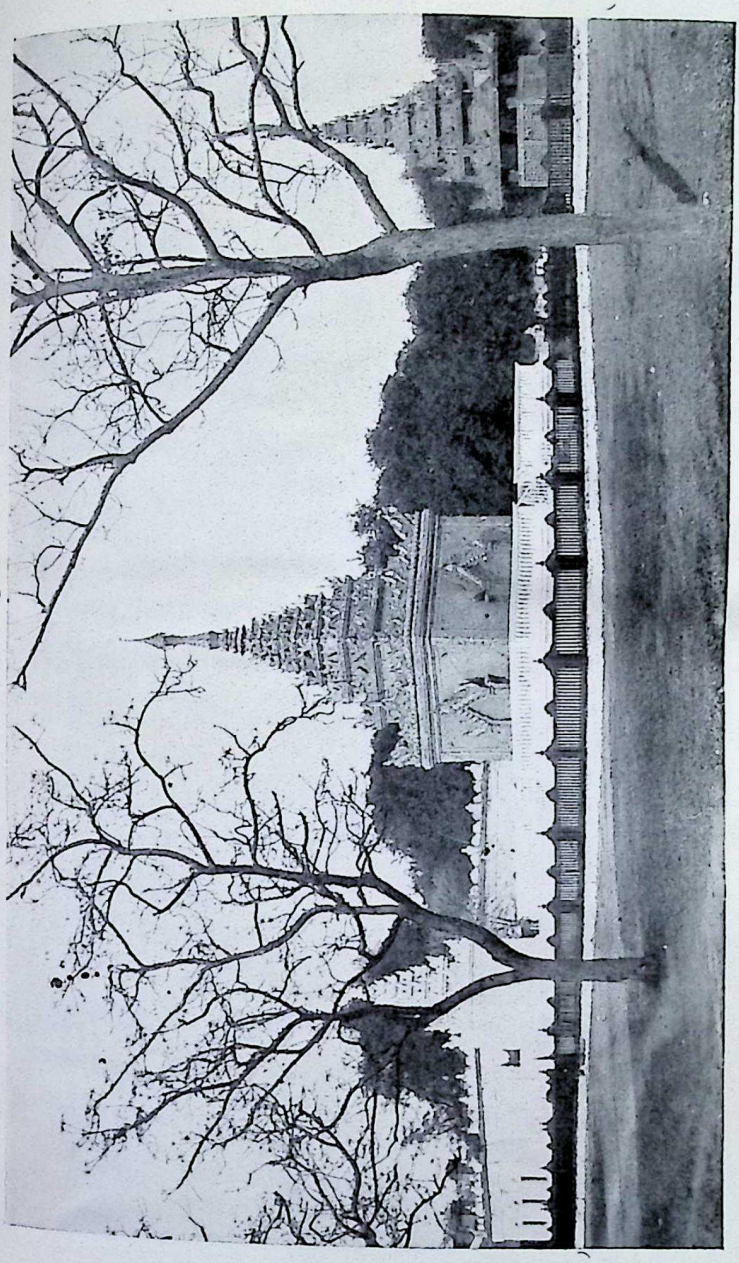

TOMB OF KING MINDON MIN AT MANDALAY

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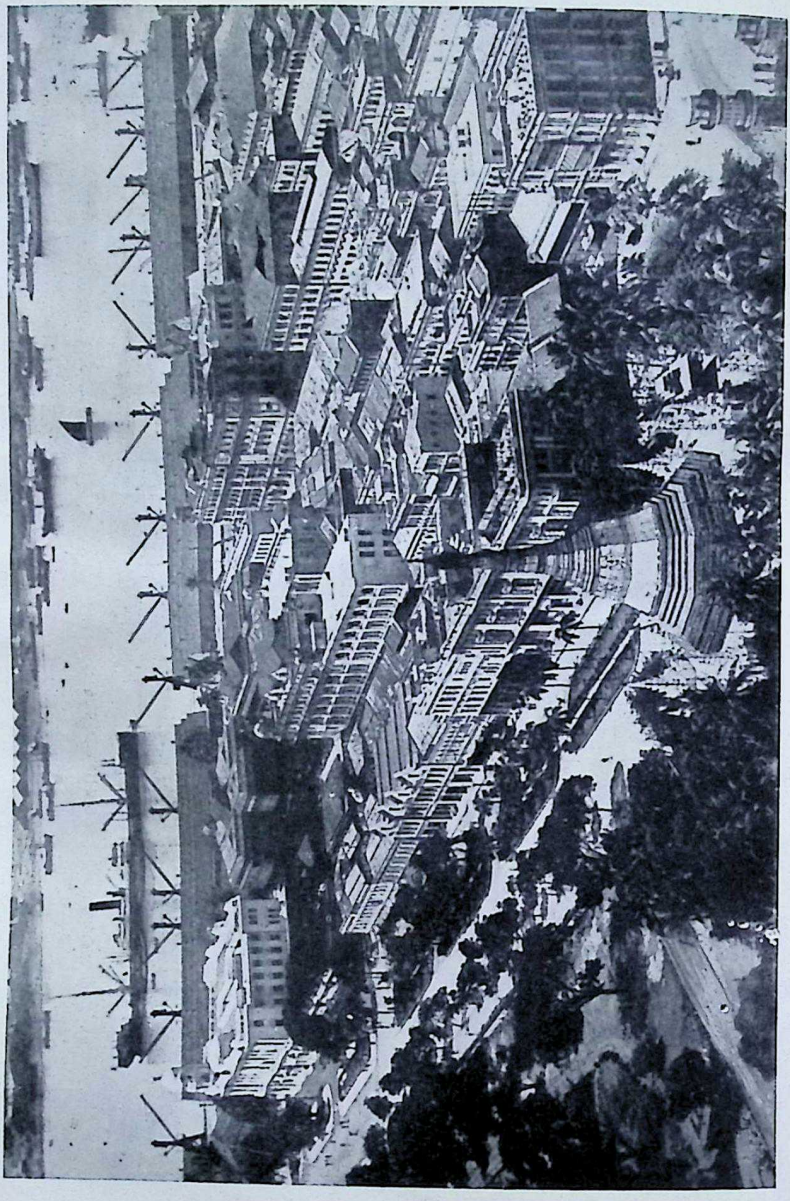

A VIEW OF RANGOON SHOWING SULE PAGODA AND THE STRAND

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the Provincial Governments, and in one case—that of Lord Sinha—the Governor of a province.

Progress with this policy—namely, that of associating Indians with the government of the country—has been pressed forward vigorously only during the past twenty years. It is, in fact, only within that time that Indians have taken their place alongside of their British colleagues as members of the Cabinets of the Governor-General and of the Governors in the provinces. But while they have thus shared with their British colleagues control of the administration in India, they have, of course, remained equally with them responsible for their acts, not to the Indian peoples, but to Parliament in this country.

Legislation

Now consider for a moment another development in the direction of associating Indians more closely with the government of the country—a development which began a good deal later than that of which I have been speaking, but which, since the year 1861, has been proceeding side by side with it. I mean the development under which Indians were invited to assist in framing legislation. Under the Councils Act of 1861 a small number of members, including one or two Indian public men, was added to the Executive Council of the Governor-General for the purpose of making laws, and the body thus constituted was known as the Legislative Council. As time went on the Legislative Council at the centre and the Legislative Councils which came into existence in the provinces were enlarged and the powers of their members were increased.

Thus, under the India Councils Act of 1892, Indians acquired the right to discuss the financial proposals of the Government and to address questions to them on the subject of their policy and their administration. The India Councils Act of 1909 not only doubled the size of the existing councils and placed the non-officials in a majority in all the provinces, retaining an official majority in the

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case of the Imperial Legislative Council only, but introduced the principle of election and empowered their members to move resolutions and to divide the Council both on matters of general public interest and on the Budget. Under the Constitution set up by the Act of 1909, the Legislative Councils did, in fact, acquire a very great measure of control over legislation.

Yet although the various Governments were at the mercy of the Legislative Councils in the matter of legislation, they neither were, nor were they intended to be, responsible to them for their administration. In the sphere of finance and of administrative policy, as distinct from legislation, the function of the legislative bodies was to bring influence to bear on the Government without exercising constitutional control over them. The view held in the highest quarters in this country until within very recent times was, in fact, that a Parliamentary system under which the Government is responsible to, and removable by, a popular assembly such as the Legislative Councils were rapidly becoming was wholly unsuitable to Indian conditions. The joint authors of the Act of 1909, Lord Minto and Lord Morley, were explicit on that point. Lord Morley declared that if he had believed that the Constitution for which he was responsible would lead to the establishment of a Parliamentary system in India, he would have had nothing to do with it. And Lord Minto was even more emphatic:

"We have distinctly maintained," he said, when opening the new Imperial Legislative Council in 1910, "that representative Government in its Western sense is totally inapplicable to the Indian Empire and would be uncongenial to the traditions of Eastern peoples. . . . We have aimed at the reform and enlargement of our Councils, but not at the creation of Parliaments."

A Fundamental Change

Bearing all this in mind, you will perceive the justification for my remark that the attitude of responsible opinion in this country towards the whole problem of government in India has undergone a revolutionary change in a very short

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space of time; for in spite of these most explicit statements by Lord Morley and Lord Minto, made so recently as 1910, Mr. Montagu's Declaration in August, 1917—only seven years later—pledged this country to a policy towards India the outstanding feature of which was the establishment of those very Parliamentary institutions which up to that time had been held to be totally inapplicable to that country.

That was a great, a fundamental, and indeed a momentous change; and it surprised me then, as it surprises me now, that so many Indians failed to grasp the fundamental nature of the change which was brought about by the Act of 1919. The Act of 1919 carried with it the acceptance by the people of this country of a principle never before overtly conceded by them in their relations with the peoples of India—the principle, namely, that the Government in India should become responsible, partially in the first instance, to elected representative bodies in India instead of, as hitherto, to Parliament in this country. That was the fundamental change effected by the Act of 1919.

The magnitude of the change has doubtless to a great extent remained hidden during the past ten years owing to circumstances to which the Simon Commission draw our attention; it will become apparent if the outstanding recommendation of the Commission is given effect to—the recommendation, namely, that dyarchy be abolished and that in the provinces the whole field of administration be transferred to Ministries responsible to the Legislative Councils. In order to make this clear, let me refer to the finding of the Simon Commission on the working of dyarchy. The Commission find that in its main object—namely, that of developing a sense of responsibility as between the Ministers and the Legislative Councils, and again between the members of the legislatures and their constituents—dyarchy has failed.

The reason for this failure has, I think, been threefold. In the first place it has proved impossible to divide the field of administration into two completely water-

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tight compartments, with the result that the two halves of the Government have necessarily worked to a large extent together. This tendency for the dividing-line between the two parts of the Government to disappear has in the second place been accentuated by the attitude of the Legislative Councils themselves, whose members, instead of developing the relations between themselves and the part of the Government which is constitutionally responsible to them, have too often concentrated their energies on attacking the reserved half of the Government over which they exercise no constitutional control. And, finally, there have been the wide powers of the Governor held in reserve, to which members of the Legislative Councils have undoubtedly looked to save them from the more disastrous effects of their own proceedings. A real sense of responsibility is only likely to develop when, as the Commission put it, "the Governor does not come in like a *deus ex machina* to make the wheels go round."

The New Autonomy

Now consider the difference—not of principle, for, as I have been at pains to point out, the principle was conceded by the Act of 1919, but in practice—which will at once make itself felt if the main recommendation of the Commission with regard to government in the provinces is given effect to. Except in very exceptional circumstances, there will be no *deus ex machina* in the shape of the Governor to step in and save the legislature from responsibility for their acts. Responsibility will rest in the first place upon the Government—a Government composed of elected members of the Legislative Council (with an occasional exception possibly, to which I shall refer in a moment), which will initiate its own policy and submit it to the representative body precisely as the Government does to the House of Commons in this country. There will no longer be an official part of the Government to distract the attention of the legislature.

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Responsibility

The legislature will have to deal only with a Government drawn from its own ranks and responsible to it for its actions. The legislature will have to realize that it is now responsible in the full meaning of the word for its own actions. It will have to realize that if it disapproves the policy of the Government and makes its disapproval effective by its vote, it will have to accept the consequences, be they good or be they evil, of its action. It will have to realize that if it registers its disapproval of the policy of the Government, it will have to be prepared to provide an alternative Government whose policy it prefers. That is the essence of responsible self-government; and it is that which the outstanding recommendation of the Simon Commission involves, so far, at any rate, as the provinces are concerned.

I said that there might be one exception to the general rule that the Governments in the provinces would be composed of elected members of the Legislative Councils. The exception is as follows: The Governor would have the right, if he thought fit, to appoint one or more Ministers, whether officials or non-officials, whether Indians or Europeans, who were not members of the Legislative Councils. But—and this is of the highest importance—when once such a Minister had been appointed, he would become *ex officio* a member of the Legislative Council, and would occupy *vis-à-vis* his colleagues in the Government a position in no way different from that of any other Minister. That is to say, he would have no power to take important decisions on questions within his own portfolio without the concurrence of his colleagues. Important decisions on matters falling within his department would be not his decisions as an individual, but decisions of the Government as a whole.

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Law and Order

The reason for giving the Governor this right is well known, and is frankly stated in the Report. It is due to the objection which may be experienced in certain provinces in which communal feeling between Hindu and Muhammadan runs high in appointing either a Hindu or a Muhammadan to supreme executive control of that instrument—namely, the police—which may be called upon to intervene in outbreaks arising out of communal rivalries and to hold the scales even between the two communities. That this rivalry is a hard fact and not a figment of the Englishman's imagination is sufficiently substantiated by the recommendation of the Indian Central Committee, a body composed almost entirely of Indians, that in Bengal, where the population is fairly evenly divided between the two communities, Law and Order should not be a transferred subject.

Responsibility to Constituents

So much for this proposal of the Commission for granting responsible self-government to the provinces in so far as it concerns "responsibility" as between the Ministry and the legislature. I must now refer very briefly to the other essential of responsible self-government—namely, the responsibility of the members of the representative bodies—that is to say, of the Legislative Councils—to those whom they represent; in other words, to their constituents. To what extent has this sense of responsibility developed under the existing Constitution? When investigating this question the Commission came sharply up against some of those conditions in India which had led Lord Morley and Lord Minto to the conclusion that Parliamentary government on the English model was not applicable to India.

Those conditions are, of course, in the first place the size and in the second place the diversity of the Indian peoples. In the Bombay Presidency, for example, they

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found three Muhammadan members representing constituencies as large on the average as Scotland; and in the Punjab a Sikh member representing the electors of seventy-two different urban areas scattered over a region 100,000 square miles in extent—a constituency which not unnaturally appeared to them, in comparison with the constituencies which they themselves represented in England, to be "a quite impossible unit."

And if they found constituencies of this kind returning members to the Provincial Legislative Councils, what of the constituencies which returned members to the Imperial Legislative Assembly at the centre? In this case they found no single rural constituency covering an area of less than 6,000 square miles. The seventy-three rural seats vary, in fact, from 6,000 to 62,000 square miles, with populations running to 6,000,000. Three Muhammadan members from the South of India have the honour of representing at Delhi—a place, remember, separated from their constituencies by a railway journey of sixty hours' duration—seats of 10,000, 48,000, and 83,000 square miles in extent; or, to put it rather differently, countries half as large again as Wales, Scotland, and England respectively.

When it is borne in mind that a minute fraction only of the people lives in towns; that of every hundred of the population, seventy-two depend on agriculture in one form or another for their livelihood; that of the half million villages scattered widely over a countryside almost incredibly vast, a few only are approached by a metalled road, and that fewer still are within reasonable distance of a railway; and, further, that an odd few only of their inmates will be capable of taking advantage of the printed word—when all these circumstances are borne in mind, it will be seen that to talk of the responsibility of the member to his constituents in such cases as those to which I have referred is to indulge in language of the most extravagant hyperbole.

If you will picture to yourself Europe with a population,

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over 90 per cent. of which was illiterate, and whose peoples spoke over 200 languages, and then imagine constituencies from all parts of Europe (except Russia) sending representatives to a Parliament at, let us say, Paris, you will obtain an idea of the sort of thing which has been attempted in the case of the Imperial Legislative Assembly at Delhi and Simla under the Act of 1919.

The Federal Solution

To deal with this difficulty the Commission recommend what appears to be the only practicable solution—namely, that members of the Imperial Legislative Assembly—to be known in future as the Federal Assembly—should be elected not direct by impossible constituencies, but by the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils. In the provinces they propose to meet the difficulty by increasing the number of members, and so decreasing the size of the constituencies. Even so, with the extension of the franchise which they propose, the constituencies will be inconveniently large. Still, there is no inherent reason why the English system of direct election should not be possible in the provinces, since the provinces correspond roughly in area and in population to countries like Great Britain.

Separate Representation

The difficulty caused by the diversity of the Indian peoples they propose to meet in the same way as it has been met under the Constitutions of 1909 and 1919—namely, by separate communal electorates in the case of the Muhammadans, the Sikhs, and the Europeans, and by the reservation of seats to be filled by members elected by a mixed electorate in some other cases such as the depressed classes, and possibly the Indian Christians.

In the case of the Federal Assembly, the due representation of communities is sought to be obtained by the adoption by the members of the Provincial Legislative Councils, who

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will form the constituencies, of the system of proportional representation.

Incidentally, let me remind you that an additional argument in favour of the creation of a federal assembly, upon which the Commission lay stress, is that it opens the door to the inclusion of the Indian States, which, after all, cover something like two-fifths of the total area of India and embrace not far short of a quarter of the population, in an all-India system. For if provinces differing so widely as do the provinces of British India can enter a federal system without jeopardizing their own internal autonomy, why should it not be possible for other self-contained units such as the Native States to do so too? Whether they will do so must, of course, remain a matter for their own decision.

Now I have dealt with what I regard as the outstanding feature of the Commission's Report—namely, the introduction of a system of self-government under which, in the case of the provinces, the responsibility of Indian Ministries to Indian representative bodies will become a reality, and under which the responsibility in their turn of the legislative bodies to the people whom they represent will have every chance of growing. I have shown that it was only a dozen years or so ago that the establishment of such a system was admitted by responsible opinion in this country to be possible in India. I have explained that, while the principle was actually introduced by the Act of 1919, its existence has been to a large extent disguised and the magnitude of the advance which it constituted consequently unrecognized owing to circumstances which are set forth at length in the Commission's Report. Finally, I have given my reasons for believing that if the recommendations of the Commission are given effect to, the revolutionary nature of the change conceded in 1917, and now to be more fully developed, will become apparent not only to those who take part in the future government of the country, but to the world.

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British Parties and India

There are many other recommendations of great importance which I have not the time to deal with now, for I wish to add a word of a more general nature. I am addressing myself to an audience mainly English, and I wish to say a word on the attitude which, as it seems to me, it behoves the political parties in this country to adopt towards this great question. We are sometimes inclined to twit the various representatives of different interests and of different schools of thought in India on their inability to compose their own differences and agree upon a common programme.

Let us not lay ourselves open to a similar charge. India is far too great a question to be allowed to become the shuttlecock of parties in this country. Does not the Report of the Simon Commission provide a common basis on which the three historic parties in this country may unite? Some may think that there are recommendations which go too far; others may think that there are some respects in which the Report does not go far enough. These are matters for discussion. But in its main principles it provides common ground, surely, on which we may stand together.

The Viceroy has declared that the Conference is to be free to approach its task assisted greatly indeed, but with its liberty unimpaired by the Report of the Commission, or of any other documents that may be placed before it. And from that position I should certainly not dissent. But, after all, the invitation to the Conference comes from the Government of this country; and is it not the duty of the host to place before his guests something tangible to serve as a basis of discussion?

And if it be agreed that that is so, is not the Report of the Simon Commission the obvious contribution for the Government to make to the common stock? After all, it holds the field at a definite, constructive attempt to give effect to the promise made by this country to the peoples of India in 1917. You cannot build up a working con-

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stitution on catch phrases, however attractive. Such phrases as "self-determination," "provincial autonomy," "dominion status," and so on, give expression to abstract ideas. Such ideas may be admirable as indicating the goal at which you desire to aim; but they are useless if you try to use them as bricks in the erection of the edifice which you desire to build. To pave the way to the goal at which you aim, you must employ not abstract ideas, but concrete and practicable proposals.

It is because I believe that the recommendations contained in the Report are of this character that I regard it as an outstanding contribution towards the solution of the problem with which the peoples of India and the peoples of this country are jointly faced.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Thursday, July 10, 1930, at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, W.C. 2, when the Most Hon. the Marquess of Zetland, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., delivered a lecture on "The Report of the Simon Commission." The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., was in the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, among others, were present:

The Chief Saheb of Bhor, the Right Hon. Lord Ampthill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Viscount Burnham, G.C.M.G., C.H., the Right Hon. Earl Winterton, M.P., the Maharaja Dhiraj Bahadur of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., the Right Hon. Srinivasa Sastri, C.H., Lady Lamington, Sir Louis William Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Harcourt Butler, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., Sir Basil Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., General Sir George de S. Barrow, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Duncan J. Macpherson, C.I.E., Sir Edward A. Gait, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., the Right Hon. Sir Binod Mitter, Sir William H. Vincent, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Reginald Mant, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Edward Cook, C.S.I., C.I.E., and Lady Cook, Sir Henry S. Lawrence, K.C.S.I., Sir Arthur Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., and Lady Hartog, Sir Thomas Smith, Sir Walter Willson, Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., and Lady Holland, Sir Ness Wadia, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Basanta K. Mullick, Sir Campbell W. Rhodes, C.B.E., Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Arthur and Lady Froom, Sir H. Verney Lovett, K.C.S.I., Sir James Simpson, Lady Pinhey, Lady Carr, Lady Gainford, Lady Barnes and Mr. Hugh Barnes, Lady Dunleath, Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Mr. A. Montgomerie, C.I.E., Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. M. Hunter, C.I.E., Mr. F. W. H. Smith, C.I.E., Mr. F. W. Woods, C.I.E., Mr. A. R. Astbury, C.I.E., the Right Rev. Bishop Eyre Chatterton, Khan Sahib and Mrs. M. H. Kothawala, Mr. Vincent Esch, C.V.O., Mr. Alma Latifi, O.B.E., and Mrs. Latifi, Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, K.-i-H., Major H. Blake Taylor, C.B.E., Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Lieut.-Colonel A. J. H. Russell, C.B.E., Colonel J. B. Crawford, D.S.O., M.C., Dr. Lanka Sundaram, the Hon. Mrs. Saunderson and Miss Saunderson, Mr. C. P. Caspersz, Mr. E. F. Harris, Mr. S. C. Gupta, Mr. and Mrs. W. Wright, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. Joseph Nissim, Miss Morton, Miss Chamand, Mr. J. Sladen, Mrs. Sheame, Mr. W. F. Westbrook, Mr. R. K. Sorabji, Mr. E. B. Holman, Major and Mrs. Griffiths, Mr. R. S. Greenshields, Mr. R. Brock, Mrs. Boalth, Mr. H. B. Holme, Colonel Goodenough, Mr. P. G. Robertson, Mr. Abdul Qadir Khan, Mr. C. B. Chartres, Professor and Mrs. Coatman, Mr. J. H. Munro, Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Mr. A. D. Bonarjee, Mrs. Herron, Mr. J. P. Fletcher, Colonel and Mrs. W. G. Hamilton,

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Mrs. Romanes, Miss Macphee, Mrs. South, Miss E. L. Curteis, Flight Lieut. Tattersall, Mr. and Mrs. J. de C. Atkins, Mr. C. D. Dharkar, Mr. A. M. Bose, Mrs. A. S. Roberts, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. Ghulam Khan, Lieut.-Colonel Lorimer, Mr. O. C. H. Hayter, Miss M. Sorabji, Rev. Dr. W. Stanton, Mr. B. W. Perkins, Mr. F. L. Turner, Mr. G. M. Ryan, Rev. E. S. Carr, Rev. Dr. Carte, Miss K. L. Speechley, Mr. Y. T. Desai, Mr. Aziz Ahmed, Mr. P. R. Wilson, Mr. A. R. N. Roberts, Mr. A. B. Marten, Mr. K. C. Keymer, Rev. J. D. Sinclair, Mrs. R. W. Frazer, Mrs. H. G. W. Herron, Mr. and Mrs. J. A. Lindsay, Mrs. Gibbon, Mr. Ernst Maass, the Rev. E. Shillito, Miss L. C. Trevor, Mrs. Bompas, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lord, Ladies and Gentlemen,—We welcome here this afternoon the Marquess of Zetland, who is going to address us on the all-important question of Indian reforms as adumbrated in the Report of the Simon Commission. There is no one better qualified to give utterance to opinions worth listening to on such a subject than the Marquess of Zetland. He returned a few years ago from a successful administration of one of the provinces of India, and he has the great merit of being able to form well-balanced opinions.

(The lecturer delivered his address.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am sure you will all agree with me that we have listened to a very valuable survey both as regards the present conditions in India and also as to how very rapidly the idea of responsible government for India, while being attached to the Empire, has developed. I think it is very necessary that the advice given by the Marquess of Zetland as to the attitude of this country towards the Simon Report should be acted upon, and that we should try to work together and not allow ourselves to be led away by our own particular views, and invoke those views against the very moderate views set forth in the Report. I was very glad to hear the Marquess of Zetland give his endorsement as to the value of the Report and as to its being a basis of discussion for the Conference, when it may be fully considered. We should be glad to hear as far as possible not only quality, but quantity of opinion in regard to this Report.

I now call upon Lord Ampthill, who was Governor of Madras and Acting Viceroy of India some years ago, to address us.

Lord AMPTHILL said that, although he had been asked to open the discussion, he thought there was no occasion for any discussion. He suggested that those present would all do much better if they went home and thought quietly over what the Marquess of Zetland had told them. He was sure he had the willing consent of the meeting to thank the Marquess of Zetland for the very able address which he had given. He had not given a single opening for discussion. He had given a commentary and not a criticism of the Simon Report, and it was a commentary which he was sure they would agree was as unprejudiced as anything could be. (Hear, hear.) The Marquess of Zetland had stated facts, and he had given the logical consequences of those facts with the wisdom and discrimination to be expected from him. He had helped them to understand the Report of the Simon Commission; he had pointed out its outstanding and salient characteristics, and he had shown that what was

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needed at the present time was clear thinking. The only part of his address where he expressed an opinion of his own was at the end, when he spoke of his own appreciation of the value of the Simon Report and his view as to the attitude which Englishmen should adopt towards the difficult problems in India. Personally, he was entirely in accord with the Marquess of Zetland's views. He considered that Sir John Simon and his colleagues had discharged their task of unique difficulty with singular fidelity and with absolute impartiality, and that they had presented the country with a State document of the greatest possible value. He further agreed with the Marquess of Zetland as to the attitude which should be adopted by people in this country. They had not reached a stage when it was wise to enter into a discussion of details, and rather than embark on a discussion of details which did not arise from the address, they would do better to think about it with grateful feelings to the Marquess of Zetland for having given them the means of better understanding the momentous Report of the Simon Commission. (Applause.)

The MAHARAJAH OF BURDWAN said he was extremely gratified at the remarks of the Marquess of Zetland, who had been very careful not to mention the difficulties which the Central Government might have to face as the result of the effect that might be given to the recommendations of the Simon Commission's Report as finally accepted by Parliament. The Marquess of Zetland had spoken of the question of provincial autonomy. Having worked with him in the Government of Bengal, both in the pre-Reform days and in the days following the Montagu Reforms, he might perhaps be permitted to indulge in a few remarks not only of a general nature, but in a little detail. India at the present moment was faced with many difficulties. Men who had given the best part of their lives to India in the great services naturally looked upon the possibility of the changes which had been foreshadowed in the Simon Report, as well as those things that many of the political parties in India were clamouring for, with a certain amount of misgiving and fear. What they must realize was that India had a long task before it could achieve full responsible self-government.

Turning to some of the recommendations of the Simon Commission's Report, he wished to mention a few matters which had struck him at first glance. He had read both volumes of the Report. With regard to provincial autonomy, there could not be any question that provincial autonomy, as it had been suggested, was fraught with dangers without an Upper Chamber in a province. The parliaments that were proposed to be given were undoubtedly necessary parliaments, but he believed that, if the provinces and the members of the legislative councils were to be taught what responsibility really meant, it was necessary to have another Chamber of Elders, who could correct their follies before the Governor came in. It was essential that the question of an Upper Chamber for the provincial councils should receive the careful consideration of those who would consider the Simon Commission's recommendations in detail hereafter.

With regard to the question of the electorates, however bad the system

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might be in principle or practice, in the present stage of development in India they were necessary, and from that point of view he could not help thinking that the suggestion that had been thrown out for the omission of the land-holder electors was a very great mistake.

With reference to the extension of the franchise, it was not easy to understand, having regard to the difficulties with which the members of the Commission themselves had been confronted, how it could be increased. It was true that in what was to be known as the Federal Assembly the representation that had been recommended would be far better than the ridiculous areas of so-called constituencies in the Legislative Assembly; but he feared that, in view of the slow progress of education in India, the electorate could not be numerically increased without considering many other things which were essential before there would be a sensible and educated electorate. He believed that a happy Hindu-Moslem India was the only possible solution of the problem of building up an Indian nation. (Hear, hear.) He wished to remind them of the earnestness of Lord Irwin, who had a very difficult task in front of him in India. To Lord Irwin must be given the credit of having understood the sensitiveness of the educated Indians and for the wish that India should not indefinitely continue to be a partner in the British Empire with a permanent inferiority status. He hoped with the Marquess of Zetland that the Report of the Simon Commission would be put in the forefront of the Conference, because it was a Report of the three parties in the Imperial Parliament, and it would be a bad thing if the recommendations of the Commission were put in the background even before the Round Table Conference assembled. (Hear, hear.) Prestige was important in all countries, particularly in a country like India. Any misconception of the Simon Commission's Report should at once be cleared up. Whatever freedom there might be in the discussions at the Round Table Conference, the fundamental basis of any discussion should be the recommendations of the Simon Commission. (Applause.)

Sir Basil Blackett said he wished to associate himself with the thanks that had been expressed to the Marquess of Zetland for the extraordinarily interesting paper which they had heard. People in this country were fortunate in two ways. They had the first volume of the Simon Commission's Report, which even to those who knew little of India read like a novel. He had read both volumes right through, and the intellectual pleasure that they had given him, apart altogether from the interest of the subject, induced him to recommend them as light reading to every member of the audience. (Laughter and cheers.) He agreed with the remarks of the Maharajah of Burdwan with reference to Lord Irwin. Nobody who had served with Lord Irwin could have failed to recognize his deep sincerity of purpose and his desire to do the best he could for India which he was now serving. He had been subjected to much criticism, and it was well known that there had been considerable misgiving as to what might be contained in the speech he had recently made. Personally, he thought that Lord Irwin had met admirably the difficulties which he had encountered, and he associated himself with the

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Marquess of Zetland in accepting what Lord Irwin had said about the Simon Report. It was not the Report of His Majesty's Government; it was the Report of a Statutory Commission for consideration by His Majesty's Government. It was not a decision, but it was obviously a very important document, and, whether it was desired or not, it was a document that would be found in the forefront of the documents before the forthcoming Conference. English people had suffered in relation to India rather seriously in the last ten years from a rather glaring defect. They had given a promise in 1917 that they were going to set up some form of responsible government, whether it was called dominion status or self-government, which had been followed up by the Government of India Act of 1919. The view of the Indians was that the British did not know how to get to the goal, and they did not know where the British were trying to lead them. That had been changed by the issue of the Simon Report, which had put before Indians and people in this country a straightforward plan which met and faced all the difficulties, which did not rely on catch phrases and did not in any way slide over the real difficulties which existed. For the first time since 1917 they had placed before India and the world a straightforward plan for carrying out the promise which was made in 1917, and, as such, the Simon Report was a document of most extraordinary value. Many of them would agree with the opinion of the Maharajah of Burdwan that there should be a second chamber in the provinces. He was of opinion that the Government of India had not been set free enough from the Secretary of State for India. He particularly admired the proposal for a Federal Assembly. It would enable the position of the Indian States to be envisaged as having an organic connection with the rest of India. It cleverly got over one of the real difficulties, because it gave the representatives of the provinces the responsibility of dealing with taxation, which was to be collected centrally, but distributed locally. He thought in the idea of Federalism, as set out in the Report, there were the germs of a complete solution of the troubles and the difficulties of India. More depended on sentiment than on logic. If India felt that the people of this country were reading the Report of the Simon Commission and were thinking for the good of India and really sympathizing with the difficulties, he thought there was every prospect of improvement in the position.

Earl WINTERTON said he wished to express his agreement with the views that had been put forward by the Marquess of Zetland on the subject under discussion. He had put his views with admirable lucidity and great tact, both of which qualities were eminently necessary at the present time, in view of the relationship between India and Great Britain. He agreed in the main with the remarks of Sir Basil Blackett and the Maharajah of Burdwan, who always spoke with an integrity of purpose which was of real value in considering difficult questions. Speaking to an audience which contained very many distinguished Indians as well as many distinguished Europeans in public life in this country, he ventured to say that the gist of the whole matter at the moment was that the great

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issue in question could only be settled on the basis of mutual understanding and mutual respect between the two countries. They would never have mutual understanding as long as either side confined itself to what used to be termed "high falutin" phrases. It could only be based on solid ascertainable facts with regard to the situation on both sides, and he believed that the value of the Report of the Simon Commission was that in its first volume in particular those facts were set out so clearly, so lucidly, and so fairly for the consideration of both Briton and Indian. There were certain things that made mutual understanding difficult, one being the injurious references which were made by a section of the Press and by a section of public men in both countries when dealing with Indian affairs. While many newspapers in England dealt with admirable restraint with Indian questions, there were other newspapers which did exactly the reverse. The real danger was from newspapers throughout the country which were merely automatic machines to reflect the views of their millionaire proprietors. The unfortunate journalists had no more influence over the machine than had the stoker of a battleship over that ship. It was our duty to refrain from approaching the question on lines which were likely to be misunderstood. He wished to say to the Indians present that there had been a bad impression sedulously fostered by our enemies in various parts of the world that the moral fibre of Britain had deteriorated since the War, and that from their nerveless and paralyzed hands they were about to lose all the power which they previously had of carrying out their responsibilities. That was a mistake which had been made by the Germans before 1914. In those days they were told that the British people could no longer carry out their responsibilities, and it took four years of the most terrible war on record to convince our enemies that it was not true. It was not true that the ultimate vitality of the British people was in any way impaired. In his opinion, with good-will on both sides the difficulties with regard to India would be overcome. (Applause.)

Mr. HAYTER said that a point that must not be lost sight of was that the work of the Simon Commission was assisted very much, as the Report showed, by the work of the Indian Committees. That was a very important point. The Report had solid Indian opinion behind it. (Hear, hear.)

Sir LOUIS DANE said it was his pleasant duty on behalf of the East India Association and the meeting to tender their thanks to Lord Lamington, as President, for taking the chair, to the Marquess of Zetland for giving his interesting address, and to the gentlemen who had taken part in the discussion for the great light which they had thrown on one of the most important pages in modern history and in the history of India at the present day. It was a matter of congratulation to the Association that they had been able to hear the expression of such valuable opinions on such a vital matter.

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THE REPORT OF THE SIMON COMMISSION

By the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, C.H.

A heated debate has arisen over the place to be given to the Report and recommendations of the Simon Commission at the forthcoming Round Table Conference. One side would give it no particular importance. The other would assign to it the leading position among the materials to be laid before the Conference and demands that its recommendations should form the basis of discussion. Certain far-reaching consequences of these recommendations must be set forth fully and their relation examined to the declaration made by the Viceroy in November last with the sanction of His Majesty's Government and since reaffirmed by him on the 9th of this month before the Central Legislature of India.

Let us first look at the declaration :

> But in view of the doubts which have been expressed both in Great Britain and India regarding the interpretation to be placed on the intentions of the British Government in enacting the statute of 1919, I am authorized on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status.

To show how deeply the present Government stand committed to this declaration, a passage from the speech of the Secretary of State for India and one from that of the Prime Minister may be quoted, both made on the occasion when Parliament debated the subject. Mr. Benn said :

> They were proposing not to take a new step in policy but to take in effect administrative action, namely, to declare and interpret in unmistakable terms the existing policy. The Liberals were against it, the

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Conservatives were against it, and the Commission were unwilling to participate. What did the Government do? They governed. The Government published on the pre-arranged date the pre-arranged text. . . . Before I say why the Government acted as they did, I want to say one word about the declaration itself. The declaration was a restatement and an interpretation of the Montagu policy.

Mr. Ramsay MacDonald said :

I am not sheltering myself behind others; it is the Government's decision. The Government have come to a decision on advice. We came to the decision that it would not be inexpedient, that it would do no harm to the Commission, that it would be beneficial from the point of view of Indian public opinion, and by that decision we stand.

Dominion Status

The debate concluded, like the debate that preceded it in the House of Lords, by a withdrawal of the motion that originated it, and both Houses must be held to have acquiesced in the policy of Government. However much the meaning of Dominion Status may be changing, one aspect of it has for some years been accepted, not only as essential, but as forming the very bond and cement of the Commonwealth—viz., the right of secession. If the Commonwealth be in reality a voluntary association of free peoples and the people of India are to come within this category, their continuance as a component part must be based on their active consent, which cannot be said to exist so long as they remain without the power to effect a severance. The question then is, Do the Simon proposals tend to give the people of India this power? Do they keep steadily in view the development of India into a future Dominion? If it can be shown that, far from doing this, they are calculated to block that development for all time, they are a violation of the clearly enunciated purpose of His Majesty's Government and are not entitled even to ordinary consideration at their hands.

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Defence

To rise to Dominion Status India needs to be placed in a position to defend herself both from external aggression and internal disorder. These twin functions are performed by the present Army in India under British command, officered almost entirely by British personnel, and consisting, as to nearly a third, of British soldiers. It will no doubt take time to Indianize completely this Army, without sacrificing efficiency; but the effort so far made in this direction is so trifling that the process can hardly be said to have begun. For two generations Indian politicians have condemned this policy as injurious to national honour, but the authorities have persisted in treating the people of India as a whole with distrust and suspicion. The principal test of the desire of the British Government to honour the Viceroy's declaration is, What practical steps are contemplated to reverse this policy and Indianize the Army as quickly as may be possible? The Simon Commissioners have decisively ruled out all prospect of the present Army either being wholly Indianized or passing under the control of a self-governing India. They propose to make the external defence of India an exclusively Imperial responsibility except as to the financial burden, a share of which might perhaps be made in future to fall on the British exchequer. The Imperial interest in external defence is brought out by the Commissioners in the following words:

> But here, the external defence of India is a matter in which other parts of the Empire are also closely and directly interested. Imperial foreign policy, Empire communications, Empire trade, the general position of Britain in the East, may be vitally affected. And if operations on an extended scale in that region unhappily became necessary, involving the risk of conflict with a major Power, it is the Imperial Government, with its fuller knowledge of the international situation and its direct concern with all questions of Imperial strategy, which would naturally take the leading part. (Para. 206.)

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The necessity for maintaining the British units in the Army and British officers is argued under the heading "Reasons for a British Element."

> The evidence we have heard and what we have seen in the course of our Indian tours leave no doubt in our minds that, at least for a very long time to come, it will be impossible for the Army entrusted with the task of defending India to dispense with a very considerable British element, including in that term British troops of all arms, a considerable proportion of the regimental officers of the Indian Army, and the British personnel in the higher command. (Para. 196.)

The continued maintenance of a British personnel involves in the judgment of the Simon Commission this necessary consequence—viz., that it cannot be placed at the disposal of a responsible Minister of the Government of India on occasions of grave internal disorder. On this subject the Commission's judgment is delivered in terms of the most absolute finality. It may be permitted, however, to an Indian to point out that, sound as this reluctance may be in ordinary circumstances to place the British soldier on a mercenary footing, British authorities should relax this attitude in regard to India, and, in fact, feel themselves precluded from adopting it by reason of the persistent neglect of an important duty during a long series of years. Besides, could not the difficulty be overcome by inserting a provision in the new Constitution that, during the period of transition from existing conditions to full self-government, the Viceroy may have, as the Provincial Governors are to have under the Simon proposals, the "power to direct that action should be taken otherwise than in accordance with the advice of his Ministry" in order to preserve the safety and tranquillity of the country? The Simon Commission take a totally different view, and actually advise the creation of another Army to be wholly Indian and under the control of a responsible Minister for the purpose of internal order. The additional expense, which must be considerable, they regard as a burden to which the Indian taxpayer must inevitably submit if he

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wishes to have the luxury of self-government. While the new Army is being created, the Commissioners are willing that under safeguards the present Army should continue liable to be called upon for purposes of internal security. One does not see, it may be said in passing, why under a safeguard of a somewhat different type the same arrangement should not continue on a permanent basis. The Commissioners are clear that responsible government can be given only when the new Army is in full working order and Parliament here can be relieved of the duty of maintaining internal security in India. Their exact words are:

> A self-governing India could not as of right demand the loan of troops of the Imperial Army for civil purposes nor would a British Government, which will control that Army under our scheme, need any justification for refusing such a demand, if made. One condition, therefore, of a self-governing India must be its ability to maintain without the aid of British troops the essential of all good government, viz. public peace and tranquillity. (Para. 213.)

To make this point indubitable, we have only to think of the position of the Princes in the new régime. They will be under the care and protection, not of the Governor-General in Council, but of the Governor-General in his capacity as Agent of the Crown. To carry out his duties in this capacity, the Viceroy will use the Army of external defence. As it is not contemplated by the Simon Commissioners that at any time the paramountcy of India should be dissociated from the Crown, it follows that the "Imperial Army" can never pass under the control of a self-governing India.

The Commissioners admit that the present Army is organized and equipped so as to be equal to the demands of external and internal security. If these two objects are to be separated according to their recommendation, why is it not clearly provided that in proportion as the new Army comes into efficient being the original Army should be reduced? Another observation must be made here. Even a tyro in public affairs can see how distant a prospect full

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self-government becomes if the Indian Treasury, already called upon both from the civil and military sides to carry more burdens than it can bear, must find the means for maintaining a second Army. But supposing this far-off consummation is actually reached, the Imperial Army, as the Commissioners call it, will still be under non-Indian control. The Government of India would be under obligations to this non-Indian authority on account of "recruitment, areas, transport, and other matters" in respect of that Army, and, "if and when the Government of India became responsible to a Central Legislature, it would first be necessary to ensure co-operation by definite agreement and to devise machinery for settling differences or resolving deadlocks."

Sufficient has been said to show that the Commissioners, in depriving India for all time of the means of defending herself, have denied her the power of exercising the right of secession and thus ruled out the possibility of her ever attaining Dominion Status. Moreover, it is obvious that even the self-government in civil matters which they contemplate for India must be seriously crippled by the existence within her territory of a powerful striking force beyond her control.

The Indian States

Another serious obstacle erected by the Commissioners to the Dominionhood of India is the guarantee proposed on behalf of the Princes and Ruling Chiefs of India that their political relations should henceforth be, not with the Government of India, but the Viceroy as the representative of the Crown. They made no inquiries under this head, but are content to shelter themselves behind the verdict of the Butler Committee, which reported rather more than a year ago. This Committee conducted its proceedings *in camera*, would not give audience to the subjects of the States, and did not hear any exponents of British-Indian

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opinion. Their judgment cannot therefore be accepted as truly balanced and impartial.

The right of paramountcy is independent of treaties and sanads, and the British Government have acquired it by reason of their being custodians of the welfare and prosperity of British India. It has accrued to them by virtue of necessity, and it is strange doctrine that, when the primary function is gone, the merely subsidiary function can subsist. Moreover, how could the new custodians of British India discharge their duties fully unless the paramountcy which was one of the conditions of the discharge were also transferred to them? When it is remembered that these States are nearly 600 in number and scattered all over India in patches of varying size, it is easy to imagine, not only the inconvenience and embarrassment, but the positive weakening which must be caused to the Central Government by an outside Power exercising the functions of moral persuasion, interference, and military protection.

In Bernard Shaw's recent play, "The Apple Cart," the king is presented by his Cabinet with an ultimatum. His promise to abdicate in favour of his son rather than face the ultimatum is welcomed by the Cabinet, but when he follows it up by declaring his intention to enter Parliament and make a party of his own with the prospect of being summoned to form the new Ministry, they perceive at a glance that the last state would be worse than the first. Is it intended to put the leaders of British India on the horns of a similar dilemma and compel them to take back their ultimatum? The Commissioners would continue for ever this direct connection of the States with the Crown and thus ensure for the British Power, supported by a standing Army and working through a large political and diplomatic establishment, the means of playing every now and then the part of mentor and defender of six hundred different entities. What would the Dominion Status of India be, if so restricted and hemmed in? The following passages taken from the Commissioners' Report leave no doubt that

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the self-government which they contemplate for India, involving the existence side by side of two final authorities in India, cannot be anything like Dominion Status:

The units of Federation would be (1) a series of Provinces, each with its legislature and its ministry responsible to the legislature, with a Governor at the head of the Province; the internal government of the Province would be in the hands of the provincial ministry, and each Province would have its own provincial revenues and expenditure; and (2) a series of Indian States autonomously governed so far as their internal affairs are concerned, each with its ruling Prince in relations with the British Crown, and each with its own internal constitutional arrangements and its own system of internal finance, but with no powers to impose customs duties at its boundaries. And over the whole would be the representative of the British Crown, as Viceroy in relation to the Indian States and Governor-General in British India. (Para. 231.)

Again, as the Provinces approach nearer to autonomy, the question of providing for effective intervention from the Centre in case of breakdown assumes great importance, but while such arrangements might form part of the written Constitution of British India, the duty of the Paramount Power in extreme cases to intervene in relation to an Indian State is derived from a different source and carried out in a different way. (Para. 231.)

Let it be observed here that in proposing a Federal structure for the whole of India the Commissioners have shown an even greater regard for the susceptibilities of the Princes than the members of the Butler Committee. These have only stated it as their opinion that the Princes should not be transferred from the irresponsible Government of India of today to the responsible Government of India of the future *without their agreement*. It would thus have been open for the statesmen of British India to conduct negotiations with the Princes with the object of obtaining their agreement. But the Simon Commission's proposal to establish on a permanent basis the connection of the States with the Crown would bar altogether the continued association of the Government of British India and the States as at present even if the Princes could be brought to agree to such association.

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Federalism

The first of the foregoing excerpts from the Commissioners' Report brings into view the idea of a political Federation for the whole of India, including British India and Indian States. It has been hailed in many quarters as a substitute for Dominion Status, not less imposing, but much more practical. In India the Mahomedan community seems to welcome it; the Indian States see in it an emblem of their equality with British India. In fact, one of the main reasons which have weighed with the Commission in putting it forward is that it would enable the States to come in individually or in groups and take their place in Greater India. The necessity of two-thirds of India readjusting its constitution in order to make possible the accession of one-third of India would not appeal strongly to those who object on other grounds to the Commission's idea of Federation. The Commission's idea is not stated with absolute precision. In making actual recommendations they have not proposed to take away from the Centre the large powers of All-India legislation and co-ordination which it wields at present. Certain All-India services are retained, though they have to serve in the Provinces. A power of interfering in cases of breakdown or deadlock is also contemplated. These powers and functions are somewhat foreign to the conception of a rigid Federal Centre. On the other hand, while arguing for the denial of responsibility to the Centre, emphasis is laid on the idea that the administration of purely Federal subjects would not lend itself to a Parliamentary form of government. The Provinces and States, which will be the units of Federation, are spoken of as the final repositories of power holding all such functions as are not of common interest and enumerated as such in the Statute. The Indian States, being autocratically governed, would not come into a system in which the Centre had the large legislative and superintending powers and financial control that it now enjoys. For their sake the Centre must

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be shorn of these great functions, and the Provinces of British India must necessarily be exalted in similar fashion at the expense of the Centre.

Between these two types of Federation, both of which are put forward in the pages of the Report, the likelihood is that the latter—that is, the rigid type—will be the more attractive to the ordinary mind. For reasons to be presently set forth, it is unsuited to India and may prove positively harmful. The Commissioners themselves recognize that to reverse the relative positions of the Centre and the Provinces would be to run counter to the process by which Federations have been set up in the past. No independent States exist in India today, anxious to surrender some functions common to all and put them into the hands of a Federal power newly created for the purpose. What we find in India is a large unitary State which has slowly devolved some of its powers on local units of administration.

Along this line lies the step by which Provincial autonomy will be brought into being, but when it has been completed it should still leave the Centre a powerful and imposing structure with the residuary powers of the Constitution in its hands, co-ordinating, stimulating, and competent to restore stable administration where it has broken down. In order that the people of the country may be willing to entrust such large powers to the Federal Government, it would be necessary to rest it on the popular will. Responsibility must be introduced into its working. The mind of educated India is fully made up on this point, and no force can resist it. An irresponsible system at Delhi will not be allowed to work even for a brief period. Even if on theoretical grounds it could be proved that an irresponsible government at the Centre would be better for India than a responsible government—a proposition which cannot be sustained for a minute—it would be unwise to thrust it upon a people who were resolved no longer to be kept out of the control of their own destiny. Nor is

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the proposal free from objection which would fill both the Houses of Legislature with representatives elected on the plan of proportional representation by members of the Provincial legislatures. It is hard to defend the establishment of two Houses if the members of both are to be chosen in the same manner by the same body.

But there is a more fundamental objection. In a country of the size of India there is grave danger of a Central Government, however exalted its office and functions, becoming a mere abstraction to the people. Direct election to one House is the only means by which the general population could be taught to feel that the organization at Delhi was their own in much the same way as the organization close at hand. The large size of electorates is without doubt a drawback, but those who frame a Constitution for India with the magnitude and variety of its people must be prepared to violate some of the requirements commonly laid down in books. Improved communications and the general rise of literacy may be trusted to mitigate the evil in some measure.

Besides, the Provinces of India are large and populous, and might tend to fall away by virtue of the notoriously fissiparous tendencies of the Indian character unless they were held together by a Central Government, strong not only in the possession of constitutional powers, but in the sentiments of the people. No one will take serious exception to Federation kept within limits, but a Federation carried to such length as to eviscerate the Centre is fraught with danger in India. That Mahomedans are attracted to this extreme type of Federation is due to the fact that they expect under it to control several Provinces along the north-western border and thereby acquire the means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the Government of India. If this is so, it is a consideration more against than for the Commission's proposal.

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Responsibility at the Centre

I must recur at this point to the withholding under the Simon proposals of responsible government at the Centre. The elaborate and learned arguments by which this part of the Simon case is buttressed will carry no conviction to the Indian reader, who cannot but think that they are a cover for the desire to keep the British in supreme control of Indian affairs for an indefinite period. What are the arguments? We must await the decision of the rulers of Indian States upon the question whether it will suit them to come into the Federal structure which will have been adapted for their reception. How long will this take? Then the new Army for internal defence must be in full readiness to take over its duties before self-government can be thought of. The combined effect of these two conditions will be to postpone the day of India's freedom so far that for all practical purposes we may dismiss it as an idle dream.

Then the Commissioners are puzzled by the vagueness of the future; they would wait till the Provincial Governments had established themselves as stable organs of freedom; they would watch the political skies for any clear signs that may be disclosed as to the best method of organizing the Federal executive; they wonder whether British Parliamentary institutions will thrive in India; and it is only when these doubts are resolved that the first decisive step can be taken. We hear frequently of the failure of the Cabinet system among foreign peoples. Do we ever hear of these peoples abandoning that system? Evidently they are satisfied that it suits them as well as any alternative they can think of. Besides, the Britisher knows only his own system of government. How can he trust himself to devise or teach another? The educated classes of India and those sections on whom the duties of public life are likely to fall know only British institutions and hanker after them. What is the good of waiting on

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chance to throw up the ideal plan of India? If with the Indian agency that is available responsible government can be started in nine different Provinces, surely that agency can sustain some responsibility at the Centre. The combination of incongruous elements, a bureaucracy at the Centre and democratic administrations in the Provinces, will certainly make for constant friction and instability. No, this will not do. Whatever the internal differences may be, all the parties in India and all the communities, even the Princes, are united in the demand for responsible government. To postpone or deny it is to ignore human nature.

Provincial Autonomy

One is glad to be able to give hearty approbation to the Chapter of the Report on the Provinces. The Commissioners claim that they "have carried the development of self-government in the provinces to the furthest practicable point" (para. 177). This claim must be allowed for the most part. Though great powers are reserved for the Governor, the cases in which he may use them are carefully defined. They are: "(1) In order to preserve the safety or tranquillity of the Province; or (2) in order to prevent serious prejudice to one or more sections of the community as compared with other sections." Exception may be taken to the second category of power as being likely to create occasions for its own exercise. But if it is necessary to induce a sense of contentment and security in the minority communities, we must bring ourselves to acquiesce in it. Of a far more drastic order is the power vested in the head of a Province to gather up the administration, as it were, into his own hands when it has broken down. In view of recent events in certain Provinces, however, full justification exists for this provision to come into force in a state of emergency. In a well-reasoned paragraph the Commissioners turn down decisively a suggestion made on behalf of various religious and racial minorities and by

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commercial and trading interests that safeguards should be inserted in the Constitution against what is described as "discriminatory legislation." The extension of the franchise recommended in the Report errs, if anything, on the side of caution.

Omitting some small grounds of quarrel, which there must be in a large scheme, there is one suggestion of some constitutional importance from which I must emphatically dissent, though the Report defends it at great length. It is that the Governor should have the power, when he thinks it necessary, to appoint to his Cabinet an official, whether British or Indian by nationality. The reason for this somewhat novel idea is given in an inconspicuous place. It is to the effect that law and order may be entrusted to safe hands. The experience and firmness which officials possess can always be commanded by the Minister in charge of that subject, and the advantage of placing an official in direct charge will certainly be outweighed by the disadvantage of introducing an incongruous element in the composition of a unitary Cabinet. Nor is it certain that the prospect of Cabinet office will succeed in placating the services.

The appointment of a Chief Minister and the entrusting to him of the task of choosing his colleagues should be the invariable rule. No doubt the Governor's detachment and wide outlook will enable him to give valuable guidance to the Chief Minister, but it is going beyond any conceivable necessity to divest the Chief Minister of the right of choosing his colleagues. If the Governor were entrusted with the choice of the members of his Cabinet, it is difficult to see how the principle of the Cabinet's joint responsibility, to which the Commissioners attach just weight, can be maintained.

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The Services

In an earlier part of this paper approval was given to the continuance of what are called security services on an all-India footing. This does not mean, however, that the future control of these and other civil services should vest in the Secretary of State. Those who demand that the Central Government should become responsible to its own legislature cannot approve of the present arrangement by which the Secretary of State for India recruits to the services, regulates them, and is responsible for their prospects and pensions. In these respects the Government of India should take the place of the Secretary of State. If recruitment in Great Britain should be continued, the High Commissioner should take charge of it. The India Council, which has been unnecessary for some years, would then become an expensive anachronism. The Viceroy, as the Crown's representative, would be in charge of the subjects of defence and foreign and political relations. The Secretary of State controls the Viceroy in these matters on his own responsibility and will not need the advice of the India Council. This body therefore should be abolished.

Spontaneous Growth

Extravagant praise has been given to a certain proposal of the Commissioners on the ground that it would make the further constitutional advance of India a matter of smooth and spontaneous growth. Their own claim is much more modest. In the provincial sphere they have made certain important improvements dependent on the resolution of the local Legislative Council and the sanction in turn of the Governor and the Governor-General. These improvements are worth enumerating: (1) "changes in the number, distribution or boundaries of constituencies, or in the number of members returned by them; (2) changes in the franchise or in the method of election; or (3) changes

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in the method of representation of particular communities." The Governor's overriding and emergency powers are not alterable by a similar method. Perhaps the answer will be that they should drop off by disuse. If not called into play over a certain number of years, statutory repeal may follow, but is by no means essential.

There is only a small matter in the Central sphere which is described as an instance of this easy growth. The Executive Councillors of the Viceroy who are now appointed by the Crown would henceforth be appointed by the Viceroy himself. Changes in the mode or conditions of appointment would not require Parliamentary legislation, but could be secured by amended rules which must be sanctioned by resolution of both Houses of Parliament. This process may be less cumbrous than the enactment of a law, but it cannot be described as easy. Nor can it be called spontaneous when it has to travel beyond India for efficacy. Every other matter of development at the Centre or in that part of the Government of India which functions in Whitehall will have to go through the ordinary process of bitter and acrimonious controversy. Seeing what a wide stretch of ground will have to be covered before India can acquire Dominion Status, there is little reason to congratulate ourselves upon the diminution of occasions for the manifestation of mutual ill-will. In fact, by refusing the greater part of the demands made by educated Indians, the Report has added to the causes of contention. To flout the intelligentsia while satisfying the Princes, the British, the minority communities, and the services, is to involve Britain and India in strife of which no one can see the end.

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DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at the Royal Society of Arts, John Street, Adelphi, W.C. 2, on Tuesday, July 22, 1930, at which the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, C.H., read a paper on "The Report of the Simon Commission." Mr. J. S. Wardlaw Milne, M.P., occupied the chair, and the following ladies and gentlemen, amongst others, were present:

The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., the Chief Saheb of Bhor, the Yuvaraj of Bhor, Sir Louis Dane, G.C.I.E., C.S.I., and Lady Dane, the Maharaja Dhiraja of Burdwan, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Sir Patrick Fagan, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Charles Armstrong, Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir John G. Cumming, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir Ness Wadia, K.B.E., C.I.E., Lieut.-Colonel Sir Lionel Haworth, K.B.E., Sir Henry Sharp, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir John Maynard, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., Sir George Barnes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., and Lady Barnes, Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir John Kerr, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Sir Albion Banerji, C.S.I., C.I.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Arthur Knapp, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.B.E., Sir Philip Sheridan, C.M.G., Sir Robert Holland, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.V.O., Sir Maurice Hayward, K.C.S.I., Sir Basil Blackett, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., Sir James Simpson, Lady Chatterjee, Lady Sydenham, Lady Wyndham Knight, Mr. A. Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., and Mrs. Richey, Mr. S. Lupton, O.B.E., Professor L. F. Rushbrook Williams, C.B.E., Dr. Matthew B. Cameron, C.I.E., and Mrs. Cameron, Mr. Alma Latifi, O.B.E., and Mrs. Latifi, Mr. A. Yusuf Ali, C.B.E., Lieut.-Colonel A. J. H. Russell, C.B.E., Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, K.-i-H., and Mrs. Paranjpye, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. P. K. Dutt, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. O. C. G. Hayter, Mr. G. B. Coleman, Mr. E. F. Allum, Rana Jorawar Singh, Dr. Annie Besant, Mr. J. Krishnamurti, Mr. Jinarajadasa, the Hon. Gertrude Kinnaird, Mrs. N. C. Sen, Mrs. Polak, Mr. J. Sladen, Mr. P. B. Haigh, Major G. Mompalo De Piro, Mr. Chaman Lall, Mr. H. M. Willmott, Mr. H. A. Gibbon, Mr. W. G. Bason, Mr. B. Shiva Rao, Mr. and Mrs. E. F. Harris, Mr. T. R. Nolan, Dr. Lanka Sundaram, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. and Mrs. Arthur Davies, Mr. S. Panandikar, Mr. S. K. Dey, Mr. Muzrat Kazim Hosain, Mr. Abdul Qadir Khan, Mr. V. H. Rutherford, Mr. and Mrs. S. Altaf Husain, Mr. and Mrs. K. C. Roy Choudhury, Mr. Waris Ameer Ali, Moulvi Farzand Ali, Khan Sahib M. H. Kothawala, Mr. H. B. Holmes, Mr. M. E. Watts, Mr. W. D. Woellwarth, Mr. J. K. Mehta, Miss Caton, Mr. A. D. Bonarjee, Mr. Scott Bremner, Mrs. Irving, Mr. S. K. Engineer, Mr. Chand D. Dharhan, Mr. S. H. Ali, Mr. A. T. Wazir, Mr. G. M. Razvi, Mr. H. R. Pandivalla, Mr. A. Minty, Mr. M. G. Sinanan, Mr. M. Alam, Mr. S. V. Raman, Mrs. James Nolan, Mr.

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W. A. Shilstone, Mr. C. W. Kirkpatrick, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. A. Sabonadiere, Mr. Rao, Mr. K. N. V. Sastri, Mr. K. Swarup, Mr. A. P. Sen, Mrs. Anstey, Mr. P. Nair, Mrs. G. Gray, Mr. A. H. Joyce, Mr. H. Whalley-Kelly, Miss Beadon, Miss K. L. Speechley, Mr. M. T. Drake, Mr. M. Lall, Mr. V. Kawell, Mr. H. M. Harris, Mr. P. Day, Mrs. Pert, Mr. Richard Law, Lieut.-Colonel J. Howe, Miss Daisy Solomon, Mr. E. Marsden, Sardar Hardit Singh, Rev. E. S. Carr, Mr. Hugh E. Arnold, Mr. Sheikh Hamidullah, Mr. Herbert S. Ashton, Mr. and Mrs. Blunt, Mrs. V. H. Boalth, Miss Andrade, Miss Gravatt, Dr. Nair, Dr. Lazarus, Miss Gaywood, Mr. and Mrs. M. Kottler, Miss Walton, Mr. S. A. Sadeque, Mr. M. A. Shahmiri, Mrs. Rideout, Mr. E. P. Goldney, Mr. W. C. Towell, Capt. Donald Anderson, Mrs. R. W. Frazer, Mr. A. H. Maru, Mr. H. R. Mehta, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I come before you as a substitute. I am extremely sorry to have to announce that Lord Chelmsford, who was to have taken the chair today, is unfortunately detained on an important Government Committee and cannot be with us. A little later in the proceedings I will ask the Secretary to read a letter from Lord Chelmsford which deals with the discussion which is to take place today. My very pleasant duty is to introduce my very old friend, and a man well known to most of you, the Right Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. He has been, as you know, of great value not only to India, but to this country and to the Empire as a whole by the work he has done not only in India, but in South Africa, Canada, and elsewhere. When I was speaking in what I might describe as "another place" a few weeks ago, I referred to the fact that my earliest recollection of Mr. Sastri was when we were colleagues together as additional members of His Excellency the Viceroy's Council, away back in the early days of the War. That was the first time, I think, I had met him, and I said to another audience that, strangely enough, my principal recollection of him was not of his great abilities as a speaker, was not even of the subject of his first address to the Council, but of the fact that it was an extremely hot day, and that, as around his head the mosquitoes buzzed in the old Delhi Council Chamber, the Council listened to an address given in the most perfect English, which impressed every person in the Council, from one who was then, I think, a very new member of it. Since then Mr. Sastri has, as I say, done very fine work for the Empire; and today, when affairs in India are so serious, when the problems before the country in connection with India are such as to make it not only desirable but necessary that everybody in this country should know something of India's problems and hear if possible all sides of it, we are indeed fortunate in having Mr. Sastri to come and speak to us today.

The RIGHT HON. V. S. SRINIVASA SASTRI: Mr. Chairman, my Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—Before I read my paper I have two words to say. The first is one of grateful thanks to our Chairman for having been good enough to introduce me in such complimentary language. The next is that you will find in my paper some criticisms of the recom-

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mendations made in the Simon Commission's Report. I am not here to evolve a scheme of political reform for India. In the first place it is not easy to propose a Constitution within the time that I have here. In the second place, after listening to some remarks about the Simon Commission's Report, you will not be inclined to attach much value to another Constitution which comes only with such authority as my name can give it. It will not do for me to do that. I am not here speaking in any representative capacity; I am speaking for myself, and you will therefore forgive me if I confine myself to a few remarks rather of a destructive character regarding the Simon Report, but do not pretend myself to evolve a Constitution for India.

(The lecturer then read his paper.)

The Hon. Secretary read the following letter from Lord Chelmsford, dated July 21, from 116, Eaton Square, S.W.:

DEAR MR. BROWN,

I am exceedingly sorry that owing to a clash of engagements I am unable to preside at Mr. Sastri's lecture. It only shows how one ought never to accept an invitation without first consulting one's diary. Unfortunately the Committee on the British Industry Fair, of which I am Chairman, has fixed the afternoon of the 22nd for the consideration of their Report, and it was impossible for me to throw over a date agreed between members who live in all parts of England.

It is also disappointing to me to be unable to pay this act of courtesy to Mr. Sastri, whom I hold in the highest esteem not only for his great personal qualities, but for his outstanding public services.

I am glad that the Association has afforded him this opportunity of addressing it on the subject of the Simon Report. He has discussed the Report with his usual lucidity and moderation, and, as I imagine was desired, in a critical spirit. But as the Association wished to hear the Indian point of view, it will not complain of the manner in which Mr. Sastri has discharged his task as critic.

It is impossible to discuss the paper within the compass of a letter, but let me remind those who will listen to Mr. Sastri of the principles laid down by Parliament and assented to by all parties.

1. The progressive realization of responsible government in British India *as an integral part of the Empire*.

The words underlined were inserted in the announcement of 1917 at the instance of my Government, and their meaning is clear.

If then "the right of secession" is implicit in the term "Dominion Status," as Mr. Sastri suggests, "Dominion Status" is not a synonym for "responsible government"—the term used in the Announcement—as the right of secession was deliberately excluded from the Announcement by the words above quoted.

2. Progress can only be achieved by stages.

3. The time and manner for each advance can be determined only by Parliament.

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4. The action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.

These principles must to my mind serve as a "yardstick" by which to measure all proposals, whether they be those of the Simon Commission or of critics who put forward alternative views. Parliament can alter them, but until it does it would be wise to regard these principles as holding the field.

Sincerely yours,
(*Signed*) CHELMSFORD.

Mr. WARIS AMEER ALI said that they had listened with great interest to the exposé of what the lecturer considered to be omissions in the Simon Report, and to an exposé which possibly conveyed the views of a certain number of his fellow-countrymen. Mr. Sastri had made a reference to the possible employment of British and Indian troops as mercenaries under the control of what he styled "responsible government" at Delhi. Mr. Ameer Ali said that had been tried long ago in the case of the kingdom of Oudh before it was annexed. British troops were lent to the Oudh Government for the purpose of internal security, and in consequence of the scandals ensuing from the bickering and squabbling between the Oudh Government and its subjects (in one of which his great-grandfather was killed) the British-Indian troops were forbidden to interfere, and Oudh was allowed to raise a special internal army of its own on a small scale under officers of British or domiciled European stock. They failed to keep order, and the result was the eventual annexation of Oudh as a British province.

With regard to the special internal security army suggested by the Simon Commission, it really would be a police force. Armies were not for the purpose of internal security. The people ought to be secure inside their own fence and not want to fight with each other. An army was for external defence. Lord Kitchener thirty years ago found the British-Indian Army a collection of patchwork armies which had been raised during the nineteenth century for different purposes, both for external and internal security, and he welded that Army into an homogeneous whole to be capable of going anywhere and doing anything, which everybody present would agree it did in 1914. Mr. Sastri had suggested a procedure for the employment by the Viceroy of Imperial troops in case of internal disorder. It was all very well for people sitting round a table to think of those things, but when British or Indian troops were wanted for internal security, they were wanted very quickly and without hesitation, as they were at Peshawar the other day; and if they had not been used when they were the whole frontier would probably have been ablaze. The right honourable gentleman had referred to "strife" between certain sections of their fellow-countrymen and Great Britain. They had been within an ace of very serious strife indeed, a universal blaze up on the frontier, but they had avoided real strife in a neighbourhood in which

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was the right honourable gentleman's own home for something like 150 years, thanks to that same Imperial Army.

Further, the right honourable gentleman had said that the Moslems were in favour of the system of federalism propounded by Sir John Simon and his colleagues because they would under it gain control of certain areas on the frontier. Sir John Simon had not proposed to give them control; he had merely proposed the extension of a mild representative system to the Frontier Province. He (the speaker) did not consider that after what had recently occurred the Frontier Province was likely to get out of hand. What had happened was due to gross misrepresentation on the part of agitators. They could guess the sources which had spread about the grossest rumours as to the Child Marriage Act, which itself had little application to the frontier. They were rumours of the same kind, identical in character, as those which produced an outbreak in Great Britain when Wat Tyler killed the tax-collector at Deptford for insulting his daughter.

He considered that the record of the Moslems of India during the last few months was sufficient to speak for itself. Their leaders had been almost the only ones to come out on public platforms and openly condemn stupid violence, when a constitutional method had been opened by the special action of His Excellency the Viceroy and the Home Government to enable the bringing of everybody's case in India over here this autumn for a fair talk.

Then there was the question of secession. The question of secession was not practical politics for India. If the peoples of India were united enough at the present moment to wish to secede, the present forces of the Crown would be rapidly replaced, not by one, but by those of several foreign Powers. They had to face the facts as they were in their generation, and to provide for deficiencies as far as possible.

The right honourable lecturer had concluded with this sentence: "To flout the intelligentsia while satisfying the Princes, the British, the minority communities, and the services, is to involve Britain and India in strife of which no one can see the end." It would be a regrettable thing if the present bickering went on. Though it was a very mild form of bickering, it was regrettable and an exhibition of their own lack of statecraft if it did go on. As regards the intelligentsia, he ventured to think that with regard to some of the minorities, the 70,000,000 Moslems had some intelligent people among their ranks; also that the services and the Princes had some intelligent men among them; and that virile and magnificent race, small but providing an important part of the Indian Army, the Sikhs, had some intelligent men in their ranks.

Professor RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS said when he listened to the right honourable gentleman's analysis of the Simon Commission's Report he was glad to think that the Round Table Conference was going to be held, because it seemed to him that the Conference was going to give everyone an opportunity of getting from abstractions to realities. It was likely to be a great educative force so far as public opinion in this country was concerned, and he thought it might even be a great educative force

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also for that section of Indian public opinion for which the right honourable gentleman spoke. In that connection he would like to direct attention to the concluding sentence of the paper: "To flout the intelligentsia while satisfying the Princes, the British, the minority communities, and the services, is to involve Britain and India in strife of which no one can see the end." Had it struck the lecturer that the sum-total of those minorities constituted a majority in India?

So far as the possible collaboration of the Indian States with British India's aspirations was concerned, he could, not speaking in any representative capacity, but merely as a student of public affairs, reassure the lecturer and those who thought with him. The Indian States would, he felt sure, never act as a drag upon the attainment by British India of those legitimate aspirations which everyone knew she cherished. The lecturer seemed to be over-pessimistic. To the Indian States federalism had no terrors. Even before the idea of federation was canvassed in British India and in this country, the Governments of the Indian States (and he was now speaking of four years ago) had been considering the federal plan as possibly one means for enabling them to exercise jointly that influence over all-Indian matters which they had begun to feel was their due. Had it struck the lecturer, when he spoke about the unfairness of allowing one-third of India to influence the constitution of the other two-thirds, that for the last ten years one-third of India had been definitely subordinated to the remaining two-thirds?

It seemed to him that in regard to the question of possible co-operation between the Indian States and British India, the lecturer had mistaken for cast-iron proposals what were, after all, tentative suggestions put forward by Sir John Simon for the consideration of the States. He could not follow the lecturer's argument that there had been any departure from the Butler Committee's suggestion that the Indian States and British India should come to some agreement. He should like to ask what Sir John Simon had said in those tentative suggestions to prevent negotiations between the Indian States and British India? All that Sir John Simon had done was something which, speaking with great respect, he would say should have been done by this country long ago—namely, to recognize and point out that the Indian States are part of India and that they were entitled to their share, even though it be a modest share, in the destinies of India as a whole: that and no more. Sir John Simon had not closed the door to negotiations. How could he do it? He had put forward certain tentative proposals which it was for the Indian States to accept or to reject. For the comfort of the right honourable gentleman he would say that when the representatives of the Indian States came to the Round Table Conference, although so far as the British-Indian minorities were concerned there might be certain difficulties, these difficulties were unlikely to come from the side of Indian States, who would not stand in British India's way when she desired to achieve that position within the commonwealth for which her spokesmen had been asking. On a question of fact, he respectfully joined issue with the right honourable gentleman in his contention that the right of paramountcy

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which the Crown exercised over the Indian States arose because the British Government were custodians of the welfare of British India. History showed that the Indian States existed long before British India existed, and for all he knew the Indian States might survive long after British India as they knew it at the moment had ceased to exist. The fact was that what they now called British India came into existence because of the diplomatic relationship which was built up between the British Crown and the Princes. It was therefore impossible to maintain that the Crown's paramountcy over the States, resulting from this diplomatic relationship, was due in any way to the Crown's position as ruler of British India.

He would further like to join issue with the right honourable gentleman when he said that Sir John Simon and his colleagues made no inquiry into the case of the Indian States. That was technically true, but the Butler Committee had collected a large amount of evidence of one kind and another, and he was perfectly certain that the Statutory Commission went into that and other evidence closely and as carefully as it could. Therefore it seemed to him that if there was any difference in the findings between the Butler Committee and the Simon Commission, quite possibly it might be owing to the Simon Commission's superior opportunities, due to additional information. He would like to conclude by paying a tribute to the great ability displayed by the right honourable gentleman in his most searching analysis of the Simon Report. He would also say he was perfectly sure that the lecturer and those powerful sections of Indian opinion for which he spoke could disabuse their minds from the idea that from the side of the Indian States they would encounter obstacles to the achievement of the legitimate aspirations of British India.

Mr. J. K. Mehta said he was often faced with the question put by people here whom he had gone to see whether, in view of the first volume of the Simon Commission's Report, India deserved to get anything, even the proposals based upon the second volume of the Report. Even granted the hypothesis that the views and opinions and the facts mentioned in the first volume were correct, if he had been a member of the Commission he would have proceeded to quite different conclusions, for, if these facts were correct, if there was illiteracy in the country, if they could not extend the franchise, if they could not entrust the Indian people with their own army, then he would say: "You have had sufficient time for a hundred and fifty years; it is now our turn. We may commit mistakes, but at least we shall not make worse mistakes than you have." He based his claim as a human being liable to commit mistakes, at the same time recognizing the right of the people of a country to govern it.

With regard to finance, if they read the finanical history of India for the last ten years, it had not been found possible to devote much space to the different blunders, and worse than blunders, which had been committed in the name of financial administration. But beginning with 1920, when the Currency Committee's Report was published, and when Rs. 36 crores of Indian gold were wasted away, and the blunder committed of placing upon the Statute Book the 1s. 6d. ratio, the whole

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financial history of India was full of blunders and mistakes. If the finances had been placed in Indian hands, surely those mistakes would not have been committed, for one very good reason, that those in charge would have acted with a view to Indian interests, while the people who were at the top in the British Indian administration acted with one view—namely, to British interests and not Indian interests.

Sir IBRAHIM RAHIMTOOLA said he did not yield to anyone in his appreciation of the valuable services which the learned lecturer had rendered to our Motherland. He had been associated with him in the Imperial Legislative Council and other public activities, and he had had the honour of working with him in the promotion of the national interests of India. It was with some regret that he had to draw attention to a statement in the lecture which he could only attribute to some oversight on the part of Mr. Sastri. The lecturer said: "That Mahommedans are attracted to this extreme type of federation is due to the fact that they expect under it to control several provinces along the north-western border and thereby acquire the means of exerting pressure in emergencies on the Government of India." The lecturer put some doubt upon it, for he said: "If this is so, it is a consideration more against than for the Commission's proposal." He could tell the lecturer that there was no educated Moslem in India who did not desire freedom for his Motherland, and that it was a matter of very great regret that such a motive should have been attributed to them by a gentleman in the position of the Right Honourable Srinivasa Sastri. He said they supported federation not because of the reasons assigned, but because they felt that that was the only system that was suitable to Indian conditions. They held that, with the conditions prevailing in India, a form of government on the federal system was the only form that was suitable, and he was advocating it not because they expected to obtain some communal advantage, but because they felt that that was the only basis upon which it was possible for the majority community, the Princes and the Moslems, to reach agreement. It must be obvious that such agreement was essential before India could reach its goal. He was therefore glad that the Simon Commission had recommended a federal system for India.

In conclusion, he wished to draw attention to the last paragraph, to which attention had been already called, namely: "To flout the intelligentsia while satisfying the Princes, the British, the minority communities, and the services, is to involve Britain and India in strife of which no one can see the end." He would ask the lecturer, who was left amongst the intelligentsia if they excluded "the Princes, the British, the minorities, and the services"? He did not wish to speak for the Princes or for the British, but he did speak for the Moslem minority, that they claimed to have a fair share of the intelligentsia of India. The Indian intelligentsia could not be described as belonging to any particular section of the Indian population.

The CHAIRMAN: I am told by the Secretary it is customary at this point for the Chairman to state his views. I can assure you at once that I have no intention of doing that. I have a good deal to do with India

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in one way and the other, and I have very often to speak about it, but I do not intend to make any address to you giving my views about India. I want to refer to only one or two points before I ask Mr. Sastri to reply. I think it right to do so now, so that if he disagrees with anything he will have an opportunity of saying so.

There is one point—and I might say technically it is a very important point—which has been mentioned not only by Mr. Sastri himself, but by other speakers: I refer to the question of the right of secession. Lord Chelmsford's letter perfectly correctly, of course, sets out the conditions laid down in the Act of 1919. Under the conditions of that Act it was perfectly clear that what was in the mind of the framers of the Act was the future of India within the Empire, but there is a special reason why at that time, probably, the point that has now arisen did not occur to them. The fact is that these often extraordinarily misused words "Dominion Status" have acquired, since the date of the Act of 1919, a new meaning altogether, or rather have acquired an added meaning, a meaning that did not exist—I want to make that quite clear—in 1919. It was at the time of the Imperial Conference of 1926 that the words acquired a meaning which involves the right to secession. It is interesting also to note that so far as I know the phrase "Dominion status" was not used in the discussions regarding India of 1919, and not, I think, for many years afterwards—in fact, not until last year.

The principal point, however, I am anxious to put to you tonight is this. The details of the Simon Report, whether we agree with Mr. Sastri or whether we disagree, are all matters which will have to come before the Round Table Conference, and, I presume, before a Joint Committee of Both Houses of Parliament before a Bill is passed which deals with the future of India. The one essential thing is not that we should quarrel about what phrases mean, not that we should fight as to whether Dominion status with its acquired addition of the right of secession was ever promised or was not promised, but what is essential is that we should approach the whole question in the autumn of this year with a determination to get a settlement which will be satisfactory both to India and to Great Britain. Now I am not qualified, and I do not intend, to go into the details of the constructive programme which would be necessary if, indeed, one entirely differed from the Simon Report, but I do want to make one or two points about it quite clear.

It is constantly stated by people who ought to know better that the Simon Report in some way or other binds this country. It does nothing of the kind. It was never intended to bind this country. We never gave a mandate of any kind to the Commission to bind this country. What the Commissioners were given a mandate to do, and what they have done most brilliantly, is to provide for this country a groundwork or basis upon which, at any rate, we can discuss the future of India, and to give the country knowledge which, believe me, it had not got until it got that very excellent Report. I am no less certain that I am on sure ground in speaking of matters of which I have some considerable knowledge when I say it is equally wrong to suppose that the people of

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this country are not interested in India. They are deeply interested in India, but perhaps my many Indian friends will not mind if I say that in this country people are not very vocal and not very keen in making statements with regard to India. Speaking for the country as a whole, it is fair to say that, although they do not pretend to know Indian conditions very fully, they are anxious for information. They are not disinterested in India, and I am as positive as I am that I stand here today that the country as a whole would welcome any settlement which secures the welfare and the secure future of all the various races in India, but it will not sanction any settlement which in any way disturbs the rights of any section of His Majesty's subjects in India, or does not give them a real chance of development in the future.

I noticed one phrase in Mr. Sastri's lecture which I rather regretted. There may be many things with which I disagree, but there is one I regretted. He said it is hopeless to wait for chance to throw up the ideal plan of India. I do not think anybody dreams of doing that. The future of India, like the future of every other country, is not settled in a moment. India's progress will grow steadily, as every country's future has grown. Future development takes place steadily, and progress will not come in a day. One knows we cannot set back the clock, and equally it is no good waiting for an ideal plan. It is a question of men of good-will getting together towards the end of this year, dropping something perhaps each of them, and hammering out a settlement which, if not fully satisfying any party, will be really satisfactory in the main both for India and for Great Britain.

Mr. Srinivasa Sastri: My Lords, Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will be very brief in my remarks. In the first place I must admit that my friends Mr. Ameer Ali and Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola have made a debating point of an expression which I used in the last sentence. I am really very sorry that I should have caused them the smallest offence; it was very far indeed from my intention. They certainly know that I could not have attributed lack of intelligence to the British, or to the services, or to the minority communities, or to the Princes. It is a distinction which is not meant to be logically or mutually exclusive; but I dare say they understand the phrase quite as well as I do, although I admit that they are entitled to make it a debating point in a meeting like this. I may also say that I am very grateful to my friend Sir Ibrahim for disavowing any intention to use the border provinces for political advantages to their community. I have heard it said, and that is why I mentioned it in this paper. I did not invent it out of my head, and I am very pleased to know that such a high authority in the Mohammedan world as Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola will not give his countenance to any such idea.

Then, ladies and gentlemen, there is one more point of rather academic importance which I would gladly have kept out of this paper were it not absolutely necessary. May I begin by saying that it is not safe, and I would advise all my British friends here to remember that it is not expedient, to use words in different meanings in different circumstances?

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May I on behalf of the people of India give a solemn note of remonstrance against different ways of interpreting "Dominion status" in some cases and "Dominion status" in the case of India? That expression has been with the consent of the majority of those concerned—perhaps without their consent—used now upon a most solemn occasion by the present Viceroy of India. It is no use saying to us in India: "Well, that would have one meaning to Canada and Australia and Ireland, but may have another meaning with regard to you." Now I wish to ask those who speak of the right of secession as being doubtfully included in the expression "Dominion status" whether they will care to have this doubt spoken in the hearing of people of the Irish Free State, or in the hearing of General Hertzog, of South Africa. What is the use of speaking in one voice to them and in another to us? Every proposal made in the Simon Commission's Report must be examined with a view to this: Does it mean Dominion status, not today or tomorrow? Nobody asks for it. We are not children in India. Does it make it possible, does it keep the road open, or does the Simon Report as a whole, read as a common-sense person would read it, block the way to dominionhood for India? I maintain that a very careful perusal of the two volumes shows that it is calculated to block the way of India to Dominion status. I think, therefore, that those who support these documents must consider very carefully whether it will not land them in one of those terrible mistakes with regard to India which may lay them open to the charge that they are not meaning exactly what they say; for please remember that in India the young men and the young women wish to be placed within this British Commonwealth not without it; within that British Commonwealth, but upon a footing of complete equality with the other component parts of it. Nothing else will do. Every proposal will be examined with meticulous eyes as to whether it satisfies that condition or not. If it does not satisfy that condition, not all the learned arguments that lawyers can bring will convince us. That is a point which I would most respectfully, most earnestly beg our British friends to remember. I will only add this: If the right of secession be granted to us, it is not that we are going to exercise it any more than any other Dominion; on the other hand, everybody admits that it will bind the Empire closer together, because then the Empire will be a real association of free peoples free to come and free to go, and therefore always willing and glad to remain. Freedom is the essential condition of unity and strength and solidarity of the Empire. (Loud applause.) Those who speak otherwise speak, it seems to me, with a shortsighted mind fixed upon the immediate present; they do not take long views, as they should.

Now there is only one other word which I have to say: that is, that I share the feeling with regard to the Round Table Conference expressed by the Chairman. On that Conference all our hopes are now centred. The British and Indians must agree that that Conference must not break up without success. Let those who go into it, let those who complain here, let those who arrange things here today, let all of them make up their minds that that Conference must succeed, and it is bound to succeed.

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Though I have stated views in this paper, believe me I am by no means committed to the greater part of them; I am willing to shed them, if necessary, in the cause of reconciliation and peace. We all have our views. No man lives till he is sixty without forming some views, and he believes he is bound to give expression to them; but when we meet at the Round Table Conference for settling the future of India and her relations to the British Empire, it will be wise for all of us to remember that our dearest convictions are nothing by the side of the good of India and the good of Great Britain. (Loud applause.) Let me assure my Mahommedan friends, and those British friends who have done me the honour to come here, that if I am one of those who attend the Round Table Conference, they will find me willing always to listen and to learn, and by no means slow to accommodate either my wishes or my sentiments, so that in the end the good of Great Britain and India in common, and acting together as parts of this Commonwealth, may be secured. (Loud applause.)

Sir LOUIS DANE said that as members of the East India Association they were bound to do all in their power to promote the interests of India, for they had not only the greatest interest in India, but had grown to love India. Mr. Sastri could rest assured that they were actuated by what he said he himself was actuated by—namely, what they believed to be for the real good of India.

When the paper was read he could not help feeling that it was rather the speech of a very clever special pleader speaking to his brief, and that it was a pity so much prominence was given to the view that the main use to India of Dominion status was that it would carry with it the right of secession. That argument was hardly one to influence the British people to grant such Dominion status—whatever that might exactly mean. India was already on an equality with other parts of the British Commonwealth of Nations in such important matters as Imperial Conferences and the League of Nations.

If secession was inherent in Dominion status, the provinces and states forming part of India would no doubt claim a similar right of secession; and Mr. Sastri, in view of the notoriously fissiparous tendencies of the Indian character, contemplated that such would be the case unless they were held together by a strong Central Government. At the same time he deprecated any postponement of so-called responsible government at the centre, and apparently desired a government based on purely one man one vote democratic representation. Now it was perfectly certain that the greater states and militant provinces would never submit to be governed by such a government, controlled by the votes of a mere majority of the peoples of non-militant provinces who could not even protect themselves. They would either secede or more probably simply overwhelm small provinces. It was clearly necessary, therefore, that for many years to come the Central Government must be both strong and self-contained and independent of such non-authoritative democratic control, to an even greater extent than was proposed by the Simon Commission.

Whatever might be the theory of Dominion status, no nation or empire

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could tolerate the secession of certain vital parts of it—*e.g.*, the United States of America in 1866 and the recent action of the United Soviets of Russia. However, Mr. Sastri had told them that India has no real wish to secede, and that he himself was prepared to shed most of his arguments in the cause of reconciliation and peace for the good of India and of Great Britain. In this attitude he could count on the whole-hearted support of the East India Association. (Applause.)

He was sure they would all join with him in passing a hearty vote of thanks to the Chairman and to Mr. Sastri for his most interesting paper on one of the most pressing questions of modern history. (Cheers.)

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THE INDIAN PRINCES AND THE REFORMS

On Wednesday, July 23, Shrimant R. S. Pandit Pant Sachiv, Chief of Bhor, gave a reception at the Hotel Metropole, W.C. 2, to meet the President, Council and members of the Association. Some 250 guests were present, and the Chief Saheb gave an address on the Indian Princes and the present Constitution. After refreshments had been served,

Colonel Sir Leslie Wilson said: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I am asked to say a few words before the Chief of Bhor addresses us on the Indian Princes and the present Constitution. It is, I am sure, quite superfluous to introduce to you our host, but I am at the same time very grateful for the opportunity of saying a few words on your behalf as well as on my own and to thank the Chief Saheb very sincerely indeed for his great and generous hospitality to us all here this afternoon.

As a member of the Council of the East India Association, I would also say how grateful the Association is to him for having invited so many guests to meet the President and the members of the Association, and incidentally I may say that the Association is deeply indebted to the Chief Saheb for the very generous donation of £25 which has just come to hand. (Cheers.) As a member of the Committee of another organization —the British Indian Union—I am glad to be able to say that the Chief Saheb has again shown his generosity by giving £25 to that organization also. (Cheers.)

Perhaps it is not inappropriate that I should say a few words before the Chief Saheb speaks, because I may claim almost a better acquaintance, and I may say a greater friendship, with him than anyone else here. For the five years I was Governor of Bombay I got to know the Chief Saheb very well indeed, both in his private life and in the various public organizations in which we were associated.

The history of the Bhor family is noted and notable for loyalty and whole-hearted co-operation with the British Government at all times. I do not think there has ever been an occasion on which the British Government has asked for the assistance of the Bhor family when it has not been readily given. Perhaps it may interest you to hear of one incident with which I had something to do to show how great the help was which was given by the Chief Saheb. Close to Poona there is a dam at Bhatghar called the Lloyd Dam, now the longest dam in the world. It was necessary to lengthen that dam, and in order to do so it was essential to take in a very large portion of the Chief Saheb's territory I may say that without the whole-hearted co-operation on the part of the Chief Saheb the Lloyd Dam could not have been extended.

I have not the slightest intention of saying anything on the subject on which the Chief Saheb is going to speak. You will want to hear what is going on in India, and we sincerely trust that the great Indian problem

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will soon be settled. If the Chief Saheb can assist in any way we shall have still more cause to be grateful to him.

The CHIEF OF BHOR said: It gives me the greatest pleasure to welcome here today not only a number of personal friends whom I knew in India, or with whom I have been brought into contact since coming to this country, but also the members of the East India Association able at this busy season of the year to accept my invitation to them. I have been struck by the value of the work the Association is doing in spreading a knowledge of my country, in discussing on a non-party basis and in a helpful spirit the many perplexing problems it presents, and "in promoting," to use the words of its motto, "by all legitimate means the welfare of the inhabitants of India." It has been to me a source of satisfaction to be enrolled as a member, and to show in practical form my sympathy with the objects of the Association and my confidence in the methods employed to promote them. I am the more gratified to do so since the President is Lord Lamington, the first Governor of Bombay, whom it was my privilege to know personally; and an active share in its administration is being taken by Sir Leslie Wilson, the last Governor of the Presidency to return to these shores. I thank him both for the kind words he has spoken just now and for unfailing and helpful friendship throughout his Governorship.

Let me crave your indulgence for a few minutes in order to voice some personal thoughts about the two important documents recently placed before the British people and the people of India for their consideration. I mean the Reports of the Indian States Committee and the Statutory Commission. It is needless for me to say that my remarks will be confined to the first-named document, and that portion of the Simon Report which deals with the question of the Indian States.

The Indian States Committee was appointed in December, 1927, by the Secretary of State for India on the recommendation of His Excellency Lord Irwin as a result of his informal discussions with some of the leading Princes held in May, 1927, in order to investigate the political and financial relationship of the Indian Princes with the Paramount Power and British India, and to make recommendations for the more satisfactory adjustment of their economic relations. Certain important constitutional questions had been raised by leading Indian Princes since the time of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, and pressed for the consideration of the Viceroy and His Majesty's Government year after year in the sessions of the Chamber of Princes, which was inaugurated in the year 1921 as a result of the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms. The Indian Princes claimed that the rights of paramountcy were vested in the Crown, and they were exercised in practice by the Viceroy as agent of His Majesty's Government and not as the head of the Government of India. This question assumed greater importance when, after the famous declaration of August 20, 1917, it was proposed to make fundamental changes in the character and the constitution of the Government of India by increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to

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the progressive realization of responsible government within the Empire. As a result of this declaration the question arose as to whether the relations of the Indian States, which were in reality with the Crown in England and not with British India as the principal contracting party, were to be continued with an evolving British India automatically like chattels, irrespective of the free consent of the Indian States.

Another important claim of the States is for the establishment of a Supreme Court to decide cases of disputes that arise between them and the British Government in lieu of the present method, by which the latter claims to have the right of settling such disputes, and which is therefore opposed to the elementary principle that a party should not be judge in its own case.

The other grievances against which the States have been protesting are economic and financial. The Government of India generally followed the long-established, but now much questioned, British policy of free trade, and levied no customs or excise duties so as to yield any very large revenue till the Great War. The revenue from these sources did not exceed Rs. 10 crores in pre-war days. But the policy was considerably changed during and after the war in order to meet the heavy burdens due to abnormal conditions thereby created. The revenue, derived by increasing the protective duties and the customs tariffs at the British Indian ports, through which all the requirements of the population of the Indian States (which are mostly situated within the inland limits) were mainly imported, has risen to over Rs. 50 crores. It is claimed on behalf of the States that they are entitled to share in this revenue or to get a rebate in proportion. The claim is based on the elementary principle of economics, that the revenue derived from taxation is the due of the Government whose subjects consume the commodities taxed. The States further claim that they are, in any case, entitled to have some voice in determining the tariff policy, as they are vitally affected by it.

The other contentions relate to the claims of the States to share in the revenue derived by the Government of India from the practically all-India monopolies of salt, opium, and abkari, and the Imperial services of posts, telegraphs, railways, and mint, which are worked by the Government of India predominantly from the point of view of the interest of British India alone. The financial benefits derived therefrom are enjoyed by British India, although the several States and State subjects contribute to those benefits in a number of ways.

All these controversial questions were referred to the Indian States Committee, usually known as the Butler Committee, and some of them have also been directly or indirectly examined by the Statutory Commission. It is a matter of great satisfaction to the Indian Princes that both these bodies have been convinced of the justice of many of the claims and contentions of the States, although there are still some points which have not yet received the full consideration which they really deserve. As regards these points also I have no doubt that the Princes will in the long run receive full justice at the hands of the British people and His Majesty's Government, as they have succeeded in securing

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recognition to their other claims after strenuous endeavours for over twelve years.

I will now try to place before you, ladies and gentlemen, the claims of the States which have been wholly or partially admitted by the Butler Committee and the Simon Commission. The Butler Committee, in paragraphs 38 and 58 of their Report, clearly laid down as their considered opinion on the important question of the relationship of the Indian Princes to the Paramount Power that it is a relationship with the Crown, and that it cannot and should not be transferred without their consent to any new Government in India which may be hereafter established as a result of the recent investigation into the present Constitution. This conclusion, it is gratifying to find, is approved by the Statutory Commission in paragraph 108 of the first volume of their Report. This does not mean, as has been repeatedly made clear by stalwart advocates of the rights of the Indian States, that the Indian Princes wish to remain entirely isolated from British India or are opposed to the idea of all-India federation. The rulers of Indian States, who are bound with their British Indian brethren by ties of blood, religion, and culture, have unanimously expressed their sympathy with their aspirations and their willingness to co-operate with them in the advancement of their common mother country if only the British Indian leaders are prepared to give certain guarantees about the claims of the Indian States, and provide some safeguards for preventing any interference with their sovereign or treaty rights. The main point which is being urged on behalf of the States in this connection is that there should be no coercion or compulsion in asking the States to join the federation without any guarantees and safeguards, or to accept international obligations which are undertaken by the British Government at the sessions of the League of Nations without consulting the States.

On this point the Butler Committee express similar views in paragraph 78. They say: "We have left the door open to closer union of the States with British India, and there is nothing in our proposal to prevent the adoption of some form of federal union between them." The Simon Report, after quoting this passage with approval, expresses similar views. It says (vol. ii., p. 195): "We are therefore following what has become a generally accepted view when we express our own belief that the essential unity of Greater India will one day be expressed in some form of federal association, but that the evolution will be slow and cannot be rashly pressed." Further, after discussing the analogy of the British North American Act, the Report says (p. 201): "This suggests that a possible mode of approach to the problem of federation would be for the Imperial Parliament to include in the new Government of India Act a part which will have no operative effect by itself, but which will contain a scheme or formula which might be from time to time adopted by mutual agreement between a given State and British India."

This suggestion totally excludes the idea of imposing federation upon the States without their consent or against their will. This is exactly what the States have been claiming—apart from the merits or defects of the details following these suggestions.

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I shall now turn to the financial and economic claims of the Indian States. The Indian States Committee write (paragraph 82):

"In the year 1921-22 the maritime customs were greatly raised under many heads, and later on a policy of discriminating protection was adopted in British India, with the result that the revenue from maritime customs has risen from some five to fifty crores of rupees. The States were not consulted in regard to this policy. The majority of them derive no benefit from protection, and their subjects have to pay the enhanced price on imported goods: in effect, a double customs duty, their taxable capacity being reduced to the extent of the maritime duty. This, in our opinion, is a real and substantial grievance which calls for remedy."

After thus admitting the equity of the States' claim to share in the all-India customs revenue, the Committee recommend the appointment of another expert committee to further investigate the problem and ascertain the limits of this claim, along with the counter-claims of British India about Imperial burdens of military and other cognate expenses.

The Simon Commission have endorsed this statement of the Butler Committee on p. 270 (vol. ii.), when they say that "it is indeed obvious that the Indian customs tariff does, in fact, impose taxation on the inhabitants of the Indian States to the extent that they consume imported goods. The expansion of the tariffs has increased the proportion of the Imperial burdens on the population of the States. In any case, the States have no voice in the determination of tariff policy."

While the main claim of the States to share in the customs revenue as well as to be consulted in framing all-India fiscal policy has been conceded in both Reports, it has been coupled with an altogether new question of set-off for counter-claims raised on behalf of British India. Both the Butler Committee and the Simon Commission have in a way marred the effect of their conclusions by raising some leading questions and giving expression to *obiter dicta* which are likely to affect the free judgment of the expert body it is proposed to create to examine the whole question in accordance with their recommendations. They have thus tried to take away with one hand what they have given with the other.

Similarly, objections can be taken on the ground of their omission to discuss or reject the suggestion of the Princes for the establishment of an impartial tribunal to settle justiciable and constitutional questions, and also to the far-fetched conception of both bodies of the rights and duties of paramountcy. The other financial claims of the States referred to in the earlier part of my paper they have characterized as of minor or doubtful importance. But I do not propose to detail the points further, as this can be better done both at the Round Table Conference and also in the informal discussions with His Majesty's Government, as well as when the expert Committee actually comes into existence and begins its investigation in consultation with the Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes. For the care taken to put our case before the Butler Committee this Committee deserves the most sincere thanks of all the members of our Order. Meanwhile I wish to take advantage of this occasion also to

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express the gratitude of the Princes both to the Butler Committee and the Simon Commission for dealing out justice at least to some of the contentions of the States in connection with their principal grievances. I appeal to the British public and their leaders to give justice to us on such of the remaining points which may appear to them reasonable after a close examination in all their aspects.

Before I conclude I must bring to notice some of the grievances of the non-permanent States, as I am a representative member on behalf of some of them in the Chamber of Princes. There are two matters in which these States are principally concerned. The first is the need to revise the present constitution of the Chamber of Princes, and the second relates to the distinction drawn between the rights and powers of the permanent and non-permanent members of the Chamber of Princes. The Chamber of Princes at present consists of 120 members, of whom 108 are its permanent members, and 12 are elected as representative members triennially by grouped constituencies comprising 127 States in all. Some of the States admitted to the Chamber as permanent members are smaller in revenue, population, or area than many of the States which have only the right of electing representatives, and similarly there are others which possess sovereign powers inferior to those exercised by some of the States not given the right of permanent membership. These anomalies will have to be removed when the revision of the constitution is taken in hand. The need to revise the constitution has been urged by the Chamber itself, as will be seen from an important resolution passed in its session last year. Reference has also been made to this point in paragraph 16 of the Report of the Butler Committee and paragraph 234 of the Simon Report, vol. ii. An invidious distinction is drawn between the privileges of the permanent and non-permanent members. For instance, I may note the resolution regarding exemption of customs duties for the personal requirements of the rulers of States passed by the Chamber in its session in 1924. At present this important concession is enjoyed by ten rulers who possess dynastic salutes of nineteen guns and above. The Chamber by its resolution in 1924 recommended that this privilege should be extended to all the 108 permanent members of the Chamber. This resolution appears to have been approved by the Butler Committee in paragraph 88. The fallacy of this proposal is apparent when it is considered that the initial distinction between permanent and non-permanent members is itself open to objection. Another distinction is the non-eligibility of the representative members to be elected on the Standing Committee.

It is to points like these that attention will have to be paid when the details of any revised constitution are considered. My only object in citing this as an example is to show that there are points about the grievances of the non-permanent States which deserve the consideration of my brother Princes as well as the politically minded British public. These points have been brought to the notice of His Excellency Lord Irwin, who is well known for his sympathy, sincerity, broad-minded outlook, and goodwill towards the aspirations of the Princes and the people of India. I have full confidence that his statesmanship will lead to the

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smooth advance of India as a whole, with the support of all the political parties in this country.

The traditional loyalty of the Indian Princes to the British Crown and their attachment to the person of the King-Emperor is well known to the British people. Their desire to maintain the British connection unimpaired was clearly expressed in resolutions of the Chamber in the past two sessions. Their sympathies with the aspirations of British India on this basis are also well known. It only remains for me to appeal to the good sense and wise judgment of the British people to give a generous and dispassionate consideration to all the aspects of the present political situation of India and earn the everlasting gratitude of India by finding a satisfactory solution of the difficult problems that are before us. I take this opportunity of also appealing to my countrymen of all parties and shades of opinions to attend the Round Table Conference and place their views frankly before it. The sympathetic attitude of the Rt. Hon. the Secretary of State and of His Excellency Lord Irwin makes this a most propitious time for the purpose.

It will not be out of place to assure you that the ruling Princes are becoming more and more alive to the temper of the age, and are doing their best to improve the condition of their subjects and to run their administration on the lines followed in British India. It is, however, found that the resources of the States are insufficient to make it possible to assimilate all the modern improvements. This is an additional reason for giving a liberal share of the customs and other federal revenues to the States.

The Indian question is no doubt one of the most difficult issues before the British people, like the world problem of unemployment, which is also confronting the statesmen of this country as well. But has not Great Britain had to face even graver problems, as in the recent Great War? Has she not tackled them with the gifts of statesmanship that the various occasions demanded? Would it therefore be unreasonable to expect all the party leaders in this land to rise to the occasion and try to work out a satisfactory solution? I have seen indications of a conciliatory and sympathetic spirit in this country, and from what I have been able to mark especially in my personal touch with important personages here in the past two months, I am deeply impressed with the fact that the generality of your people of all shades of thought mean well and have an ardent desire to contribute to the orderly evolution of India. Here I must express my sincere thanks to His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, the beloved and popular Governor of Bombay, through whose kindness I have been able to gain valuable experience of public life in this country during my short stay here. I am also deeply indebted to the Right Hon. the Secretary of State for India and His Majesty's Government for the facilities given to me.

I am grateful to so many distinguished guests and friends and well-wishers who have kindly responded to my invitation and given me a patient hearing. I am also thankful to the President and Council of the East India Association, and especially to Mr. F. H. Brown, the enthusiastic

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honorary secretary, and his assistant, for the valuable help they so willingly gave me in arranging this reception at such short notice. I have ventured to utilize this occasion for ventilating my thoughts, for I think it would have been a dereliction of my duty towards the members of my Order and to the people of India if I had allowed the golden opportunity of my stay in London at a critical and most momentous juncture in the history of my country to pass in silence. Lastly, I repeat my fervent appeal for unity and statesmanlike breadth of vision. (Cheers.)

Sir LOUIS DANE said: In the unavoidable absence of our President, Lord Lamington, I have been asked to express to the Chief Saheb on behalf of the East India Association our most grateful thanks for his hospitality and for asking us here on such a pleasant occasion, and I do thank him most heartily for the compliment that he has paid to us in communicating to us the very thoughtful and comprehensive paper that you have heard him read. There can be no more important subject at present than the position of the Indian States in regard to the troublous times and the British association with India. In one sense of the word, at any rate, government by an Indian Chief depends not so much upon the peaceful submission of his subjects as upon their active merits.

The Chief Saheb in the course of his speech has pointed out the assistance which the Simon Commission and the Butler Committee have rendered to the Indian States. The Chiefs are human, after all, although they are very exalted persons, in asking for more than they have obtained.

As to any reasonable claims that they may make and any rights that they possess which have not been fully respected, they may be perfectly certain that Parliament and all the people of this country will seek to gratify their wishes if that is possible. I thank the Chief Saheb most heartily for his hospitality and for his valuable speech.

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THE SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

THE quickening of public interest in India noticed in the last Annual Report was more than maintained during the twelve months ended on April 30, 1930. Indeed, during the latter half of the period India occupied close and almost constant attention in the newspaper press. This was due in the first place to the Viceregal announcement on October 31 that the attainment of Dominion status is the natural issue of the declaration of British policy in 1917, and to the decision of the Cabinet to follow the publication of the report of the Simon Commission by a conference in London on the future constitution of India, between His Majesty's Government and representatives both of British India and of the Indian States. Unhappily, later in the year there was recurrence of the self-styled non-violent non-co-operation movement, which, as on a previous occasion, was followed by widespread unrest and great disorder in the towns and in many parts of the country.

Through this anxious period the Association has continued to discharge its function of obtaining and making available to the public authoritative information and views on various aspects of Indian administration, life and thought, and of providing an impartial platform for their discussion, all with a view to promoting the welfare of the country. It has thus rendered an important service to the wide circle of those who desire to be duly informed on Indian developments. Our proceedings have gained widespread publicity in the press both at home and in India, and there has been much demand for the full record of them in the pages of the *Asiatic Review* and the JOURNAL, which is a reprint for use in libraries and other institutions.

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Further, the lectures have been so well attended that the question of obtaining more accommodation than is available in any but the largest apartment of the Caxton Hall has engaged the attention of the Council. Suggestions were submitted for some plan by which the various societies existing for the study of Asiatic affairs might have a common place of meeting, and the Council was represented at a conference on the subject presided over by the Marquess of Zetland, the President of the Royal Asiatic Society. The project, however, was found to be unworkable, owing to formidable difficulties of location, finance, and apportionment of dates for the use of such a common centre.

In last year's Report it was stated that the number of new members elected, eighty-four, was higher than for many years past. It is satisfactory to note that in the year now closed the total, eighty-three, was almost equal to that figure, and also that the number of resignations has been remarkably small. The accessions, as will be seen on reference to Appendix B, include many, both Europeans and Indians, who have played, or are playing, an important part in the developing life of India, amongst them being heads of provinces, men of great territorial standing, members of Executive Councils, and Indians of the highest eminence in their respective fields. A gratifying feature is the steady growth in the number of lady members—a growth which may be said to reflect the increasing part played by the women of India in the public affairs of their own country.

The hand of death has not spared our ranks, for the Council has been called upon to record with regret the passing of two Vice-Presidents—the Right Hon. Sir J. West Ridgeway and the Maharaja of Darbhanga; and four members who were serving or had served on the Council—Sir A. T. Arundel, for many years Vice-Chairman of the Council; Sir Valentine Chirol, the distinguished author and former Foreign Director of the *Times*; Sir Herbert Holmwood, formerly a Judge of the Calcutta High Court; and

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Mr. J. C. Nicholson, a well-known manufacturer. We also lost the senior member of the Association in years, Colonel T. F. Dowden, who was born in the year of the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne. The loss by death and resignation was twenty-three members, leaving a net increase of sixty as compared with fifty-four and twenty-six in the two previous years respectively. We have the gratifying experience from time to time of members introducing their friends to our ranks.

It was fitting that in a period which saw the completion of the investigation of the Statutory Commission on the Indian Reforms attention should be paid to their results. The Association had the privilege of hearing the views of Lord Goschen on the working of the reforms in Madras, soon after his return to this country on completion of his tenure of the Governorship of the Presidency, and of the acting Viceroyalty. The great importance of the part of the inquiry relating to the growth of education, reported on by an Auxiliary Committee, under the chairmanship of Sir Philip Hartog, was reflected in the paper on the Secondary and Higher Education of Women in India read by Professor D. K. Karve, so widely known as the founder and guide of the University for Women at Poona. Another aspect of the educational problem, with more particular relation to the overcoming of mass illiteracy, was brought to the notice of the Association by Mr. Alma Latifi, I.C.S., in his advocacy of a national alphabet for India to replace the present multitude of scripts. Copies of the paper and the discussion were sent to the Army and Education Departments in India, and it is understood that the question thus raised has been under official consideration.

The reactions of political and constitutional affairs upon the economic position in India were noted in the lecture given by Mr. Kikabhai Premchand, M.L.A., the distinguished Bombay financier, during his presence in London as a member of the Central Committee which co-operated with the Simon Commission. The importance of the

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co-operative movement in the Indian village was set forth by Mr. C. F. Strickland, late Registrar of Co-operative Societies in the Punjab, in a paper which he entitled "What India Really Needs," and in which he had the support from the chair of Lord Linlithgow, who presided over the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India. The social aspects of the many-sided Indian problem were considered in a thoughtful paper by Mrs. L. A. Underhill (formerly Mrs. Starr of Peshawar) on "Women and New Movements in India," and a gratifying feature of the meeting was the number of Indian ladies participating in the discussion.

The aim of obtaining the services of the foremost authorities in their respective fields was notably fulfilled in the exposition of Indian railway development by Sir Clement Hindley, late Commissioner for Railways in India, under the chairmanship of Lord Reading, and of "Recent Developments in the Churches in India," by Bishop Palmer, who during his occupancy of the See of Bombay did so much to promote the autonomy now gained by the Church in India, Burma, and Ceylon, and to maintain and further the negotiations for Church union in South India. A welcome contribution to our records was the brilliant paper on "India and the United States," read by Mr. S. K. Ratcliffe, who undertakes a lecture tour in America each winter. Mr. Waris Ameer Ali, the bearer of a name honoured in our Association, also struck ground somewhat unfamiliar to us in his description of "The Fauna of India," and his cogent plea for more definite efforts for its preservation. Colonel W. G. Hamilton, late I.M.S., gave us the benefit of his long experience in jail administration in Bengal, where he was Inspector-General of Prisons, in a paper which showed him to be a consistent friend of prison reform.

It should be added that the normal day of meeting has been changed from Monday to Tuesday in the expectation that this may be a convenience to members who are away from London at the week-end.

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The promotion of social contact between the members continues to be the aim of the Council. It has been found to be more convenient to hold occasional lunches in place of the dinners experimentally held in the previous year. The luncheon at the Hotel Rubens on November 27 was well supported by members, and there were many indications of a desire for further occasional meetings of the kind. The Maharaja of Burdwan showed us gracious hospitality in entertaining the members to an afternoon reception to meet the President and members of the Council at the Caxton Hall on July 23. By an arrangement entered into with the British Indian Union, which exists entirely for social intercourse between the two peoples, its forthcoming functions are announced in our Proceedings, and our members are eligible to attend those functions on due notice being given to the Secretary of the Union. The Council welcomes this further means of social contact for our members, and is happy to co-operate with the Union in its beneficent aims.

In accordance with a decision announced in our last Report, the rooms of the Association have been cleaned and re-decorated, and furniture and other office requirements have been obtained, mainly from the donation of one hundred guineas given by H.H. the Maharaja of Patiala last year. The improvements, carried out during the summer holiday season, included the provision of a separate board room, which is used by the Hon. Secretary for interviews with members and other visitors. An inscribed clock and a hat-stand were presented by the I.C.S. (Retired) Association, and a revolving chair by Mr. Richter. Many of the old books in the library which had little or no relation to India, or were in a condition of much dilapidation, were disposed of. An effort is now being made to supplement the more prominent features of the library by the provision of current works of reference and reports in relation to India.

In this connection the Council acknowledges the supply

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of publications of various departments of Government, and also expresses its thanks to Lady Simon, Professor Rushbrook Williams, and others who have given copies of their books to the library. It is hoped that this example will be followed by other authors or members of the Association. The Council reports with gratitude the generous contribution of £100 made by one of the senior Vice-Presidents H.H. the Maharaja of Gondal, who has now ruled his people for more than half a century. This gift is the more appreciated since our capital assets have been somewhat reduced in the twelve months by the fall in value of Indian securities consequent upon the unrest in that country. Interest payments were, of course, unaffected.

The Marquess of Linlithgow and the Viscount Goschen have accepted invitations to become Vice-Presidents. Mr. S. N. Mallik resigned his seat on the Council on his return to India, after serving for three years as a member of the Council of the Secretary of State for India. His successor in that office, Sir Basanta Mullick, was co-opted to the Council, together with Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan (who succeeded Sir Muhammad Rafique as a member of the India Council), Sir James MacKenna, Lady Bennett, Sir Stephen Demetriadi, and Mr. John de La Valette. By an alteration made in Byelaw 1, the period of non-attendance at Council meetings disqualifying for membership, except with special leave of the Council, has been raised from six months to twelve months.

When Mr. Stanley Rice left at the close of 1927 for an appointment in India, it was understood that should he return within two years the question of his resumption of the Hon. Secretaryship would be considered. The period of leave having expired, the arrangements provisionally made for the Hon. Secretaryship were made permanent, and the Council placed on record its high appreciation of Mr. Rice's services.

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The following members of Council retire by rotation:

Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree.
Mr. J. B. Pennington.
Colonel Sir Charles E. Yate.
Sir Patrick J. Fagan.
Mr. F. H. Brown.

It is open to any member of the Association to propose a candidate for election to the Council on fifteen days' notice being given to the Hon. Secretary.

The Accounts show a balance at the bank of £200 3s. 0d., plus £100 the Maharaja of Gondal's contribution held on deposit account, comparing with £246 11s. 11d. last year.

The Association is the only organization in London existing exclusively for the open discussion of Indian problems in a non-partisan spirit, the only conditions of contribution to which are those of general acceptance of the British and Indian connection and recognition of the value of the close co-operation of the two countries. The Council looks for practical encouragement for its work of spreading knowledge of India both from her own people and from those who have served her and are desirous of promoting her progress. It seeks the support of a steadily increasing membership, not necessarily confined to those who have lived and served in the East.

Once again the Council places on record the thanks of the Association to Mr. F. H. Brown, Hon. Secretary, for his indefatigable zeal and ability in conducting the affairs of the Association.

(Signed) L. Dane,
Chairman of Council.
F. H. Brown,
Hon. Secretary.

May 20, 1930.

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Appendix A

The following Papers were read during the year:

1929

May 13.—"A National Script for India," by Alma Latifi, O.B.E., I.C.S. The Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

June 29.—"Indian Railway Developments," by Sir Clement Hindley, K.C.I.E. The Most Hon. the Marquess of Reading, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.C.V.O., in the chair.

July 8.—"Secondary and Higher Education of Women in India," by Professor D. K. Karve. Lady Simon in the chair.

July 31.—"The Economic Position in India," by Kikabhai Premchand, M.L.A. The Right Hon. the Earl Peel, G.B.E., in the chair.

October 21.—"India and the United States," by S. K. Ratcliffe. H. Wickham Steed in the chair.

November 11.—"The Fauna of India," by Waris Ameer Ali, I.C.S. (retd.). The Right Hon. Lord Lloyd, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., D.S.O., in the chair.

December 9.—"Women and New Movements in India," by Mrs. L. A. Underhill (formerly Mrs. Starr of Peshawar). Dr. Drummond Shiels, M.C., M.P., in the chair.

1930

January 20.—"The Working of the Reforms in Madras," by the Right Hon. Viscount Goschen, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.B.E. The Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.I.E., G.C.M.G., in the chair.

February 18.—"Some Recent Developments in the Churches in India," by the Right Rev. Bishop Palmer, D.D. The Right Hon. Sir Leslie Wilson, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., C.M.G., D.S.O., in the chair.

March 18.—"What India Really Needs," by C. F. Strickland, I.C.S. (retd.). The Most Hon. the Marquess of Linlithgow, K.T., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

April 8.—"Imprisonment and Detention in India," by Lieut.-Colonel W. G. Hamilton, I.M.S. (retd.). The Right Hon. the Earl of Lytton, P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., in the chair.

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THE ANNUAL MEETING

THE sixty-third Annual Meeting of the East India Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, S.W. 1, on Thursday, June 19, 1930, with the President, the Right Hon. Lord Lamington, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., in the chair, and the following members among others were present: The Right Hon. Lord Ampthill, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., General Sir Edmund Barrow, G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E., Sir Alfred Chatterton, C.I.E., Sir James Walker, K.C.I.E., and Lady Walker, Colonel Sir Malik Umar Hayat Khan, K.C.I.E., C.B.E., M.V.O., Sir James MacKenna, C.I.E., Sir Philip Hartog, K.B.E., C.I.E., Sir Basanta K. Mullick, Sir William Ovens Clark, Sir Charles Armstrong, Mr. A. L. Saunders, C.S.I., Mr. R. Littlehailes, C.I.E., Mr. Henry Marsh, C.I.E., and Miss Marsh, Mr. Alexander Porteous, C.I.E., Mr. J. A. Richey, C.I.E., and Mrs. Richey, Mr. Alexander Hayman Wilson, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. John de La Valette, Mr. H. R. H. Wilkinson, Mr. H. Hutchinson, O.B.E., Major G. W. Gilbertson, Mr. C. A. Silberrad, Mr. Altaf Husain, Mr. C. F. Strickland, Mr. E. Tydeman, Mr. T. A. H. Way, Mr. W. N. Delevinge, Mrs. Jackson, Mrs. Anstey, Mr. F. J. P. Richter, Mr. A. Sabonadière, Lieut.-Colonel D. Warliker, and Mr. F. H. Brown, C.I.E., Hon. Secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: I am glad to see such a goodly company assembled here this afternoon, and to see that so many have been prepared to forego the glories of Ascot in order to be present here to deal with the business of our Association. You have no doubt all had a copy of the Annual Report.

In the first place I should like to express my deep regret that Sir Louis Dane, owing to illness, is unable to be present this afternoon. It is a very great loss to us. Several other members of the Council, amongst them Sir Leslie Wilson, have written to express their regret that they cannot be with us.

As an Association we are in the happy position of being able to report steady and continued progress. Our membership is larger than any time since the early years of the Association, which was established in the late sixties of the last century, and is the oldest existing non-official organization in London for the promotion of the welfare of India. This is as it should be, for there was never a time since the formation of the Association when more interest was taken in India. It is a matter for congratulation that the demand for the Report of the Simon Commission has been so great as to constitute it a best seller in the history of Government papers relating to India. I trust that the interest that has been awakened in the affairs of India will be reflected in the further extension of our numbers, and therefore of our influence. After all, we set out to do that which has been sought in the first volume of the Simon Commission Report—namely, to present the facts in relation to India clearly and fairly, and to educate the public in this country thereon. Further, we indicate to

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members and other readers of our proceedings in India the currents of opinion and of informed ideas on this side. We can do this the better since we have an open platform, only stipulating the reasonable condition of contributions to our proceedings, as mentioned in the Report, that the value of the close co-operation of the two countries in working for the advancement of India should be recognized. The high standard of our lecture programme has been admirably sustained, and our meetings have been remarkably well attended. We are now approaching the commencement of the holiday season; but our fixture for the month of July is one which will be much appreciated both by our members and the general public. I refer to the lecture on the Report of the Simon Commission which the Marquis of Zetland is to give, not in this hall, but at the rooms of the Royal Society of Arts on July 10. That should be a very interesting lecture indeed, as the Marquis of Zetland returned from India only a few years ago; and you all know what wide views he has on Indian affairs, and how capable he is of forming a calm judgment and giving expression to his views. I am pleased to be able to report that the auditors, Mr. John de La Valette and Mr. G. M. Ryan, have sent in a report which is most satisfactory in respect to the financial position and administration of the Association. For one thing, at the time it was written, at the end of May, of members in this country only one non-student member was in arrear with his subscription. The auditors state that they found the accounts very well and accurately kept, and that the detailed schedules prepared by Mr. King greatly facilitated the checking of the various vouchers. Once again I beg to refer to the very valuable services which Mr. Brown has given to the conduct of our affairs. Our auditors close their report with congratulations to the Hon. Secretary upon the excellent manner in which the Association's finances have been administered.

I hope that members will take such opportunities as they have to explain to their friends the scope and purpose of our organization. Even now, though our proceedings are widely noticed in the Press, there are instances of some misunderstanding in this respect. In this connection I may quote a letter received a few days ago from a distinguished official in India. He wrote that he thought that the Association existed for the benefit of Anglo-Indians (old style) and Indians resident in England. He added: "But I see from copies of the ASIATIC REVIEW that the Association publishes the addresses which are delivered to the members and accounts of the discussions which take place at the meetings. I have found these very interesting, and as they are sent to members of the Association I should like to join."

We welcome with us today Lord Ampthill, who has been a member and a Vice-President of this Association for many years past, in fact joining soon after his return from the Governorship of Madras. He has kindly consented to propose the adoption of the Report. It will be seconded by our Hon. Solicitor, Mr. A. H. Wilson, to whom the Association is indebted for valuable advice over a long period of years. I think that I am right in

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saying that in him we have a direct link with the early days of the Association, for his uncle, Mr. Thomas Luxmore Wilson, was one of its founders and its first Hon. Solicitor. We all know that the family connection with India goes back to the very early years of the nineteenth century, for his grandfather was Horace Hayman Wilson, the great Sanskrit scholar. (Applause.)

Lord AMPTHILL: In obedience to your request I rise to move the reception and adoption of this Report. It seems to me that it is not necessary to say much in doing so, for the Report speaks for itself. I have read it with care and great satisfaction, and I hope all those here present have done the same, because it is a record couched in modest terms of admirably varied and comprehensive activities. It is a matter for the greatest satisfaction in these difficult and anxious times when all of us have our thoughts turned towards India, that this Association of ours should be more flourishing and growing stronger than it has for many years past. I think one may hope that the services which the Association will render will be more valuable than ever in the months and the years that are to come. I say years, because months count as nothing in the development and evolution of political affairs.

Mr. ALEXANDER HAYMAN WILSON: It is a great pleasure and privilege to me to be allowed to second this Report this afternoon. I should like to thank Lord Lamington for his kind reference to my grandfather who spent his life in the service of India.

I know it was a great pleasure to my uncle, Mr. Thomas Luxmore Wilson, to be associated with the founding of this Association very many years ago. He was always very greatly interested in the work of the Association, and in the forty-five years which I have had the pleasure of carrying out my duties with the Association since his death, it has always been a great pleasure to look back upon the time I have had with it. I am able to recall all the Secretaries of the Association who have acted during that period, Mr. Hamilton Burn, Mr. Arathoon, Dr. John Pollen, and Mr. Stanley Rice, and, of course, our present able and energetic Mr. F. H. Brown. (Applause.)

I do not think there is anything that I need add in support of the resolution. I second this Report which is before you. The Association is evidently alive, and I feel sure that in the policy it is adopting of free and fair discussion of the important questions that come before it the Association is performing a real service to India.

The CHAIRMAN: Would any lady or gentleman like to ask any question bearing upon this resolution?

Mr. ALTAF HUSAIN: If the Chairman would allow me I would like to say a word or two. We all know what admirable work the Association is doing in the matter of explaining and bringing to the notice of the general public here, and especially the members of this Association, the current problems of India today in all their various aspects. That is all to the good, but I should like to suggest that the time has arrived when it is advisable to set up in association with it a sort of social circle. We have

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our meetings here when papers are read, and we listen to them with great attention and admiration. Certain questions are put and answered. That greatly clarifies the difficult questions that are put before the public, but at the same time I believe the creation of a social circle would be an additional advantage in carrying out the object of the Association—namely, the promotion of the welfare and general interests of India.

The CHAIRMAN: The matter will be fully considered by the Council. If you will look at page 5 of the Annual Report, you will see that we have entered into an arrangement with the British Indian Union, which exists entirely for the purpose of promoting social intercourse between the people of this country and of India.

Lord AMPTHILL: I understand that one of the ideas of your Council is to develop the plan of luncheon parties.

The CHAIRMAN: Yes, they have been a great success.

Mr. ALTAF HUSAIN: No doubt the luncheon parties which have been suggested are a move in the right direction, but I should like to say that luncheon parties have a sort of detached air about them. We sit there at tables, and in many cases we do not know all the gentlemen who are around us at the same table, and the atmosphere is not quite free. What I meant by a social circle is that we could at convenient intervals arrange to have a few guests at a certain hotel, or at any other place convenient to us, or at our own houses, and have full and free discussion upon matters that interest us mutually.

The CHAIRMAN: On behalf of the Council I desire to thank Mr. Altaf Husain for his suggestion, which no doubt will be fully and properly dealt with in due course.

The resolution was put to the meeting and carried unanimously.

Sir AMBERSON MARTEN: I have great pleasure in proposing the re-election of Lord Lamington as President of our Association. (Applause.) His work for and interest in the Association is so well known to all of you that it is quite unnecessary for me to labour it in any detail; but I would remind you of this, that Lord Lamington must be one of our senior ex-Governors, and, further, I should like to draw your attention to the fact that he has kept up his interest with India all these years down to the present time. When we see these rapid changes, with all respect to Lord Ampthill, even in weeks and days, I think it is really important that our President should keep in touch with the present generation in India as they come over from India. We in Bombay have been extremely glad to see Lord Lamington, right down even to the last Bombay Dinner, coming there and presiding or taking a prominent part, and also making or renewing acquaintance with those who are actually working in India at the present time. In Lord Lamington we have the combination of great experience and keen interest which is steadily maintained, and I do not think we could have better qualifications for the President of this Association.

Sir CHARLES ARMSTRONG: Ladies and gentlemen, I have very much pleasure in seconding the resolution. We are very greatly indebted to Lord Lamington for the interest he has always taken in our Association.

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The resolution was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN: I beg to thank you for the very kind way in which you have proposed that I should be re-elected as your President. I say quite frankly that I do not think it is desirable for anybody to hold such a position too long, particularly as one grows older. Therefore if you wish to get another President I shall quite understand, and I think you will be right, and that it will be correct conduct on your part. Since my term in Bombay I have been President or Chairman of the Association. That is a good number of years now, and I am very pleased to be in any way connected with the affairs of India. I love Bombay and the Indian people. Nobody realizes more than I do the vital importance to the welfare of both the people of India and of this country of their working together in harmony. Therefore I am very proud indeed that you should re-elect me as your President. I often feel that I am rather a defaulter, and that I ought to be more frequently at your meetings. I can only repeat my assurance that I would gladly retire, and willingly retire, if your affairs can be better looked after by a younger person than myself. Meanwhile I thank you for what I regard as a vote of confidence, and also for the kind words that have been spoken of me.

Mr. A. L. SAUNDERS: I rise to propose the election of members of the Council, one lady and five gentlemen, whose names are before you, having been co-opted by the Council. There are six vacancies altogether. The names proposed are: Sir Basanta Kumar Mullick, Colonel Nawab Sir Umar Hayat Khan, Sir James MacKenna, Lady Bennett, Sir Stephen Demetriadi, and Mr. John de La Valette. It is not often that one is called upon to propose such a distinguished list, and I think you will agree that they represent distinction in every field of social and political life, and the Council will be greatly strengthened by their inclusion. (Applause.)

Major GILBERTSON: It falls to me to second that resolution, and I do it with the greatest of pleasure.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Sir JAMES MCKENNA: I beg to propose the re-election of retiring members of the Council. They are: Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Sir Patrick J. Fagan, and Mr. F. H. Brown.

Mr. SILBERRARD: I beg to second the proposition that the gentlemen whose names have been announced be re-elected members of the Council

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Sir MANCHERJEE BHOWNAGGREE: I have much pleasure in proposing the election of members of this Association: Mr. F. W. Woods, Sir James Fletcher Simpson, Mr. James Hamilton Lindsay, and Sir Richard Burn. They are all worthy gentlemen, and likely to render very good service to the Association in their capacity as members.

As you have been pleased to ask me to get on my legs, may I add my testimony to what has been expressed by a more venerable and more experienced member of this Association than myself by saying that I also have had experience of a great many secretaries of this Association from the time of Mr. Arathoon, whom my friend has named. All those

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gentlemen had certain good qualifications for their post, and did us very valuable service, but I think this Association has reason to specially congratulate itself at the present moment on having in Mr. Brown a Secretary who combines in one person many of those qualities. We have seen the Association in the course of two years rise to a state of activity and prominence and notice in the public Press which I do not think it has enjoyed before. I think it is due to the present Secretary that ample testimony should be borne to the work that he is doing. He has made the Association "hum" as regards Indian matters, and it is right that an Association like this should make its views felt at the present moment before the English public. (Applause.)

Mr. T. A. H. Way: I have much pleasure in seconding the motion that the gentlemen referred to be elected members of this Association. I note with satisfaction that the list includes the name of Sir Richard Burn, who is a very distinguished member of the Civil Service in the Province in which I served. I am sure he will, in common with the other three gentlemen, be a great acquisition to the Association.

The resolution was carried unanimously, and the meeting closed.

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THE POLITICAL EVOLUTION OF INDIA: LANDMARKS OF A CENTURY

By F. H. Brown, C.I.E.

For the convenience of students of the Indian political problem, and especially of those who are called upon to speak or write on current events, a chronological epitome showing the political advance of India during the past century has been prepared, in consultation with several well-known students of modern Indian history.

The chronology requires a few words of introduction to indicate the stages by which Parliament first undertook responsibility for the good government of India, with the recognition that the welfare and progress of the people must be the primary consideration. The East India Company received the grant of the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa from the Mogul King Shah Alam on August 12, 1765. Within two years of this acquisition of territorial authority, Parliament passed an Act regulating the maximum percentage of dividends, and requiring the Company, in consideration of holding territorial revenues for two years, to pay annually £400,000 into the public exchequer. The dual system of administration in the three provinces was unsatisfactory, and on August 28, 1771, the Directors declared their intention "to stand forth as Diwan, and by the agency of the Company's servants to take upon themselves the entire care and management of the revenues."

In the same year the Court of Directors promoted a Bill for the better regulating of their servants and for improving the administration of justice. The result was the passing of the Regulating Act of 1774, which further limited the authority of the Company by the creation of a Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal with four Councillors, and possessing certain powers over the other Presidencies. The first incumbents were named in the Act and their successors were to be appointed by the Company, subject to the approbation of the Crown. The Act further provided for the establishment of a High Court of Justice at Calcutta, consisting of a Chief Justice and four other Judges.

These were the early stages in a readjustment of outlook which a century ago had gained widespread acceptance. In the words of one careful student, British India "was no

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longer regarded as a huge property acquired by, or to be administered for the sole benefit of, the British people; but as a trust to be exercised for the benefit of the Indian peoples themselves" ("The Making of British India," p. 15, by Ramsay Muir. 1915).

1833

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF PARLIAMENT ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY. The Report laid down as an indisputable principle "that the interests of the native population are to be consulted in preference to those of Europeans whenever the two come into competition." It stated that Indians were only employed in subordinate situations, and urged that to the largest possible extent they should have a share in the administrative and executive work of Government.

THE INDIA ACT OF 1833, on the recommendation of the Committee, renewed the Charter of the East India Company, on condition that it ceased to engage in trade and became an agency performing its duties "in trust for His Majesty, His heirs and successors, for the service of the Government of India." The Act recognized the recently established supremacy of the British power and the measure of unity reached in India by changing the designation of the Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal to that of the Governor-General of India. Adding a Legal Member to the Council of the Governor-General, it imposed upon him the special obligation of codifying the Indian laws with due regard "to the rights, feelings and peculiar usages of the people." The Act laid down as a fundamental principle that no native of India or other subject of the British Sovereign should be debarred by race, colour, or religion from holding any office whatsoever under the British Raj, and it made provision for the proper training and testing of Civil Servants.

1835

MINUTE BY T. B. (afterwards Lord) MACAULAY (the Legal Member) ON THE QUESTION OF ENGLISH VERSUS ARABIC AND SANSKRIT AS A VEHICLE FOR TEACHING. After long discussion the arguments of this famous document prevailed. It was decided that English should be the chief medium of instruction, and Western science and literature the chief subjects of study, in the State system of education.

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1848-1856

LORD DALHOUSIE, GOVERNOR-GENERAL, UNDERTOOK CAMPAIGNS IN THE PUNJAB AND IN BURMA ending in large extensions of British India ; while Nagpur, Oudh and other kingdoms came under British rule. He applied to a number of smaller States "doctrine of lapse," under which the direct lineal heirs of Rulers on the throne were permitted to succeed, but adopted sons were disregarded. Great discontent and uneasiness resulted.

1857-1858

THE INDIAN MUTINY. This great crisis, which retarded for years the process of nation-building, arose from a variety of causes. Sir William Hunter, the foremost Indian Civil Service historian of his time, attributes it in no small degree to the annexation policy of Lord Dalhousie. The Bengal sepoys, largely recruited from Oudh,

> "regarded our reforms on Western lines as a tax on their own nationality, and they knew at first hand what annexation meant. . . . The numerous dethroned Princes, or their heirs or widows, were the first to learn and take advantage of this spirit of disaffection" (Sir W. W. Hunter's "The Indian Empire," 1893).

It should be added that the ruling Princes rallied strongly to the aid of the British Crown, which they assisted both with troops and with money. To their chivalrous protection many British men, women and children owed their lives.

1858

TRANSFER OF THE ADMINISTRATION FROM THE EAST INDIA COMPANY TO THE CROWN, AND QUEEN VICTORIA'S PROCLAMATION. The Proclamation announced the following decisions :

> "To take upon ourselves the government of the territories in India heretofore administered in trust for us by the Honourable East India Company and . . .
>
> "that all Treaties and Engagements made with them [the Native Princes of India] by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by us accepted, and will be scrupulously maintained ; and we look for the like observance on their part.
>
> "We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions ; and while we will permit no aggression upon our dominions, or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachment on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as our own ; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government.
>
> "We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their

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religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure.

"And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge."

The Act of 1858, which remained the substantive law for more than sixty years, abolished the Company and provided for a Secretary of State with an India Council to take the place of the President of the Board of Control on the one hand and the Board of Directors on the other. It enacted that "all Acts and provisions now in force under charter or otherwise concerning India shall continue in force," and that all treaties made by the Company should be binding on Her Majesty.

1861

THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT modified the constitution of the Governor-General's Executive Council and remodelled the Indian Legislatures. For purposes of legislation the Governor-General's Council was reinforced by additional members not less than six nor more than twelve in number, nominated by the Governor-General and holding office for two years. The power of legislation taken away from the Governments of Madras and Bombay by the Charter Act of 1833 was restored on similar lines. The Governor-General was directed to establish a legislative council for Bengal and empowered to establish similar councils for the North-West (now the United) Provinces and the Punjab.

1870

LORD MAYO'S RESOLUTION, providing for the decentralization of provincial finance (see Simon Report, Vol. I., p. 299).

1881

RENDITION OF MYSORE, after fifty years' administration by the British, on behalf of the Hindu reigning family.

1880-1884

LORD RIPON'S VICEROYALTY. A resolution for the extension and development of local autonomy was issued in 1882 (see Simon Report, Vol. I., p. 392) and the resulting Act was officially declared to be an instalment designed to prepare the way for extended self-government.

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The early eighties were marked by a great advance of Liberalism in England and India, with a growth of national self-consciousness in the latter and consequent increase in race feeling. A measure which became known as the Ilbert Bill, to equalize jurisdiction over Europeans and Indians, was met by an outburst in the European community, the Viceroy being personally threatened. Indianization of Government appointments was carried much further than before; there was a sensation when a Bengali officiated as Chief Justice of Bengal. Generally there was a revived interest in Indian thought, literature, early history, and art. When Lord Ripon left India there were great scenes of enthusiastic gratitude, especially in Bombay.

1885

FORMATION OF INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS. The Indian National Congress held its first annual session at Bombay on December 28, 1885. Its chief promoter was the late Mr. A. O. Hume (1829-1912), a distinguished member of the I.C.S., who acted for several years as general secretary. The Congress was at first thoroughly loyal to the British Crown, and convinced that India for its own sake must remain within the British Empire. It worked for the reform and extension of the legislatures and for the increasing association of Indians in the machinery of government.

1892

THE INDIAN COUNCILS ACT was passed, authorizing an increase in the number of the members of the Indian Legislatures, central and provincial, relaxing restrictions upon their proceedings, and introducing the important principle of the nomination of members representing Indian interests on the recommendation of specified electorates.

1899-1905

LORD CURZON'S VICEROYALTY. Many valuable administrative reforms were introduced, but the method adopted of partitioning the unwieldy Presidency of Bengal led to a rise in political temperature. The creation of the new province of Eastern Bengal and Assam was welcomed by the Muhammadans, but was bitterly opposed by the Hindus of Bengal, whose grievances in respect thereto were taken up throughout the country. It was from this time that revolutionary activity became endemic on a small scale in Bengal.

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1906

DISCUSSION OF FURTHER CONSTITUTIONAL REFORMS. A deputation of the Muhammadan community, headed by H.H. the Aga Khan, waited upon Lord Minto, claiming that their position should be estimated not only in accordance with their numerical strength, but also in respect of their political importance. Lord Minto accepted the principle; and his Council proposed the reservation of seats to be filled by election from separate Muhammadan electorates.

1907

IN THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS serious differences had arisen between Moderates and Extremists. At the Surat meeting in December after scenes of disorder the Extremists left the Congress, but a few years later gained complete control.

1908

PROCLAMATION OF KING EDWARD TO THE PRINCES AND PEOPLES OF INDIA in celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the transfer of the administration to the Crown. The following extracts may be given :

> "The rights and privileges of the Feudatory Princes and Ruling Chiefs have been respected, preserved and guarded; and the loyalty of their allegiance has been unswerving.
>
> "From the first, the principle of representative institutions began to be gradually introduced, and the time has come when, in the judgment of my Viceroy and Governor-General and others of my counsellors, that principle may be prudently extended. Important classes among you, representing ideas that have been fostered and encouraged by British rule, claim equality of citizenship, and a greater share in legislation and government. The politic satisfaction of such a claim will strengthen, not impair, existing authority and power. Administration will be all the more efficient if the officers who conduct it have greater opportunities of regular contact with those whom it affects, and with those who influence and reflect common opinion about it. I will not speak of the measures that are now being diligently framed for these objects. They will speedily be made known to you, and will, I am very confident, mark a notable stage in the beneficent progress of your affairs."

LORD MORLEY (SECRETARY OF STATE) accepted the principle of securing adequate Muhammadan representation, but queried the necessity for separate electorates. A Muhammadan deputation waited upon Lord Morley, pressing for separate electorates, and the system was adopted.

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1909

INDIAN COUNCILS ACT passed. The Legislative Councils were greatly enlarged and their functions extended. The system of direct election of members was introduced, and non-official majorities were established in the Provincial Councils. The character and reception of the Morley-Minto Reforms, as they were termed, are thus described in the Montagu-Chelmsford Report (1918):

> "The Morley-Minto reforms were essentially of an evolutionary character; they were a natural extension of the previously existing system.
>
> "Excessive claims were made for them in the enthusiasm of the moment, but in any case they cannot justly be described as embodying any new policy. The change was one of degree, and not of kind. Lord Morley himself emphatically repudiated the idea that the measures were in any sense a step towards parliamentary government. They were based on the fundamental principle that the executive government should retain the final decision of all questions, although some degree of popular control over legislation was established in the provinces by providing small non-official majorities."

1910

KING GEORGE'S MESSAGE (MAY 24) to the Princes and Peoples of India on his Accession. Extract:

> "Queen Victoria, of revered memory, addressed her Indian subjects and the heads of Feudatory States when she assumed the direct government in 1858; and her august son, my father, of honoured and beloved name, commemorated the same most notable event in his address to you some fifty years later. These are the charters of the noble and benignant spirit of Imperial rule, and by that spirit in all my time I will faithfully abide."

1911

VISIT OF THE KING-EMPEROR AND QUEEN-EMPRESS TO INDIA for the Coronation Durbar held at Delhi on December 12. In the course of his speech His Majesty said that he had revisited India to announce in person his Coronation "with solemn form and ancient ceremony."

> "By my presence with the Queen-Empress I am also anxious to show our affection for the loyal Princes and faithful Peoples of India, and how dear to our hearts is the welfare and happiness of the Indian Empire. . . .
>
> "Finally, I rejoice to have this opportunity of renewing in my own person those assurances which have been given you by my revered predecessors of the maintenance of your rights and privileges and of my earnest concern for your welfare, peace and contentment."

After the Viceroy (Lord Hardinge) had announced a number of Imperial boons, the King-Emperor made the historic statement that on the advice of his Ministers it had

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been decided to transfer the winter seat of the Government of India from Calcutta to Delhi, and simultaneously to create a Governorship for the Presidency of Bengal, a new Lieutenant-Governorship in Council for Bihar, Chota Nagpur and Orissa, and a Chief Commissionership of Assam.

1912

These changes, involving the abandonment of Lord Curzon's scheme of partition, took effect on April 1. They were welcomed by the Bengalis, but the Muhammadans were greatly disappointed at the disappearance of the province of Eastern Bengal and Assam, in which they were a large majority of the population.

1914-1918

THE GREAT WAR. Despatch of Indian troops to join the British Expeditionary Forces on the Western Front. The following are extracts from a telegram to the Secretary of State from Lord Hardinge, dated September 7, 1914.

> "Following is a summary of offers of service, money, etc., made in India to the Viceroy. The Rulers of the Native States in India, who number nearly seven hundred in all, have with one accord rallied to the defence of the Empire and offered their personal services and the resources of their States for the war.
>
> "The same spirit has prevailed throughout British India. Hundreds of telegrams and letters have been received by the Viceroy expressing loyalty and desire to serve Government either in the field or by co-operation in India. Many hundreds have also been received by local administrations. They come from communities and associations, religious, political, and social, of all classes and creeds, also from individuals offering their resources or asking for opportunity to prove loyalty by personal service."

India sent overseas a total of all ranks, British and Indian, of close upon 1,340,000, of whom 475,000 were non-combatant Indians. The Punjab districts and States contributed an overwhelming proportion of the fighting men. India also furnished vast supplies of food and raw material. The additional cost of Indian troops on field service was borne by the British Exchequer, but India contributed £100,000,000 as a special contribution towards the expenses of the War ("India's Contribution to the Great War," Government of India Press, 1923).

1917

HISTORIC ANNOUNCEMENT OF BRITISH POLICY made August 20 by Mr. Montagu, Secretary of State for India, in the House of Commons:

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"The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire."

(The qualifications with which the announcement was accompanied were incorporated in the preamble to the Act of 1919. See below.)

1918

RESOLUTION OF THE IMPERIAL WAR CONFERENCE. The principal clause ran as follows:

"It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other communities."

PUBLICATION OF THE MONTAGU-CHELMSFORD REPORT, in April, under the title of "Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms" (Cd. 9109, 1s. 3d.). The Report, drawn up by the Secretary of State for India and the Viceroy, provided the basis for the draft of the Government of India Bill. The authors described the scheme as affording to Indians

"a fair share in the government of the entire country, while providing in the provinces the means for them to attain the stage of responsibility for government to which the beginning of responsibility for the Government of India itself must be the sequel."

Their conception of the eventual future of India was

"a sisterhood of States, self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest, in some cases corresponding to existing provinces, in others perhaps modified in area according to the character and economic interests of their people. Over this congeries of States would preside a Central Government, increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters, both internal and external, of common interest to the whole of India; acting as arbiter in inter-state relations, and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire. In this picture there is a place also for the Native States. It is possible that they too will wish to be associated for certain purposes with the organization of British India, in such a way as to dedicate their peculiar qualities to the common service, without loss of individuality."

1919

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA BILL, based on the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, was read a second time in the House of Commons on June 5, and referred to a Joint Select Committee of both Houses on July 3. The Committee, under the Chairmanship of Lord Selborne, took evidence

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and reported in November, 1919. The Government of India Act received the Royal Assent on December 23. The Preamble (which is not repeated in the consolidated Act, and therefore is not readily accessible to students) laid down the following provisos in respect to the policy announced on August 20, 1917 (*supra*):

> "And whereas progress in giving effect to this policy can only be achieved by successive stages, and it is expedient that substantial steps in this direction should now be taken:
>
> "And whereas the time and manner of each advance can be determined only by Parliament, upon whom responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples:
>
> "And whereas the action of Parliament in such matters must be guided by the co-operation received from those on whom new opportunities of service will be conferred, and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility:
>
> "And whereas concurrently with the gradual development of self-governing institutions in the provinces of India it is expedient to give to those provinces in provincial matters the largest measure of independence of the Government of India which is compatible with the due discharge by the latter of its own responsibilities. . . ."

KING GEORGE'S PROCLAMATION ON THE PASSING OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA ACT. Extracts:

> "The Act which has now become law entrusts the elected representatives of the people with a definite share in the Government and points the way to full responsible government hereafter."
>
> "I take the occasion again to assure the Princes of India of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired their privileges, rights, and dignities."

1919-20

PREPARATION OF THE REFORMS. The Act of 1919 left many provisions to be carried out by means of statutory rule. These were framed during 1920 in the light of proposals made by the Franchise Committee under Lord Southborough and of the Financial Relations Committee under Lord Meston. The latter proposed a scheme of financial adjustment between the Central and Provincial Governments which sought to give the former necessary funds by means of provincial contributions. The draft rules were considered by a Joint Select Committee which reported during the summer. The rules were issued early in 1921 (4s. 6d. net).

Meanwhile the internal condition of India was disturbed. Strong exception had been taken to the passage through the Viceroy's Legislature in 1919 of the Rowlatt Acts, designed to give Government power to deal with revolutionary activities, on the recommendation of a Committee under Mr. Justice Rowlatt. Much bitterness was aroused

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when the details became known of the shooting, by order of Brigadier-General R. E. Dyer, at Jallianwala Bagh, Amritsar, on April 13, 1919, in the course of the suppression of the serious Punjab disturbances. Mr. Gandhi instituted his passive resistance campaign in the spring of 1919, and when the reforms were introduced it had gained a strong hold upon many sections of opinion. Mr. Gandhi recommended the complete boycott of the reforms, and he secured the support of the Indian National Congress at the Nagpur session in December, 1920.

1921

THE REFORMED CONSTITUTION took effect on January 1, and H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught visited India to inaugurate the bi-cameral Indian Legislature at Delhi and the Chamber of Princes. The latter was created by Royal Proclamation on February 8, in accordance with the recommendation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report. Although the Chamber is purely consultative in its functions, its creation marked the end of the century-old policy initiated by the East India Company of keeping each State in isolation, and jealously refusing to permit consultation between them. There are 108 members in their own right and 12 representative members (representing 127 States). The official handbook of the Chamber gives the following account of its chief functions:

> "(i.) To initiate in accordance with the Rules of Business proposals, and to make recommendations relating to the preservation and maintenance of Treaties, and of the rights and interests, dignities and powers, privileges and prerogatives of the Princes and Chiefs, their States and the members of their families."
>
> "(ii.) To discuss and make representations upon matters of Imperial or common concern, and subjects referred to the Chamber for consideration by the Viceroy."

Special Provisos:

> "Treaties and internal affairs of individual States, rights and interests, dignities and powers, privileges and prerogatives of individual Princes and Chiefs, their States and the members of their families, and the actions of individual Rulers shall not be discussed in the Chamber.
>
> "The institution of the Chamber shall not prejudice in any way the engagements or the relations of any State with the Viceroy or Governor-General (including the right of direct correspondence), nor shall any recommendation of the Chamber in any way prejudice the rights or restrict the freedom of action of any State."

THE KING-EMPEROR'S MESSAGE to the Rulers of the Indian States, read at the opening of the Chamber, stated *inter alia* that His Majesty entertained:

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"the confident hope that the united counsels of the Princes and Rulers, assembled in formal conclave, will be fruitful of lasting good both to themselves and their subjects, and by advancing the interests that are common to their territories and to British India, will benefit my Empire as a whole.

"The problems of the future must be faced in a spirit of co-operation and mutual trust. It is in this spirit that I summon the Princes of India to a larger share in my Councils. I do so in full reliance upon their devotion to my Throne and Person, proved as it has been both in long years of peace and in the terrible ordeal of the Great War, and in the confident anticipation that by this means the bonds of mutual understanding will be strengthened and the growing identity of interest between the Indian States, and the rest of my Empire will be fostered and developed."

"In my former Proclamation I repeated the assurance given on many occasions by my Royal predecessors and myself, of my determination ever to maintain unimpaired the privileges, rights and dignities of the Princes of India. The Princes may rest assured that this pledge remains inviolate and inviolable."

H.R.H. THE DUKE OF CONNAUGHT INAUGURATED THE NEW BI-CAMERAL INDIAN LEGISLATURE on February 9, and reviewed the implications of the new order:

"It is the clear intention of the Act of 1919 that the policy and decisions of the Government of India should be influenced to an extent incomparably greater than they have been in the past by the views of the Indian Legislature; and the Government will give the fullest possible effect, consistent with their own responsibilities to Parliament, to this principle of the new constitution. From now onwards your influence will extend to every sphere of the central government. It will be felt in every part of its administration. You are concerned, not with one province, but with all British India, and statesmanship could not ask for a nobler field of exercise. Upon the manner in which your influence is exerted, upon the wisdom and foresight displayed in your deliberations, upon the spirit in which you approach your great task, will depend the progress of India towards the goal of complete self-government.

"I repudiate in the most emphatic manner the idea that the administration of India has been or ever can be based on principles of force or terrorism. All Governments are liable to be confronted with situations which can be dealt with only by measures outside the ordinary law; but the employment of such measures is subject to clear and definite limitations; and His Majesty's Government have always insisted and will always insist on the observance of these limitations as jealously in the case of India as in that of England herself."

H.R.H. the Duke of Connaught read a message from the King-Emperor, which stated *inter alia*:

"For years, it may be for generations, patriotic and loyal Indians have dreamed of Swaraj for their motherland. Today you have the beginnings of Swaraj within my Empire, and the widest scope and ample opportunity for progress to the liberty which my other Dominions enjoy."

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The Instrument of Instructions from the King-Emperor to the Governor-General of India was revised. The revision was issued on March 15, 1921, and shortly afterwards made public. The concluding instruction read as follows:

> "(ix.) For above all things it is our will and pleasure that the plans laid by our Parliament for the progressive realization of responsible government in British India as an integral part of our Empire may come to fruition, to the end that British India may attain its due place among our Dominions. Therefore we now charge our said Governor-General by the means aforesaid and by all other means which may to him seem fit to guide the course of our subjects in India, whose governance we have committed to his charge, so that, subject on the one hand always to the determination of our Parliament, and on the other hand to the co-operation of those on whom new opportunities of service have been conferred, progress toward such realization may ever advance to the benefit of all our subjects in India."

1924

Reforms Committee. The Government of India, in response to resolutions passed by the Legislative Assembly, set up a committee under the chairmanship of the late Sir Alexander Muddiman to enquire into the difficulties arising from, or defects inherent in, the working of the Act of 1919 and the rules thereunder. The majority of the committee held themselves restricted from recommending any remedies not consistent with the general features of the Act, though in some respects their proposals would necessitate its amendment. The minority urged that the opportunity should be taken to put the constitution on a permanent basis with provisions for automatic progress in the future, so as to secure stability in the Government and the willing co-operation of the people. The Report was presented to Parliament in March, 1925. (Cmd. 2360, 1s. 4d.)

1927

Announcement in Parliament and by the Viceroy on November 8 of the Appointment of a Commission on Indian Reforms two years earlier than was provided for under the Act of 1919, which set forth that at the expiration of ten years a Commission should enquire into the working of the reforms with a view of determining whether the degree of responsible government then existing should be extended, modified, or restricted. Sir John Simon was appointed chairman, and with his six colleagues represented both Houses and the three parties in the State. Vehement exception was taken in Indian political circles to the exclu-

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sively Parliamentary composition of the Commission, and the consequent absence of Indian membership. Large sections of political opinion, including the Congress Party and the Liberals, boycotted the Commission.

The hostility was only partially mitigated by the decision made on the suggestion of Sir John Simon a few months later, for co-operation by means of a "Joint Free Conference" of the Commission with a corresponding body of representatives of the two Houses of the Indian Legislature. For the tour of the provinces each local Legislative Council was given an opportunity to constitute a similar body. The Council of State and the Provincial Legislatures, excepting that of the Central Provinces, appointed committees, but the Legislative Assembly refused to do so by a majority of six. The Indian Central Committee, presided over by Sir Sankaran Nair, consisted of three members elected by the Council of State and six chosen by the Viceroy, mainly from members of the Assembly favouring co-operation.

The Indian Princes at a conference with the Viceroy at Simla in May asked for the appointment of an authoritative commission to enquire into certain grievances. On December 16 it was announced that the Secretary of State had appointed a small committee under the chairmanship of Sir Harcourt Butler to report upon the relationship between the paramount Power and the Indian States and to enquire into the financial and economic relations between India and the States.

1928

THE NEHRU REPORT was issued in August. What was termed an All Parties Conference, meeting in Bombay in May, had directed a committee, presided over by Pandid Motilal Nehru, to draft a constitution for India. The Report outlined a scheme of full Dominion status, which was adopted at another conference at Lucknow early in September, subject to some revision, and with the proviso that it was not to be held to restrict "the liberty of action of those political parties whose goal is complete independence."

The National Congress, meeting at Calcutta in December, resolved on the motion of Mr. Gandhi that if by the end of 1929 the British Government had not accepted the constitution drafted by the Nehru committee in its entirety, the Congress would organize a non-co-operation movement, to include the non-payment of taxes.

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The All India Moslem Conference, under the chairmanship of H.H. the Aga Khan, opened at Delhi on December 31, and passed a reasoned resolution recommending a federal constitution, demanding the maintenance of separate Moslem electorates for, and reservations of seats in, legislative and local bodies, and safeguards against communal legislation and unfavourable amendment of the constitution.

1929

THE CHAMBER OF PRINCES, assembled at Delhi on February 13, unanimously resolved that in view of recent pronouncements of a section of British Indian politicians indicative of a drift toward complete independence, the Princes could not assent to any proposals having for their object the adjustment of equitable relations between the Indian States and British India unless such proposals proceeded upon the initial basis of the British connection.

THE REPORT OF THE INDIAN STATES COMMITTEE was presented to Parliament in March (Cmd. 3302, 1s. 6d. net). The principal findings were:

> "1. That the relationship is between the Crown and the States.
>
> "2. That each State has separate relations with the Crown based on treaties and agreements, which are to be read separately and not construed as a whole, and which are binding on the Crown as on each State.
>
> "3. That the Crown has no right, without the consent of the State concerned, to divest itself of, or to transfer to any future Government of India responsible to a popular legislature, any of its rights or obligations *vis-à vis* any State.
>
> "4. That the Paramount Power is not justified in interposing its authority to secure economic results beneficial only or mainly to British India when the interests of the States and of British India threaten to conflict. It was recommended that the Viceroy and not the Governor-General in Council, as hitherto, should be the agent of the Crown in dealing with the Indian States; also that an expert committee should be appointed to propose revenue adjustments between the Indian States and British India."

At an informal conference of the Princes of Bombay at the end of June dissatisfaction was expressed at the general vagueness of the definitions of the Report and at its failure to distinguish between the sovereignty of the Crown and the sovereignty of the States.

An interim Report of the Statutory Commission was published in October covering a review of the growth of education in British India by an expert Auxiliary Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Philip Hartog (Cmd. 3407, 4s.).

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The Indian Central Committee concluded its joint sittings with the Statutory Commission for the recording of evidence at the end of July, and the Report to the Viceroy, signed on October 18, was published on December 24 (Cmd. 3451, 7s.). Subject to the many dissentient minutes (some of them on points of crucial importance and covering three-fourths of the volume) the Report recommended that, with the exception of the charge of law and order in Bengal, each province should be made autonomous, subject to a number of safeguards; that dyarchy should be introduced in the Central Government; that the powers of control by the Secretary of State should be much curtailed, and that his Council should be abolished.

Sir John Simon, in correspondence published on October 31, intimated to the Prime Minister that having regard to the Report of the Indian States Committee, it would be essential for the Commission to examine the methods by which the future relationship between British India and the States might be adjusted. He suggested that after issue of the Report of the Commission, His Majesty's Government should confer with representatives of the two Indias (not necessarily always together), for the purpose of seeking the greatest possible measure of agreement for the final proposals the Cabinet might submit to Parliament. The Prime Minister, with the approval of the leaders of the Conservative and Liberal parties, concurred in these proposals.

H.E. Lord Irwin in a message to the Indian people made the following historic announcement:

> "I am authorized on behalf of His Majesty's Government to state clearly that in their judgment it is implicit in the Declaration of 1917 that the natural issue of India's constitutional progress, as there contemplated, is the attainment of Dominion Status. . . . In the full realization of this policy it is evidently important that the Indian States should be afforded an opportunity of finding their place."

The announcement was sharply debated in both Houses of Parliament, and much controversy ensued. The statement was welcomed by Indian Liberals.

The National Congress, meeting at Lahore in the last week of the year, passed a resolution at the instance of Mr. Gandhi declaring the Nehru scheme to have lapsed, and asking all parties in Congress to devote exclusive attention to the attainment of complete independence. A boycott both of the Legislatures and the contemplated Round Table Conference was recommended. The All India Congress Committee was authorized, "whenever it deems fit, to launch a programme of civil disobedience, including non-

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payment of taxes, whether in selected areas or otherwise, and under such safeguards as it may consider necessary."

1930

EMERGENCE AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE CAMPAIGN, with Mr. Gandhi's march to the sea coast to break the salt laws, and his arrest on May 5, followed by the arrest of other leaders, and the intensification of the boycott of British goods. There was serious trouble with tribesmen of the North-West Frontier with efforts to attack Peshawar. Many ordinances for maintaining lawful authority were issued. Indian negotiations with Mr. Gandhi and other leaders to secure abandonment of civil disobedience and representation of the Congress at the Conference did not succeed.

The Report of the Indian Statutory Commission was published, the first volume, "Survey," on June 10 and the second volume, "Recommendations," on June 24 (Cmd. 3568 and 3569, 3s. net each).

The essence of the Report was "that any constitutional changes now recommended for British India must have regard to a future development when India as a whole, not merely British India, will take her place among the constituent States of the Commonwealth of Nations united under the Crown": in other words, the ultimate constitution of India must be federal, and a beginning should be made as soon as possible by the institution of a Council for Greater India.

Indian political opinion expressed emphatic disapproval of the detailed proposals laid down by the Commission for immediate constitutional changes; particular exception being taken to the "safeguards" postulated for Army control and for the Central Government.

The Standing Committee of the Chamber of Princes accepted the principle that "the future evolution of the All-India polity can only be along federal lines," expressed their willingness to enter a Council for Greater India, but criticized certain of the detailed recommendations of the Commission. The Chamber had previously welcomed the prospect of the early attainment by British India of a place among the Dominions of the British Commonwealth.

The names of delegates to the Round Table Conference were published in September.

NOT TO BE ISSUED

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OUTCASTE PROGRESS IN SOUTH INDIA

By F. E. James, O.B.E., M.L.C.
Planters' Representative in the Madras Legislative Council; sometime member of the Bengal Legislative Council.

The problem of the depressed classes, or, as they are called by Mr. Gandhi, the "suppressed classes," is one of the greatest with which any nation can be confronted. It is difficult to convey an idea of their disabilities to anyone who is not even superficially acquainted with conditions in India. Sir Narayan Chandarvarkar said in 1920:

> "While all of the depressed classes have been for centuries untouchable, some have been unshadowable, some unapproachable, and some even unseeable by the higher castes, and this degradation has been imposed by these castes of Hindu society on one-fifth of the total population of their own country, race and creed—on 30 per cent. of the Hindu population of India. Out of every ten Hindus, three are treated as beyond the pale of decent humanity."

In 1929 their condition was described by one of their own representatives in the following telling words:

> "The lines of division which mark off the depressed classes from the rest of the Hindus are clear and unmistakable. Roughly all those Hindus who are outside the pale of the four varnas, or castes, whose touch or proximity carries pollution and those whose occupations are considered unclean and impure, constitute the depressed classes. They have not the right of the King's highway, nor have they the rights for public waterways and springs. They live segregated in the cheris in the Madras Presidency; in bastis in the Punjab; in mohalls or tolis in the United Provinces; and in the pallis and paras of Bengal. Social rights they have none, and of civic and political rights little. The catalogue could be lengthened by adding local grievances in every province. But the idea of carrying pollution by touch or proximity and the denial of entry to temples or Dev Darshan constitute the G.C.M. of the factors which make up untouchability . . . they are not even admitted into public conveyances, not to speak of the barbers' saloon and Indian restaurants and refreshment rooms under the management of so-called caste Hindus. Rigorous segregation and enforced poverty have reduced these communities to nothing more than a physical existence. Aspirations and hopes of progress have been stifled under the load of superstitions and have all but died out. Thought has been fettered and resources crippled, resulting in stagnation and decay. Ninety per cent. of India's wealth is reported to be her agricultural produce, and 90 per cent. of India's tillers of the soil are the depressed classes. But of that wealth they get no proper share. Generation after generation they have been forced to live in dirt and squalor and to grow up in ignorance and fear. Ignorant habits and insanitary surroundings make them fall an easy prey to epidemic, and their poverty exposes them to chronic famine."

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The term "Depressed Class" excludes those backward classes, such as aborigines, hill tribes and criminal tribes, who present a somewhat different problem. There has been considerable controversy as to the number of untouchables throughout British India. The Census Commissioner in 1921 put the figure at the "low conservative minimum of 43 millions in British India." In 1928 the Home Member of the Government of India estimated the total at 60 millions for India proper. The Auxiliary Education Committee of the Simon Commission (commonly known as the Hartog Committee) estimated the number at 29 millions for British India, while the Indian Central Committee in their Report put it at 44 millions. In all these estimates the most constant figure is that for the Presidency of Madras, which has remained fairly constant in the region of 6½ millions, or 15 per cent. of the population of the province.

In estimating the progress which has been made in the position of these unfortunate people during the past few years, it will be convenient to consider it in the social, educational, economic and political spheres.

SOCIAL.—Two factors are noticeable. In the first place there is undoubtedly an awakening of the public conscience in regard to the depressed classes. The first attempts at their reclamation was made by Christian Missions, and even today they are in the van of progress in this matter. Nearly half the depressed class children reading in schools in Madras are reading in Mission schools. In his "Education of India," Mr. Mayhew asserts that "outcastes who became Christians form part of a community which is yearly winning for itself the respect of India and a high reputation for educational zeal." In more recent years, Hindu and undenominational social service Missions have begun to work among these people with most encouraging results. Mr. Gandhi's espousal of their cause has had considerable effect in many parts of the country. "How dare we treat any fellow-man as untouchable?" he asks. At the Sabarmati Ashram he sits down to meals with the untouchable boys who are his protégés. In Travancore, largely at his inspiration, a large number of caste people offered passive resistance and went to jail to secure the right of the untouchable to walk on a certain road in the vicinity of a temple. This fight went on for months until the Maharani-Regent removed by one stroke of the pen a disability which the outcastes had suffered from time immemorial. Mr. Gandhi's attitude has aroused the fiercest opposition of the orthodox,

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and has brought upon his head a shower of invective which must have surprised even him. Then in 1928 that stronghold of Hinduism the Hindu Mahasabha passed the following resolutions:

1. "This Hindu Mahasabha declares that the so-called Untouchables have equal rights with other Hindus to study in public schools, to take water from public wells and other sources of drinking water, to sit with others in public meetings and to walk on public roads. The Mahasabha calls upon all Hindus to remove such restrictions as may be existing anywhere at present in the way of the so-called Untouchable Hindus exercising these rights.

2. "This Mahasabha declares that the so-called Untouchables are fully entitled to have Dev Darshan, and the Mahasabha calls upon all Hindus in general and all Hindu Sabhas in particular to provide the same facilities for Dev Darshan to them as are enjoyed at present by other Hindus.

3. "This Mahasabha calls upon purohits (priests), barbers, and washermen to offer their services to the so-called Untouchables also.

4. "This Hindu Mahasabha is of opinion that every Hindu to whatever caste he may belong has equal social and political rights.

5. "This Mahasabha appeals to all Municipal Boards to provide healthy quarters to the so-called Untouchables, especially the sweepers, and directs the local branches of the Hindu Mahasabha to draw special attention of their Local Boards towards this matter."

The National Congress under the inspiration of Mr. Gandhi has also placed the removal of untouchability in its programme, but has done little in the way of practical achievement.

All these signs of the awakening of the social conscience of India are good, but they are not sufficient. There is today hardly an educated Hindu who could be found to defend "untouchability"; but old customs die hard. No amount of public sympathy or enlightened assistance can bring social emancipation. A recent memorial of one of the Madras provincial organizations of the depressed classes states: "Poverty and pestilence reign in our midst; we are still considered as a set of loathsome creatures who deserve to be kept away from all human habitations. The measures so far taken by the kind Government to alleviate our sufferings have not materially helped us in any respect." Allowing for pardonable exaggeration, it may be said that terrible social oppression still remains. There may be awakening at the top, but underneath the curse of slavery is still as a dark shadow over the land. Conservatism is rampant in the villages, where comparatively little change has taken place in the social relationships of the people, though in the towns, it is true, the social amelioration of the untouchables is proceeding faster.

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This brings us to the second factor in the social progress of the untouchable in Madras. There is no doubt that there is a growing awareness of injustice in the minds of the depressed classes themselves. This awareness expresses itself in varying degrees of resentment and assertiveness. The power of organization is being learnt. One of the earliest organizations was the Madras Adi-Dravida Janasabha, which was started in 1892. Since then other associations and societies have sprung up, sometimes, unfortunately, on the basis of rivalry and ambition, whose object is to present the grievances of the depressed classes and claim a fair share of amenities of life. All these are healthy signs. Self-help is the basis of freedom, whether social or political, and the untouchable is slowly learning that lesson. As years go on he will increasingly be in a position to assert his social rights, and, if necessary, to wrest them from those who are unwilling to give them. He has a long way to go yet, for so many of his people are enslaved by ignorance, degrading customs, and the lethargy that comes from centuries of oppression. But the movement is beginning to help and assert itself, and is already on the road to freedom.

EDUCATION.—The Report of the Linlithgow Commission on Agriculture affirms its belief in "education as the only completely satisfactory solution of the problem of the outcastes." The Government of Madras has realized this, and during the past ten years has taken the following steps :

(*a*) The appointment of a Commissioner of Labour entrusted with the task of encouraging the education of the depressed classes.

(*b*) The insistence on the right of admission for depressed class pupils into all publicly managed schools.

(*c*) The refusal of grant-in-aid to privately managed schools which do not admit depressed class pupils.

(*d*) The removal of publicly managed schools from places inaccessible to depressed class pupils.

(*e*) The opening of "special" schools and hostels for the depressed classes.

(*f*) The remission of fees and the provision of scholarships ; and

(*g*) The provision of special facilities for the training of depressed class teachers.

Seventeen posts of District Labour Officer have been created under the Commissioner of Labour, and these officers have opened 1,600 special schools for the depressed classes. Between 1922 and 1927 the total number of special schools for these classes increased from 7,651 to 10,035. Large numbers of scholarships and stipends have been reserved for depressed class pupils ; all poor depressed

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class pupils have been admitted into all grades of institutions on payment of half fees, and have been accepted as candidates for the School-Leaving Certificate examination without payment of examination fees.

The following figures show the progress that has been made in the past thirty-five years in the education of the depressed classes in the Madras Presidency: In 1895 there were 30,000 depressed class pupils in schools. In 1920 there were 150,000 depressed class pupils in schools. To-day there are over 230,000. Over 100,000 of these are in Christian Mission schools, and a number are in the schools maintained by such excellent societies as the Depressed Classes Union, the Poor Schools Society, the Social Service League, and the Andhra Deena Seva Sangam. Most of these are only in the primary stage, there being only 2,647 in middle schools, and 47 in colleges in 1927. Only about 7,500 of the 230,000 reading in schools are girls, which means that only one out of every 400 of the female population of the depressed classes goes to school.

It is remarkable to note that only 16,000 depressed class pupils are reading in ordinary schools, which seems to indicate that the atmosphere in most of these schools is not abundantly sympathetic. On the other hand, over 70,000 pupils who do not belong to the depressed classes are reading in special schools maintained for them.

These figures are impressive, but it is doubtful whether the actual results are as great as they would lead one to suppose. 5·8 per cent. of the total population of Madras is going to school; only 3·5 per cent. of the total population of the depressed classes is going to school, and of this total, which is about 230,000, less than 1 per cent. goes beyond the primary stage. Hence these schools have had comparatively little effect on the general literary or economic condition of the people. It is not surprising, therefore, to read the following pathetic plea from a deputation of the depressed classes which waited recently upon the Governor of Madras:

> "In spite of the best intentions of the Government, the light of education is not spreading over the dark spots in which it is our lot to live. Our boys and girls of school-going age are still outside the pale of education. Our community as a whole seeks out its livelihood by hard toil in the fields, and is too poor to educate its children either in the Government schools or in the aided schools. Hence we request you to grant them free education."

It is good that these demands are being put forward by the outcastes themselves. Once they fully realize that in

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education, and the right kind of education, lies their salvation they will not rest until every child of theirs can go to school.

ECONOMIC.—The economic condition of the depressed classes is in many cases so terrible that its general improvement can only be achieved through education and self-help. Landless, their tenancy of the land on which their miserable hovels are built is insecure, and they are at the mercy of unsympathetic landlords. Sunk in ignorance, they are thriftless, and their villages are unwholesome and insanitary. Deprived of adequate drinking water, they are subject to sickness and epidemics, and are often dependent upon the capricious benevolence of their neighbours for space to bury their dead.

The Madras Government has during the past ten years shown the way to economic improvement. No Government in the world could completely solve this economic problem, but demonstrations have been made in Madras, and, on the whole, money has not been stinted. (In this year's budget the Government has provided £105,000 for the uplift of the depressed classes.) The first and obvious method is the application of the principle of co-operation. Societies are organized for the acquisition of lands for house sites, the granting of loans for agricultural purposes, flood relief, rural credit and collective bargaining. The Government finances the first three types of societies; the others are financed by Central and District Co-operative Banks. Great progress has been made in this department. In 1917 there were only about 5,000 members of co-operative societies among the depressed classes; in 1920, 14,600 members in 102 societies; at present there are about 2,000 societies, consisting mainly of untouchables. During recent years new societies have been registered at the rate of over 100 a year. Considering the low economic condition of the members of these societies they have prospered remarkably well. The second method is the providing of house sites by assigning waste lands which are at the disposal of Government or by acquiring lands and assigning them to these people. The assignment of Government lands usually costs nothing. The cost of acquiring lands is met by Government loan either to individual members of the depressed classes direct or through the co-operative societies. The housing question is a difficult one, as there has been in the past much opposition from caste Hindus to the acquisition of land for that purpose. Recent reports indicate, however, that this opposition has very largely ceased.

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Over 55,000 house sites have been provided by this method since it was first introduced, and over £135,000 have been advanced by Government in loans for this purpose. In the year 1928-29 over 6,000 house sites on a total acreage of 800 acres were aligned. The third method is the assignment of land for cultivation purposes. These assignments are made to groups of the depressed classes who are induced to settle on the lands assigned. The majority of the assignees build houses, make improvements, and cultivate either paddy or *ragi*, or garden produce ; in some cases cocoanut cultivation has been carried on. It is slow work, as the assignees are desperately poor and often the lands require considerable labour and expense to render them fit for cultivation. But Government gives every encouragement and is now providing agricultural demonstrators for these colonies. Up to date, nearly 280,000 acres have been so assigned throughout the Presidency.

The fourth method employed is general ameliorative work, such as the provision and repair of wells, burial and burning grounds, schools, sheds, pathways and roads. This year the Government has provided over £32,000 in its budget for these purposes, and their programme includes the construction of some 300 wells.

POLITICAL.—The importance of securing the representation of the depressed classes on public bodies is being increasingly realized in Madras. In fact, Madras has gone further in this matter than any other province. Lord Willingdon nominated the first depressed class representative to the Morley-Minto Council in its last year, in 1919. Five members were nominated to the new reformed Councils in 1920. Today there are ten representatives. The Government of Madras in their Memorandum to the Simon Commission recommended that this number be increased to thirteen, and in so doing state : "The nomination of members of these classes, though not in proportion to their numbers, has sufficed in matters in which they were specially concerned to compel parties to canvass their votes and even to support or initiate measures affecting their social or other disabilities. It has, in fact, given them direct political influence." The Indian Central Committee has recommended fourteen seats for the depressed classes in the legislature. There is no doubt that the presence of these members is having a great effect in removing disabilities. No political party can afford to offend or ignore them : in fact, they vie with one another in their professed zeal for the uplift of the outcastes. The legislature also provides a

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platform on which the grievances of the untouchables can be broadcast, and this has its influence on public opinion.

There is also improvement in regard to representation in local bodies. Five years ago, 4 District Boards, 40 Taluk Boards and 25 municipalities had no representatives of the depressed classes; today only 1 District Board, 29 Taluk Boards and 15 municipalities have none. In legislation which has recently been passed, reorganizing on a more democratic basis local bodies in the province, statutory provision has been made for the reservation of seats for these classes. In 1920 it was reported that "on a respectable depressed class gentleman being appointed to a seat on a municipality, five of the members, including a Muhammadan, immediately sent in their resignations and were with difficulty induced to withdraw them." This would not happen today, and from the Panchayat to the legislature they are taking their place side by side with caste Hindus. The Government of India has been more conservative in this matter, and it was not until 1927 that the first representative of the depressed classes was nominated to the Imperial Assembly.

In the public services the representation of the depressed classes is negligible. This undoubtedly is in large part due to the lack of sufficient men of the requisite qualifications. But it is also a fact that over the portals of some of the services has been written in the past "No untouchable need apply." The grievance of the community is constantly being ventilated, however, and in 1928 the following resolution was passed in the Imperial Assembly:

> "This Assembly recommends to the Governor-General in Council to issue directions to all Local Governments to provide special facilities for the education of the untouchables and other depressed classes, particularly by reserving seats in teachers' training classes for them and also for opening all public services to them."

As suitable candidates become available appointments will now be made, but their lot will not be an easy one for many years, especially in the more local services in municipalities and similar administrations.

To sum up, therefore, it may be said that considerable progress has been made in recent years in the condition of the outcastes in Madras. Public opinion is more enlightened, education is slowly but surely spreading, social disabilities are being removed, the way to economic uplift is being shown, and political power is being grasped. In this progress Christian Missions, the Government, and social service organizations are playing an important and

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noble part. It is not likely that the work of Christian Missions will greatly extend. They have pioneered, and must now consolidate and "establish for ever." There are six districts in Madras still untouched by the Labour Department of Government. Social service effort will probably continue slowly to expand as the social conscience of the upper classes becomes more fully awakened. But none of these things can raise, beyond a mere fraction, the general level of the depressed classes. The remedy lies in their own hands, and it is encouraging to notice that they are fast realizing this. Dissensions among their political leaders and disunity in their organizations are a great hindrance to greater progress. The ignorance, apathy, thriftlessness, and social degradation of the masses are still the greatest obstacle. But not until education spreads, and outstanding men of the type of Booker Washington rise up from their midst to inspire and lead, can these people be lifted up. This great negro leader in 1896, when Harvard University conferred upon him the first honorary degree ever conferred upon a negro, said to the students: "By the way of the shop, the field, the skilled hand, habits of thrift and economy, by the way of industrial school and college, we are coming up, we are crawling up, working up—yea, bursting up, often through oppression, unjust discrimination, and prejudice; but through them all we are coming up, and with proper habits, intelligence, and prosperity, there is no power on earth that can permanently stay our progress." Yes, the depressed classes of Southern India are "coming up," but they sadly need a Booker Washington and several Tuskegees to help them!

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TRAVANCORE

By Maurice Emygdius Watts, B.A., Barrister-at-Law
(Late Dewan of Travancore)

III

Economic Conditions, Trade and Commerce

There are no lords spiritual and temporal in Travancore. Consequently its peoples know no narrow preserves of exclusive political authority nor emulate traditional standards of high life. For better or for worse, her body politic is essentially a bourgeoisie, made up of true yeomen and adaptive tradesmen, which for some time past has been steadily throwing off by-products in lawyers, schoolmasters, doctors and engineers and, still more recently, a coralline outcrop for the fourth estate. In predicating of these people all the goodness and badness of middle-class ways of living and thinking, it is necessary also to take count of the fact that they are not "oriental" in the connotation of the term dear to western minds steeped in tales of the thousand-and-one nights, of the crusades, of Mogul splendour and of Persian courtliness. No less is it important to bear in mind that an orderly and benevolent government, amenable to democratic influences and absorbent of constitutional ideas, does more for the well-being of the dwellers in this land of languorous fertility than the most ardent socialist expects to realize in England "in our own time." And, be it cause or effect, they are a kindly, easy-going people, plain living, and blessed with the priceless gifts of a sense of humour and a capacity for enjoying life to the full, if simply. In view of all this, no surprise will be felt at the statement that in general an easy competency prevails and that the economic conformation of the country, if on a dull level, affords comfortable going. But what economist, faced with the discovery of a people in such a state of contentment, will forgo his whys and his wherefores?

Until its population mustered and bred beyond the capacity of its food production, Travancore was self-supporting agriculturally. But although now, crowding 888 persons into the square mile, it is no more able to feed itself than England, the people still, at the back of their minds, measure wealth and respectability in terms of land-owning; and visionaries still dream of days to come when

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four or five millions will be able to procure their staple food from a million and a half of acres! The staple food of the more well-to-do classes is rice and of the less well-off classes tapioca, in both cases supplemented, but only supplemented, by vegetables, fruit, and fish. The area under rice in 1928-29 was only 669,275 acres, and the land in the State suitable for rice cultivation cannot, it is estimated, exceed 750,000 acres. The yield is already high as the result of elaborate systems of irrigation and the growing use of artificial fertilizers and scientific methods taught and fostered by an able and up-to-date agricultural department. But no amount of intensive cultivation over the very limited area available can keep pace with a dense population steadily increasing at the rate of 16 per cent. per decennium. The area under tapioca or the manioc tuber was in 1928-29 485,237 acres. This area can hardly be increased appreciably without the sacrifice of more profitable forms of cultivation. In the result Travancore has to turn to external sources of food supply or starve. The chief staple food rice, both husked and unhusked, imported into Travancore in 1928-29, alone amounted to 1,621,259 cwts. to the value of Rs. 4,572,692, or over £3,000,000. Although this is the most important item of import, it represents less than a third of the total imports, the value of which in 1928-29 was Rs. 93,290,681, or £7,000,000. Naturally the State has to pay for these heavy imports. The value of the total export trade in 1928-29 was Rs. 118,042,935, or £8,854,000, showing an excess over imports of Rs. 24,752, 255, or £1,854,000. The balance of trade in favour of the country was thus, on visible results, Rs. 6·17 *per capita* on the population as at the census of 1921, or Rs. 5·5 on the present estimated population of 4½ millions.

In this traffic of goods the commodity upon which Travancore most relies to pay for its requirements in the matter of imports is the produce of the coconut palm, which largely makes up the superfluous wealth of the land. M. Maurice Dekobra, in his "Les Tigres Parfumes," said the other day of Travancore: "Les cocotiers y jaillisent de terre en feuz d'artifice de verdure pressés d'ételer leurs palmes." The traveller along a hundred and fifty miles of continuous waterways witnesses the unceasing activity of men, women and children toiling, in Pierre Loti's description, "under the gloomy vault of the eternal palm," ministering to it as befits beneficiaries from it, for the coconut tree thrives, so they say, only to the music of the human

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voice and of the pestle pounding in the mortar. In school-spangled Travancore the young idea is periodically called upon to express itself on "the uses of the coconut tree"; and it usually takes, and certainly requires, a full-length essay to do justice to the subject. But for the purposes of the economist and the business man, it will suffice if Travancore's external trade in respect of it (£2,090,000 in 1928-29) were listed under its chief items. The area under coconut in 1928-29 was 526,950 acres.

A.—Export Trade.

I. *Exports of Produce of the Coconut Palm* (1928-29).

NOTE.—*Items marked with an asterisk are subject to export duty, and sterling amounts represent values at point of export.*

		Quantity.	Value.
			£
(*a*)	Copra*	421,064 cwts.	573,489
(*b*)	Oil*	433,893 „	488,138
(*c*)	Nuts* (number) ...	22,146,045	58,354
(*d*)	Oil-cake*	231,301 cwts.	86,738
(*e*)	Coir yarn and fibre*	728,592 „	842,166
(*f*)	Coir matting ...	4,275,873 yards	318,877
(*g*)	Coir mats	173,382 cwts.	312,858
(*h*)	Coir rugs	327,656 yards	24,094

By far the greater portion of the trade in these goods is seaborne to countries outside India. In respect of copra, because of the thickness of the kernels, the greater oil-content and the continuance of traditional methods of careful preparation, the Travancore article still commands a good price in competitive markets, though often bearing trade-names of outside ports. But in respect of coconut-oil, the foreign trade is not progressive. Older cyclopædias show the oil as used for soap and candle-making. Besides these purely industrial uses, it enters into the manufacture of cosmetics, paint, varnish, linoleum, lubricants, and the processing of tin-plate and leather. But more valuable uses for it have been found of late, mainly in food values, to make good the shortage in dairy and animal fats which the western world has been experiencing; and coconut-oil now enters largely into the making of artificial butter, lard, shortenings and dressings. The growing demand has not, however, benefited Travancore as much as might have been expected owing to the chemical improvement now developing of inferior substitute oils, such as peanut, cottonseed, and palm-nut; and to the no less important competitive factor of the rapid expansion of cultivation in the Philippine Islands, the

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Dutch East Indies, and Malaya. In the Philippines alone the area under coconut has increased from 405,000 acres in 1910 to 1,200,000 acres in 1926. Unless world-factors are studied and allowed for, high-power machinery employed for a maximum oil-extraction, and scientific processes of refinement and hydrogenation adopted, the State's trade in coconut-oil must inevitably suffer seriously if it is not elbowed out entirely from the European market. In respect of coir yarn, mats and matting, Travancore still holds pride of place in the world's markets. This is mainly due to local conditions, which so far, not successfully established elsewhere, give the Travancore fibre a special value and quality. Efforts to manufacture mats and matting from imported Travancore fibre and yarn have been made in Europe and the United States. But whether as the result of the Travancore protective tariff on coir fibre and yarn or of the high cost of manufacture abroad, the State's trade in this industry has not suffered appreciably. Here, too, in the interests of the economic condition of the people, it is necessary for the Travancore Government to study the position from day to day and to take whatever safeguarding measures occasion may demand.

II. *Exports of Tea and Rubber* (1928-29).

	Quantity.	Value.
		£
Tea*	30,452,556 lbs.	2,282,682
Rubber	9,291,799 ,,	437,576

The area under tea in 1928-29 was 71,304 acres and of rubber 56,564 acres. In both cases the bulk of the ownership is in the hands of Englishmen, especially in the case of tea, to whose enterprise and capital the development of the industries is due. Much of the Travancore tea is grown at high elevations and commands a price comparable with good class Ceylon, Assam, and Bengal tea. The State derives a revenue of £35,000 a year from a small export duty on tea. In the case of rubber, too, most of the estates are owned by English companies or individuals; but Indian-owned estates are not inconsiderable. Although the cost of production is comparatively low in general, the industry in Travancore cannot live on rubber at 4d. a pound, and is already suffering an acute depression.

III. *Exports of Pepper* (1928-29).

It is safe to assume that when the Queen of Sheba tested King Solomon's wisdom and tasted his dishes and that when Cleopatra treated Antony to that very special

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banquet, their feasting was made the more pleasurable for the seasoning with Travancore pepper in much the same way as jaded latter-day palates the world over are still titillated by the self-same spice from the self-same land; for from those far-off days to our own time ships have sailed, battles have been fought, treaties have been made, and merchants have waxed rich all because the pepper-vine twines and thrives with no trouble to anyone upon the trees of every back garden in Travancore. The well-being of the people of Travancore may well be described as pickled in pepper for two thousand years. The compilers of the annual Statistics of Travancore make no mention of the acreage under pepper in the State. They may be forgiven: as well attempt a census of Mr. Punch's aspidistra in suburbia. Regular readers of the "Home Commercial Markets" column of *The Times* know that Alleppey (Travancore) pepper always commands a higher price than that given for the spice shipped from the new competitors of Singapore, Lampong and Muntok; and America and Italy are also learning to value this quality. In trade results these are the last returns from Travancore:

	Quantity.	Value.
Pepper*	19,187,000 lbs.	£1,404,759

The Travancore Government levies a duty of Rs. 10 on every candy (500 lbs.) of pepper exported.

IV. *Other Considerable Items of Export* (1928-29).

	Quantity.	Value. £
(*a*) Lemon-grass oil* ...	793,711 lbs.	297,643
(*b*) Areca nut*	4,156,500 ,,	129,582
(*c*) Ginger*	67,942 cwts.	186,445
(*d*) Fish*	224,044 ,,	168,750
(*e*) Prawns*	49,409 ,,	138,963
(*f*) Cardamom	38,529 ,,	167,652
(*g*) Timber	710,173 cub. ft.	92,961
(*h*) Bricks and tiles (number)	7,903,098	15,279
(*i*) Manure—vegetable, fish and prawn-skins ...	54,403 cwts.	16,141
(*k*) Palmyra brush-fibre ...	17,538 ,,	23,039
(*l*) Jaggery*	66,360 ,,	49,770

The articles for regular export detailed above have been long established in the trade of Travancore. A great many more might be included, ranging from turmeric, nux vomica, cinnamon, garlic, and chillies to bamboos and boats, fish oil, conch-shells, and shark fins. In addition to the manufactured goods, such as coir mats and matting, and oils, already mentioned, which form large exports,

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other goods manufactured in the State and exported include matches, soap, earthenware, furniture, spirits, bell-metal ware, grass mats, and paper, many of them of appreciable and growing value. To indicate how trade in new directions has been opened up in recent years might be mentioned the following:

V. *Export Trade Recently Developed.*

	Quantity.	Value.
		£
(*a*) Ilminite	451,600 cwts.	38,417
(*b*) Zircon	21,140 ,,	4,741
(*c*) Cashew-nuts	63,034 ,,	31,899
(*d*) Vateria indica	5,055 ,,	1,179

With these may be included the nuts of the talipot palm, which bears only once in a lifetime of forty years. The kernel of this nut is used for button-making, and Italy takes most of the export. Ilminite, which forms one of a sand group including zircon, monozite, and garnet-dust, is separated from its associates by electro-magnets and, through the enterprise of two London firms, is developing in use to supplant white lead in paint. Monozite used to form a very considerable article of export from Travancore, but the trade has rapidly dwindled since the war with the decline in the demand for gas-mantles. There is a steadily growing demand for cashew-nuts, and the great bulk of the trade in it is with the United States of America, where the taste for the crisp and pleasant kidney-form kernel seems to be well established. The acrid oil given out in roasting the shell is a powerful protective for timber against decay and destruction by insects, but its employment so far is only local. *Vateria indica* grows luxuriantly in the evergreen forests of Travancore, and a shade-loving English chief engineer many years ago planted it in avenues on scores of miles of road in the State. A commercial use, in addition to its umbrageous value, has lately been found, thanks to the enterprise of another Englishman. The kernel is now exported to Europe and America, where it is used for the better kinds of artificial butter and for stiffening chocolates. Mica mining has recently shown signs of revival. The export of poultry is also quite a recent development and is stimulating poultry raising as a cottage industry, especially in south Travancore. The bulk of the export is to Ceylon, mainly, it is understood, for the provisioning of ships. There are still many directions in which the export trade can be opened up. For instance, there are extensive beds of

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kaolin which, on analysis in London, has been found to compare favourably with the best Cornish china-clay. There are inexhaustible supplies of silicic sands eminently suitable for glass-making. Gold has been found in sands brought down by the rivers and secondary precious stones, such as neighbouring Ceylon produces in abundance, are often dug up. The existence of deep-hidden oil has been suggested; and certainly the stilled-waters that make Alleppey a safe port are an emulsion of oil from no one knows where whipped up with a fine decolourizing mud. Iron ore exists, and there is a credible tradition that ingots of a particularly hard kind were long ago shipped regularly to Damascus, while domestic implements of steel made from the same iron are to this day handed down from father to son as incapable of being worn out. A variety of bark is collected in the forests which, as local experience and scientific experiment have shown, yield valuable dyes and tanning material. There are some 2,500 square miles of State forests, rich in possibilities of fine timber and soft woods, which have been for the past fifty years jealously conserved and scientifically regenerated while, without exacting exploitation, yielding a substantial net revenue every year to the State. The industrial possibilities of a vast population, intelligent beyond the average and gifted with an aptitude for finished craftsmanship, are great; but the direction of these talents into general effective achievement will, it is feared, become effective only under the stress of a widespread economic need which in the no distant future must drive the people to manufacture for themselves the wealth of raw produce which is now so readily bartered away for a general easy competence. Although the country possesses no factory power in coal or oil, there are great waterfalls, twelve of which have already been investigated, which, when demand and the occasion require, can be made to yield cheap power of tremendous capacity. But the time is not yet. Meanwhile, a distributive and co-ordinative system of railway development, calculated to serve densely packed productive areas and ports and markets ripe for stimulation, awaits imagination, courage and capital for a consummation of forces necessary to establish, beyond danger of overbalancing, an economic position which already calls loudly for stabilization.

B.—Import Trade.

The value of goods imported into Travancore in 1928-29 amounted to £6,996,800. They covered practically every

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known requirement of a people living under modern civilized conditions, from the necessaries of life to its luxuries. The bulk of the people's needs from the outside world is in the form of manufactured goods, and of these, both in volume and in value, the country imports mostly from or through British India, with direct imports from the United Kingdom, followed by those through Ceylon, of quite appreciable extent, while those from other European countries and America are sufficiently noticeable to have columns to themselves in the State's statistical tables. To detail or even set out a group-classification here is out of the question. A bare indication of the more considerable or interesting imports must suffice.

Goods Imported in 1928-29.

	Value.
	£
Piece goods, cotton goods, and textiles ...	1,156,546
Tobacco, including manufactured	289,802
Sugar	115,467
Kerosene oil	220,202
Petrol	154,658
Foreign wines and liquors	27,855
Iron and steel (manufactured)	202,714
Motor-cars and accessories	87,975
Machinery	108,381
Paper and stationery	59,618
Medicines, chemicals, and surgical instruments	74,517

This list does not include imported commodities which are the produce of the neighbouring districts of British India, although many such are of considerable value. Other articles of import of very appreciable value, and for the most part manufactured or produced outside India, include metals such as lead, copper, zinc and tin, and articles manufactured from them; enamelled ware, glass-ware, crockery, plywood for tea and rubber chests, cutlery, cement, paints and colours, aniline dyes, artificial manures and fertilizers, clocks and watches, gramophones, umbrellas, etc.

C.—Balance of Trade.

The total value of the export and import trade of Travancore during the past five years was:

	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1928-29.
	£	£	£	£	£
Exports	7,280,000	7,500,000	8,555,000	8,888,000	8,850,000
Imports	4,280,000	4,500,000	4,620,000	6,179,000	6,997,000
Total	11,560,000	12,000,000	13,175,000	15,067,000	15,847,000

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Thus, although the total foreign trade of Travancore has been steadily growing, the visible balance of trade in favour of the country has been declining. On a population of a little over 4 millions in 1921, the favourable balance of trade *per capita* was in 1924-25 and 1925-26 Rs. 10, and in 1926-27 Rs. 13. It fell in 1927-28 to Rs. 9, and in 1928-29 to 6.2. It may be that this adverse position is only a passing phase; but it is no less likely that the position may get worse in view of the increasing demand for foreign goods to meet developing requirements in luxuries and the conveniences of life which the higher standards and the calls of a more complex civilization make more and more insistent. Another factor is that rapidly growing production elsewhere might retard proportionate expansion in the demand for raw produce for which it has so far found a ready and steady market.

D.—Tariff.

Apart from the general economic advantages, direct and indirect, of the foreign trade of Travancore, it is of considerable bearing on the public revenues of State. Export duties are levied, mostly on a scale of tariff valuation, on sixteen groups of goods, whether exported by sea or land; on certain grains if exported anywhere by sea alone; and on two groups of goods if exported by sea alone to countries other than British India or the neighbouring State of Cochin. In respect of imports—excluding tobacco, opium, spirits, and salt, on which it collects its own rate of duties—Travancore levies import duties at its ports on the same tariff scales as prevail in British India other than on goods manufactured in or the produce of British India or the Cochin State, which come in duty free. Nor does Travancore levy duty on goods, other than the excluded group, which have already paid duty in British India before entry into the State. These arrangements were effected by an Interportal Trade Convention entered into in 1865 by the Governments of Travancore, Cochin, and British India—an arrangement which, so far as imports are concerned, is seriously prejudicial to the revenues of Travancore, since, compared with corresponding areas in India, the State has a high consuming capacity. The British Indian Government reaps the benefit of duties on goods landed there and passed into Travancore for consumption. In other words, the revenues of Travancore lose the duties which it should have as buyer and consumer while the British Indian Government collects an unearned increment of what in

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reality resolves itself into a transit duty pure and simple—an impost anathema to modern ideas of fiscal principle. The duties thus lost to Travancore already far exceed £100,000 a year, which would be no inconsiderable addition to the State's annual revenue from customs of about £250,000 a year. Incidentally, conjecture might be ventured as to how Travancore will fare if "Empire Free Trade," at the moment the subject of so much intensive propaganda, should come to be the governing British fiscal principle.

E.—Shipping.

Closely touching the trade and commerce of Travancore is the question of its shipping. There are four active ports in Travancore, which is one of the very few maritime States of India and claims to be the most important of such. Unlike Quilon, Trivandrum, and Colachel, which have to suspend operations during the worst months of the monsoon, Alleppey is an active port all the year round. The increase in shipping at the ports during the past few years has been nothing short of phenomenal, as the following figures show:

	1923-24.	1924-25.	1925-26.	1926-27.	1927-28.	1928-29.
Number of vessels which called ...	439	453	411	514	607	822
Tonnage	535,070	661,812	760,587	873,856	972,361	1,264,705
Value of seaborne trade	£2,002,000	2,520,000	3,525,000	4,223,000	4,666,000	4,930,000

Thus, in the six years, the tonnage shows an increase of 136 per cent. and the value an increase of 146 per cent. By far the best part, both of shipping and seaborne trade, fell to the principal port, Alleppey, where the number of vessels that called rose from 246 in 1923-24 to 572 in 1928-29, and the tonnage from 441,231 to 939,966. This rise is all the more remarkable in that the neighbouring British Indian port of Cochin has recently been improved somewhat ambitiously and at great cost. The explanation is that the Travancore ports serve a much richer hinterland and are now well served by communications. Inexpensiveness is another consideration; and there are also the advantages the Travancore ports possess of being practically on the main ocean route for shipping from Suez to Colombo, the Bay of Bengal ports, the Far East and Australia, and of requiring neither the delay nor the expense of piloting, since ships can enter port, anchor in deep water within easy distance of the shore, and stand out to sea again soon after loading. It is also noteworthy that most of the seaborne trade of Travancore is carried by ocean-going vessels, since the State deals more with countries outside India than

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in coastal business. Although the tonnage calling is preponderantly British, chiefly vessels of the Clan, City and Hall lines, Alleppey is becoming increasingly popular as a port of call for Italian and French ships, while American boats too have not been infrequent in the past few years. The Travancore ports cannot aspire to rank in the first class or as ports of final destination; but they can, without difficulty, be developed into useful ports of call and be made even more profitable than they are at present. They are so placed that in olden days they were the principal outlets for trade and commerce from what are now the more southerly districts of the Madras Presidency; and with a judicious linking up with the existing metre-gauge railway system of South India, trade can again naturally flow into them, provided there is no forced deflection elsewhere.

F.—Conditions Favouring Business.

In considering the possibilities of trade expansion in a particular country, it is necessary to examine not merely the commodities it can supply and take, but also the question of the conditions which surround and affect the security of capital, the sustainment of enterprise, and the facilities that ensure the convenience and well-being of business relations. Readers in pursuit of an enquiry in these directions respecting Travancore will find a general description of the country in the April issue of this Review, and will gather some idea of the stability which goes with a constitutional form of government in an article on the State in last July's number. No better evidence of a well-ordered administration, solicitous of the well-being of the people entrusted to its care, is needed than the statement of the revenue realizations and of the mode of its expenditure exhibited in the two graphs reproduced at the end of this article. Out of a total revenue of Rs. 25,000,000 (£1,875,000) a year, just over 19 per cent. represents direct taxation, an incidence of a little more than one rupee (1s. 6d.) per head of population per annum, in the shape of a modest land tax and a trifling income tax; and there is deep significance in the fact that out of the revenues so little is spent on the ruling house and so much on education, so little on the staff employed on the general administration and so much on public works (mainly roads and communications), so little on the army and so much on medical aid and public health. In Travancore the State maintains nearly 5,000 miles of road—more than a mile to every square mile of territory excluding State reserved forests,

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every river and considerable stream in this much watered and mountainous terrain being repeatedly bridged—all this in addition to a network of navigable lakes, rivers and canals. It is small wonder that there is an incessant coming and going in the State and that the latest administration report pathetically observes that the phenomenal increase in motor omnibuses, cars and lorries necessitates strengthening of the police force for traffic control and enhancement of road-maintenance grants. The writer of the report finds consolation, however, in the fact that "all the world over conditions of road traffic have fundamentally altered during the last decade." In Travancore all medical aid and medicines are provided free by the State, which maintains 32 hospitals and 50 dispensaries manned by 155 qualified medical officers, including women doctors, in addition to nurses and midwives. The State aids 18 private medical institutions and numerous practitioners of the Ayurvedic or indigenous system of medicine. The leper, the insane, and the incurable are specially cared for in institutions working on the latest line. In Travancore there is no labour trouble; for the largest mass-employers, the European tea and rubber planters, know the value of solicitude, and good wages and conditions attract ample and regular labour from less-favoured British Indian districts over the border. In Travancore life and property are safe, for the people are law-abiding and contented, and a wholly literate police is kept efficient by good officering and strong public opinion. In Travancore there is no general financial helplessness, for money is well spread, and the people have a traditional way of mobilizing capital peculiar to themselves in the form of *chitties*, by which a body of subscribers contribute fixed sums at stated intervals over a term of years, and at each instalment period the pooled subscriptions are allotted to a subscriber by lot or by "downward" auction—a tontine system by which urgent need for capital is met and he who can wait longest gets most. Needless to say, these enterprises are regulated by law. In Travancore there are some 195 registered companies doing banking business, prosperous when the country is prosperous, largely preoccupied with the organization of *chitties* and in advancing money to landed, trading and industrial interests. A banking enquiry committee appointed by the Government has just submitted its report. These banks, more or less imitations of western models, are on a different footing from such well-known institutions as the Imperial Bank of India, which has

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branches at important centres in the State. At Alleppey there is a Chamber of Commerce, with the quality, rare in India, that the membership includes both European and Indian merchants, although wisely, for the present at any rate, control rests with a European majority on the committee. By an act put on the Statute Book ninety years ago, the rate of interest on loans is limited to 12 per cent. per annum, and the courts may not also allow accumulated interest in excess of the principal in some cases, and in others not more than half as much again. In Travancore the Government scrupulously respects, as it has done for generations past, the sanctity of contracts and engagements. In Travancore the rule of law is supreme, and a man, be he landlord or tenant, merchant or pedlar, master or servant, borrower or lender, buyer or seller, foreigner or native, private citizen or official, can take the law of his neighbour at much less expense than in England and with not much more delay, at the hands of 74 busy civil courts ranging up to an overworked High Court of five puisne judges and a Chief Justice, all of which tribunals last year alone skilfully administered the law in original suits and appeal cases numbering 72,734 and 6,705 respectively, with the laborious help of an army of lawyers. In proof of the advancement and prosperity of the country, it may be mentioned that one civil suit was last year instituted to every 55 of the total population. Decrees against the Government are satisfied as a matter of course and the executive do not interfere with the judiciary, a judge being secure in office *dum bene se gesserit*—as to which only a royal commission can pronounce.

Having satisfied himself as to the stability of the Government, the security of life and property, the reasonableness and orderliness of taxation which is always statutory, the prevalence of the rule of law, the existence of the conveniences and facilities of civilized life, and the prospect of continuity of effort, the prospective capitalist and merchant on caution bent will naturally turn to a survey of the history of trade and commerce in the country. It is not necessary to traverse Travancore's trading history 2,000 years or so, nor even to go back to such recent times as the commencement of the British connection, which 125 years ago found Europeans, Parsees, and Saits already established as landowners, merchants, and shippers in the State. For the past 70 years Englishmen have opened up the wild places and, aided and encouraged by the State and its people, planted tea and rubber, until today they and the

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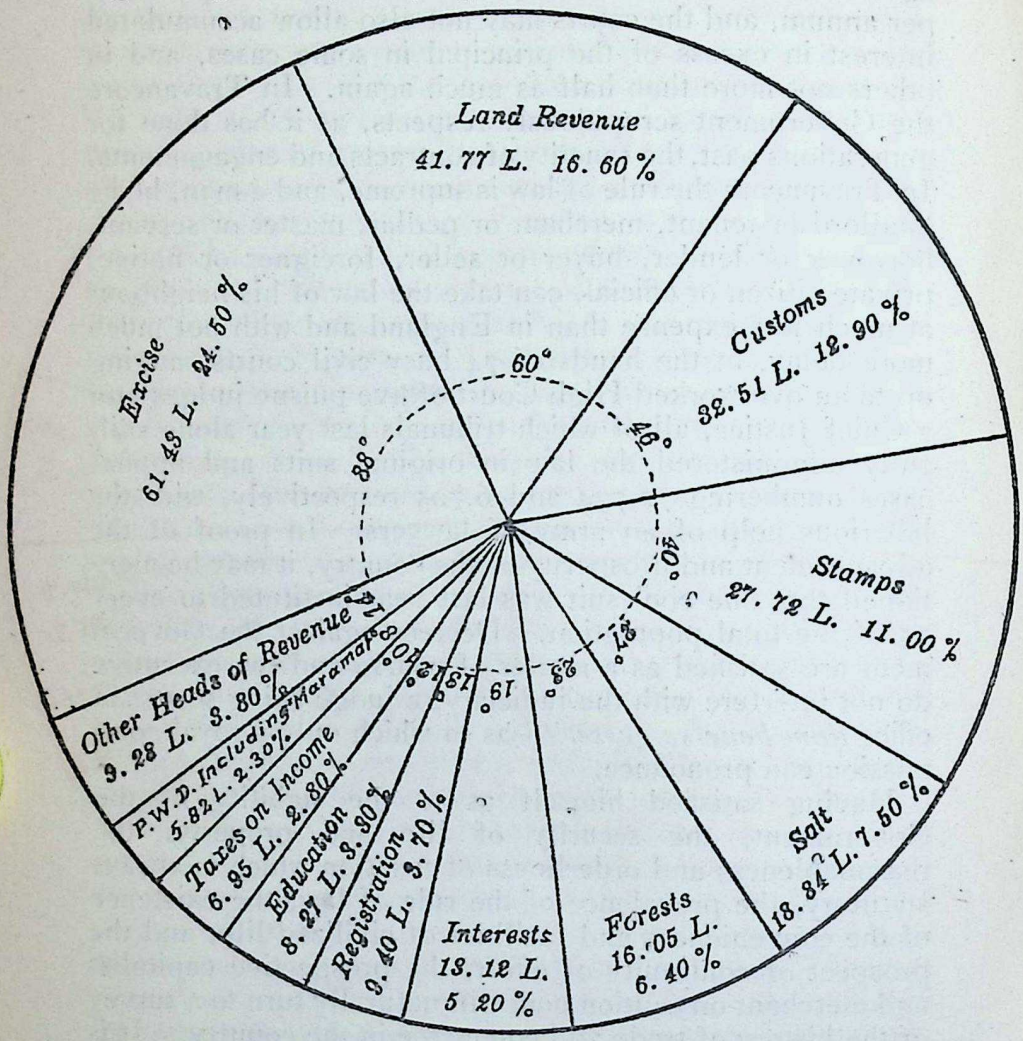
British Companies they represent are in the peaceful and untrammelled ownership of considerably over a quarter of a million acres in the State, while at the ports and at the commercial centres there is a score and more of English firms and business houses known in London's City busily engaged in manufacturing and mining, importing, exporting, and generally carrying on trade and commerce.



A.—DISTRIBUTION OF THE ANNUAL REVENUE OF TRAVANCORE, IN LAKHS OF RS. (1928-1929.)

By far the largest number (67) of the 165 factories at work in Travancore are for tea-making, most being English owned. Of the others, 34 are tile factories, 20 make coir mats and matting, 12 are oil mills, and 3 are match factories. The power used is steam in 29, electricity in 13, gas in 50, and oil-engines in 25. In much the same way as the state of deposits in the Post Office Savings Bank of India reveals

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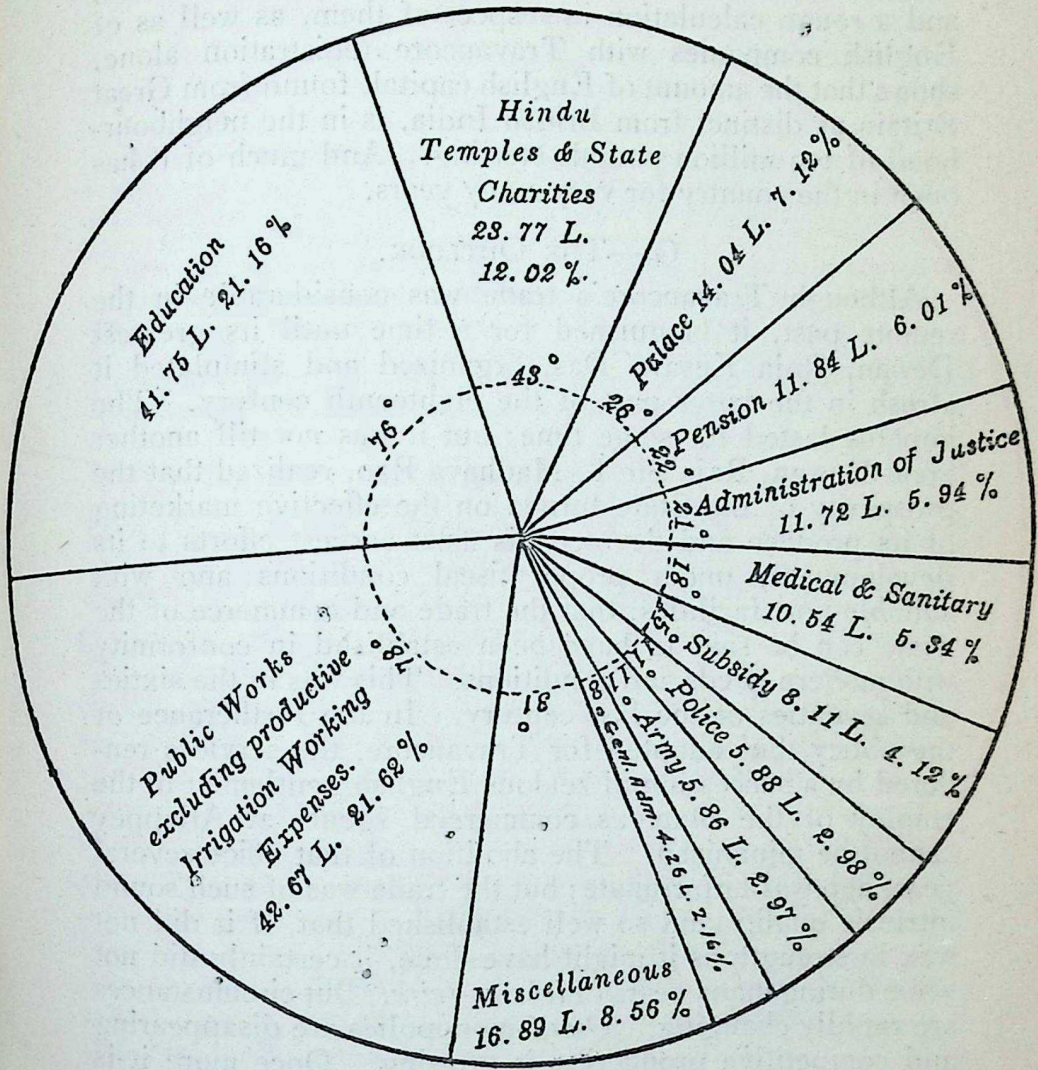
the economic pulse of the people, the position in regard to registered joint stock companies discloses the industrial prosperity of the country. Of joint stock companies limited by shares, registered and working in Travancore, there were 308 in 1928-29, with an aggregate authorized capital of £5,327,000 and a subscribed capital of £1,775,000. These companies are engaged in banking, trade, manu-



B.—DISTRIBUTION OF ANNUAL EXPENDITURE OF TRAVANCORE MET FROM REVENUE, IN LAKHS OF RS. (1928-1929.)

facture, and various forms of industrial activity. In addition there were 75 companies of foreign incorporation working in the State. Of these latter, 42 were incorporated in England and Scotland, 22 in British India, 5 in Ceylon, and one each in Australia, New Zealand, Germany, the United States of America, Switzerland, and Hongkong; 23 of them are engaged in insurance business, 25 in tea and

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rubber planting, 16 in manufacture and general trade, 4 in banking, 3 in mining, and 2 in navigation. It is practically impossible to estimate the capital employed in Travancore by companies of foreign incorporation engaged in large business elsewhere as well. But there are very many of them, some well known on the London Stock Exchange, whose work lies entirely, or almost entirely, in the State, and a rough calculation in respect of them, as well as of English companies with Travancore registration alone, shows that the amount of English capital, found from Great Britain as distinct from British India, is in the neighbourhood of ten million pounds sterling. And much of it has been in the country for very many years.

G.—The Outlook.

Although Travancore's trade was considerable in the remote past, it languished for a time until its greatest Dewan, Raja Kesava Das, organized and stimulated it afresh in the latter part of the eighteenth century. The impetus lasted for some time; but it was not till another great Dewan, Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao, realized that the prosperity of the State turned on the effective marketing of its produce and devoted his most earnest efforts to its development, under proper fiscal conditions and with suitable port facilities, that the trade and commerce of the State can be said to have been establishd in conformity with modern needs and conditions. This was in the sixties and seventies of the last century. In the furtherance of the policy thus adopted for Travancore, the services rendered by a succession of zealous English gentlemen in the employ of the State as commercial agents at Alleppey cannot be minimized. The abolition of that office several years ago was unfortunate; but the trade was of such sound intrinsic quality and so well established that, if it did not wax in strength as it might have done, it certainly did not wane during many years of *laissez-faire*. But circumstances are rapidly changing. *Quasi*-monopolies are disappearing and competitive production is growing. Once more it is imperative for Travancore to think and act and organize as Raja Kesava Das and Raja Sir T. Madhava Rao did—not to regard itself as polype in polypidom, as a district of a province, but as a State with all a State's commercial attributes and responsibilities, to be exercised to the full to safeguard an imperilled economic position. Trade must perforce use its tentacles; and tentacles must seek and secure contacts.

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THE INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF INDIAN EMIGRATION

By Dr. Lanka Sundaram, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), F.R.Econ.S., F.R.Stat.S.

"*It is an inherent function of the Governments of the several communities of the British Commonwealth, including India, that each should enjoy complete control of the composition of its own population by means of restriction on immigration from any of the other countries.*"*

"*We have opposed, and will continue to oppose, unfair discrimination against our nationals overseas. We desire no discrimination in their favour. We ask for no more than equal rights. We can be satisfied with nothing else. . . . If there is no political equality, we fear that even the guarantee of economic equality may prove to be illusory. Experience elsewhere has shown how easy it is to subvert equality by administrative action.*"†

I. Introductory

The object of this paper is to discuss the international aspects of Indian overseas emigration during the past 100 years. The subject is at once vast and complicated. The productive activity of the world has undergone a remarkable change during the period under review. As such, Indian emigration to the colonial empires of the European nations, which had been the *sine qua non* of tropical exploitation, in the best sense of the word, and of the material prosperity of those nations during the nineteenth century, has now become suspect and has been more or less definitely abandoned so far as distant countries and permanent settlement are concerned. But a century of emigration has left behind a stock of serious problems, economic, racial, and political, which are baffling the nations of the world among whom Indian emigrants happen to find themselves entrenched with vested interests.

Again, the Indian emigration problem embraces all the regions of the world with varying degrees of local import-

* *Imperial War Conference*, 1918. Resolution No. xxi., *Cmd.* 9,177 (1918), p. 8.

† *Report by Sir Benjamin Robertson, dated August* 4, 1920, *regarding the proposed Settlement of Indian Agriculturists in Tanganyika Territory, and Letter from the Government of India to the Secretary of State for India, dated February* 10, 1921. The Indian Government's Letter, *Cmd.* 1,312 (1921), pp. 6-7.

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ance. From British Columbia to Hong Kong, from New Zealand to Gibraltar, Indians are found to be living side by side with various races, on account of forces which were originally out of their control. Further, the countries in which people of the Indian emigrant class abound enjoy varying degrees of self-government and belong to different Powers, thus adding to the difficulties of a heterogeneous mass of immigration laws and local problems. Finally, assisted Indian emigration (there was no other kind of emigration until the indenture system was abolished in 1921) embraces two types, each leaving behind the hegemony of a vicious atmosphere and consequently adding to the confusion which makes the formulation of general principles impossible.

For the sake of convenience I have attempted to set aside the rigid chronological aspect of Indian emigration overseas in the same manner in which I have discarded a purely regional grouping, even though I have occasionally found it advantageous to make use of both the methods in juxtaposition. Again, I have not attempted a purely economic study of the living conditions of the Indian emigrant overseas. What I have set before myself is a study of tendencies and the formulation of principles which are necessary to meet the problems arising out of the settlement of Indians in foreign lands at the present day. I have not hesitated to quote extensively from various documents, since the whole question is surcharged with conflicting attitudes to life maintained by the various peoples of the world, and have endeavoured to make the documentation as complete and up-to-date as possible.

The question of emigration overseas affording relief to the population of India is a theme which has had numerous advocates at different decades during the past 100 years. Even more, there are people who believe in the theory that, "if given equal rights, India might run the wide areas which have been set apart for the future expansion of the European white man."* The purpose of this paper is to show that this theory is not at all tenable.

A committee appointed in 1840, at a time when the first effects of systematic emigration overseas were felt, reported as follows:†

* P. T. Moon, *Imperialism and World Politics*, p. 312 (New York: Macmillan, 1926).

† *Report of a Committee appointed to enquire into the Abuses alleged to exist in the Export of Coolies to Mauritius and Demerara*, October 16, 1840, pp. 6-7. This Report is available in print in the Record Department of the India Office.

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> We believe that a general impression exists in England, both in Parliament and out of it, that there is a superabundance of labour in British India. As far as this [Bengal] Presidency is concerned (of which alone we can speak with any knowledge) we are by no means convinced that such supposed superabundance exists, but are rather persuaded that the contrary is the fact, and would soon become apparent if any decided stimulus were given to agricultural production, such as the late rise of prices of sugar has temporarily created, and if such stimulus were continued for a sufficiently long period to make it extensively felt.

Since this Committee reported, several changes have been witnessed in the material progress of India. First, security from external aggression and the maintenance of peace within, and the consequent elimination of wastage of human life, contributed to the growth of population, which in its turn intensified the pressure upon the means of subsistence. Nonetheless, till very recently famine and pestilence scoured the country with a periodicity that was well-nigh decennial. Even though labour force in India was admittedly inadequate during the previous century, which meant a low productive capacity for the nation, famines, offering a choice between starvation and death, have never succeeded in inducing people to emigrate to foreign lands in appreciable numbers with a view to permanent settlement.

Inquiring into the effects of one of the worst famines in India, the Madras famine of 1876-78, with special reference to cross-sea emigration, the commissioners of the Government of Madras wrote* that they

> have no reason whatever to suppose that new and distant sources were largely tapped, even under the abnormal circumstances which the year developed, and many fugitives have returned to the districts.

Thus it will be seen that the early emigration problems of India have no foundation in an overplus of agricultural population or in the driving force supplied by pestilence and famine.

The poverty of India is proverbial. It is variously estimated that anything from 30 to 60 per cent. of the population are in want of the minimum necessaries of life.†

* Minute by the Hon. Sir W. R. Robinson, K.C.S.I., dated May 27, 1878, on the Partial Census of 1878 in certain famine districts in Madras. Appendix "B" to *Review of the Madras Famine*, 1876-1878 (Madras: Government Press, 1881).

Similar experiences were recorded about the famine of 1896-1897 in the same province. See *Report of the Famine in the Madras Presidency during* 1896 *and* 1898 (Madras: Government Press, 1898).

† R. K. Das: "Population and Food Supply in India," in *Proceedings of the World Population Conference*, 1927, p. 115 (London: Arnold, 1927);

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The migratory instinct is practically non-existent among the Indian peasantry, and free emigration beyond the seas is unthinkable.*

If this is the case, how is it that there are more than two million Indian emigrants all over the world? The explanation is simple. Two aspects are evident. First, whenever there was an unprecedented calamity in a particular locality, there was a tendency to drift to the nearest available territory where there were opportunities for temporary relief. The history of Indian immigration into Ceylon is predominantly determined by the season and crop conditions in Southern India.† Such, again, is the case of Indian immigration to Malaya, Burma and Assam on the one hand,‡ and of the trans-frontier movements into Nepal, China, Afghanistan and Persia.§ Emigration of this type is unsteady, temporary, and, as such, does not complicate the major issues of inter-state emigration to the extent to which permanent settlement and the creation of definite interests for the immigrant community would.

The second aspect is that of emigration to distant countries, which more or less tends towards permanent settlement. The most unfortunate aspect of Indian emigration of this type was the "artificial pressure of recruitment," which evolved a stereotyped system of indentured labour and had the legal recognition of the Government of India until it was abolished in 1921.‖ Emigration of this kind is almost entirely parasitic in character. Round this nucleus of imported indentured labourers was built up a ring of free Indians who, in the process of time, acquired specific economic interests in the colony concerned.¶

In the first place, after reindenturing was penalized,

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see also his brochure on *Production in India* (Calcutta: Visva-Bharati Bookshop, 1924).

* P. K. Wattal: *The Population Problem of India*, pp. 31-33 (Bombay: Bennett, Coleman, 1916).

† The present writer is preparing a paper on *Indian Labour in Ceylon* for one of the forthcoming numbers of the *International Labour Review*, Geneva; also see E. Dennery: *Foules d'Asie*, pp. 212-222 (Paris: Colin, 1930).

‡ *Special Report on the Working of Act I. of* 1882 *in Assam*, 1886-89 (Calcutta: Government Press, 1890); and P. Nolan: *Report on Emigration from Bengal to Burma, and how to promote it* (Calcutta: Government Press, 1888).

§ Wattal: *Op. cit.*, pp. 30-40.

‖ C. F. Andrews: *The Asiatic Question*, pp. 1-13.

¶ J. H. Oldham: *Christianity and the Race Problem*, p. 129. (London: Student Christian Movement, 1925.) The chapter on *Emigration* is extremely useful.

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emigrants who were originally bound by contract to colonial estates became free and found employment in open markets. The progeny of the indentured emigrant, if too young for indenture before it left India, and the colonial-born Indian, remained free unless compelled by economic necessity to enter into similar engagements to the indentured labourer.

Besides these, there are people who formed independent settlements overseas. To a certain extent facilities were from time to time available for a limited number of Indians of the commercial classes to establish trades specially suited to the localities where Indian indentured workers were congregated. Little by little these free Indian emigrants formed compact communities in the overseas colonies and acquired definite vested interests after generations of toil, frugality and clean living. The problems of the present day centre around these interests.

II. A Century of Indian Emigration

The early decades of the nineteenth century witnessed a remarkable expansion of the colonial empire of the European Powers. Avenues for the development of the riches of virgin tropical countries were available in profusion. But for the successful tapping of these resources manpower was the only requisite. Even the most lavish grants to European settlers failed to attract an adequate number of persons to work the estates.* Whenever a few enterprising colonists reached the tropics they had to face an acute dearth of labourers.

The abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire in 1834 further added to the difficulties of the Colonies.† Even before the abolition of slavery, it was found that the indigenous population was unsuited for the successful working of the tropical plantations. After the abolition of slavery the indigenous African showed extreme unwillingness to engage in agricultural pursuits and receded into the background to resume his nomadic habits.

* See the article on *British Skill and Capital applied to the Island of Ceylon*, in Alexander's *East India Magazine and Colonial and Commercial Journal*, May, 1831, Vol. II., pp. 567-569.

† For a comprehensive treatment of the struggle for the abolition of slavery, see W. L. Matheison: *British Slavery and its Abolition.* (London: Longmans. 1926.) For an account of the shortage of labour consequent on the abolition of slavery see Matheison: *Great Britain and the Slave Trade*, pp. 80-81 and 149-169. (London: Longmans, 1929.)

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But labour was needed at any cost. The Ceylon planting community found *

> the increase of the agricultural population will not keep pace with the rapidly multiplying wants of the landed proprietors. The Malthusian system, however well adapted to the great European family, would be misplaced in Ceylon, where the population of inhabitants to the square mile is by no means *quantum sufficit.*

Discussing the shortage of labour in Mauritius in 1841, the *East India and Colonial Magazine* criticized the Colonial Office for the fact that †

> there exists in the coffers of the Colonial Treasury a sum of no less than 900,000 dollars, destined to be employed in the public works of the island, and that, for want of hands to undertake those works, the Government, though perfectly aware of their necessity, is utterly unable to carry them into execution.

Importation of labour from outside was the only way to meet this problem. Small wonder that in 1859 the Corporation of Durban petitioned the Governor of Natal in the following manner :‡

> Independently of measures developing the labour of our own natives, we believe your Excellency will find occasion to sanction the introduction of a limited number of coolie or other labourers from the East in aid of the new enterprises on the coast lands, to the success of which sufficient and reliable labour is absolutely essential; for the fact cannot be too strongly borne in mind that on the success or failure of these rising enterprises depends the advancement of the colony or its certain rapid decline. Experimental cultivation has abundantly demonstrated that the issue depends solely on a constant supply of labour.

Asiatic labour was tried at various sources. Successive efforts to introduce Chinese labour into Ceylon proved futile. Even attempts at agricultural colonization by Chinese were of no avail.§ Frantic measures to introduce the newly manumitted slaves of the east coast of Africa into that colony met with a similar fate.‖ At the same time, the fever-heat of land speculation fostered by the land grants of the Government for ridiculously low sums

* De Butts: *Rambles in Ceylon*, pp. 186-87. (London, 1841.)

† See the article on *Labour in the Mauritius* in its October (1841) number, pp. 296-299.

‡ Quoted by L. E. Neame: *Oriental Labour in South Africa* in *Chinese and Japanese in America. Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1909, Vol. XXXIV., No. 2, p. 176.

§ L. de Bussche: *Letters on Ceylon*, pp. 94-104. (London, 1826.)

‖ J. Campbell: *Excursions, Adventures, and Friendships in Ceylon*, Vol. I., pp. 91-92. Campbell was servant of the Ceylon Government in various capacities.

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revealed the necessity for cheap labour. An official of the Ceylon Government wrote in 1843 :*

> But, as labour must be necessarily allowed to find its own value, and it might not be advisable for the local Government to interfere, if this system cannot keep down its price, it is altogether hopeless to look for prosperity in any new country deprived of slave or convict labour.

The first attempt to introduce Indian labour into a foreign colony was brought to the notice of the Government of India in the case of Réunion. A study of Indian emigration to Réunion is useful on two counts. First, it shows the vicious nature of traffic in human labour. Next, it reveals the fact that contract or unfree labour is uneconomic in the long run and recoils to the detriment of the employing agency.

The emancipation of 160,000 slaves by the French National Assembly in 1849 and the abrogation of the *code noir* which had been in force since 1665 precipitated a grave crisis in the prosperity of the *anciennes colonies*—"a crisis that was at the one time social and economic and political."† The French sugar industry of the Antilles and Réunion was on the verge of ruin, and the French capitalists were compelled to explore every method of obtaining labour. The French settlements in India, Karikal and Pondicherry, offered a way of escape from the vigilance of the Government of India at a time when the first effects of emigration of Indian labourers to distant lands in the wake of the abolition of slavery were being felt. A brisk trade in the export of Indian labourers was kept up, but even this traffic was unable to cope with the needs of Réunion and her sister colonies.‡

Persistent efforts were made by the French to induce the British Government to agree to a convention granting permission for the export of Indian labourers to their colonial empire. The Convention of 1861 legalized the importation of indentured labourers into the French colonies.§ But in 1883 this arrangement was terminated

* *Ibid.*, Vol. II., p. 646.

† S. H. Roberts: *History of French Colonial Policy*, Vol. II., p. 501. (London: King. 1929.)

‡ P. Beaton: *Six Months in Réunion*, Vol. II., pp. 65-69. (London: 1860.)

§ In this connection see P. Chemin-Dupontes: *Les Petites Antilles: Étude sur leur Évolution Économique*, pp. 143 ff. (Paris, 1907.) See also *Report of the Committee on Emigration from India to the Crown Colonies and Protectorates*, p. 45. (To be referred to as the Sanderson Committee, Cd. 5,192, 1910.)

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and had the effect of precipitating the economic collapse of the French colonies. As the latest historian of French colonial policy summed up:*

> Asiatic immigrants pouring in in such numbers meant all sorts of problems for the State. The changing conditions, too, had forced the natives to work, and, noisily insistent on their rights in the political world they dominated, they refused to have Indian competitors.

The discovery of the manufacture of sugar from beetroot further added to the troubles of a shortened labour supply and of the antagonism of the indigenous population to the Indian immigrants who had by that time settled down in French colonies.† Further attempts were made in 1893-1894 to persuade the Government of India to permit Indian emigration to Réunion, but met with no success.‡ Thus ended a chapter in the early history of Indian emigration overseas.

* Roberts: *Op cit.*, Vol II., p. 502.

† For a comprehensive description of the French system of immigration see P. Aubry: *La Colonisation et les Colonies*, pp. 181-186. (Paris: Octave Dion. 1909.)

‡ J. W. P. Muir-Mackenzie: *Report on the Condition and Treatment of Indian Coolie Emigrants in the French Colony of Réunion and on the Questions connected with the proposed Resumption to the Colony*. (Calcutta: Government Press, 1894.)

A provisional agreement drawn up to meet the conditions of the Government of India was of no avail. See *Desiderata exprimés M. le Délégué du Gouvernement de l'Inde au sujet de la reprise de l'émigration indienne pour la Réunion* (English and French texts). *Ibid.*, pp. 97-100.

(*To be continued.*)

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THE FORTHCOMING INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF PERSIAN ART

By Arthur Upham Pope

The art of the East is a somewhat recent discovery. The European world has been so impressed by Grecian glory and Roman grandeur, and, more recently, by the vast antiquity of Egypt, that it has more or less taken for granted that these three furnished the full basis for everything culturally great in the best of all possible civilizations; but men's intellectual horizons are not to be permanently limited by prejudice or unfamiliarity, and while most of that which has been said about these cultures themselves is true, it is emphatically not true that they constitute the sole ingredients of modern civilization. The rather new discovery of both the æsthetic and the historical importance of the art of Asia marks the beginning of a new epoch. Not only is it changing our view as to the origin of civilization, but it has enabled us also in an increasing degree to appropriate valuable artistic methods and conceptions which are already exercising a renovating influence in several arts.

The art of the Far East, thanks primarily to the swift recognition of a few lively-minded French painters scarcely fifty years ago, was the first to come into its own. Then the powerful sculpture of Assyria took its proper rank, emerging from its first deadly classification as a curiosity. It is now seen that the art of India too has vital quality, and, finally, Islamic art is now being recognized by an audience wider than that of scholars.

The art of Persia has survived an even more damning classification than that of Assyria. It was first thought to be merely pretty, with a certain charm and utility, though certainly not to be considered as seriously as that of other nations we had been accustomed to praise. The article on Persian art in the eleventh edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* starts out with the condescending phrase: "The art of Persia is not contemptible."

Thus only twenty years ago was designated an art that has had the longest continuous history of any, and that has played a creative rôle in the art of other civilizations scarcely second to that of Greece. True there are still occasional eccentric denials of the importance and influence of Persian art. M. Blochet in his "Painting in Islam" would have it that the builders of the Near East, masters of brickwork since the days of Ur, had in fact acquired their art from

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Rome; and Rivoirte in "Islamic Architecture" attempted a passionate affirmation of Europe's priority. But the weight of scholarly opinion is more and more confirming the creative rôle of the Near East, of which Persia was queen, in the art of Europe and Asia as well. Those who wish to test such an hypothesis will find already at hand a mass of rather formidable investigations which are gradually being made more available for the non-specialist.

Quite as important, however, as the rôle of Persian art in history is its own intrinsic æsthetic worth. The qualities of beauty cannot be transmitted by words. Only by concrete example can they be attested, and in the case of Persian art this is a difficult matter, for it has been envisaged in its entirety only by very few. No one museum can offer an adequate and systematic presentation of it. Every great museum has treasures that speak with the tongues of angels, and individual collectors have gathered many masterpieces; but the whole material, the long and complex life of Persian art, has been visible only to the trained imagination or to wide and dearly bought experience.

At last, however, Persian art is to be seen in all its glory, assembled not only to show its own compelling beauty, but also its origins, its evolution and its expansion through all lands. In the forthcoming International Exhibition of Persian Art at the Royal Academy next year we shall see its entire range over a period of more than five thousand years in every known material.

Persian art is too commonly thought of as principally the brilliant, decorative arts of Mediæval and Renaissance times. But Mediæval and Renaissance Persian art are merely phases of a vastly older life. Pottery of handsome design, texture, and colour was produced in Persia well before 3000 B.C. Colossal rock sculptures early attest Persian feeling for the monumental. During the first millennium B.C. in various parts of Persia brilliant sculpture in bronze was developed that takes place in the fore-front of the metal arts. Of the spirited animal bronzes recovered this year in Luristan—that have so excited the archæologists and stirred the artists—a full series will be shown. Each type will be illustrated by the finest known example, and their relations to the art of the Hittites, Assyrians, and Scythians will be set forth by interesting comparative material. By the time of Cyrus and Darius, Persian architects and carvers, supported by craftsmen from many countries, wrought many masterpieces. The huge palaces of Persepolis and Susa are only for the traveller, but the contemporary

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arts, particularly architectural friezes, stone carving, and small sculpture, trifling in bulk but mighty in spirit, will be found at the Exhibition in numbers and variety as never before.

The famous Oxus Treasury in the British Museum is public proof of the capacity of the Achæmenid artists, and there are pieces in that collection that one cannot imagine surpassed. But there will at least be at Burlington House many new examples of the same style, including a few of quite sensational quality. In addition to beautiful rhytons from the Hermitage, Mr. Joseph Brummer of New York is sending a remarkable group of animal bronzes never before exhibited or published, and the famous large ibex head in silver that was excavated in Volhynia a hundred years ago. Some judges have deemed this the finest piece of conventionalized animal sculpture known, but, beautiful as it is, it must share its laurels with a small bronze ibex head belonging to Mr. Oscar Raphael, also to be shown, of which M. Raymond Koechlin, shrewd and experienced connoisseur, said: "If there be one object in the world entitled to be called the most beautiful, I am inclined to think that this is it."

The Achæmenid period was followed by Alexander and his successors, and thereafter came the long dominion of the Parthians, of which we have so little knowledge. One or two sculptures and some beautiful coins which are coming to the Exhibition, however, attest the vitality of the æsthetic impulse and prove that taste and skill lived on.

In Sasanian times, under the guidance of the revived national religion, a new spirit was abroad in the land. Men's faith and enthusiasms were quickened, and great monarchs supplied the wherewithal for great art. Again we find a real succession of masterpieces, ranging from the heroic sculptures cut into the face of the living rock to the tiny carved gems which have something of the same force and monumentality. A counterpart of the great rock sculptures will actually be seen in a large stucco panel taken from the Palace of Chahar Takhun near Varamin, a panel somewhat in the style of the Tak-i-Bustan carvings, with hunting scenes and a rich assemblage of personages, bounded by friezes of arcading that are reminiscent of the façade of the Palace of Taq-i-Kesra at Ctesiphon. Intermediate between the great sculptures and the gems are the famous gold and silver plates with figures in relief, and the equally famous silk brocades, which have had such a wide and decisive influence. Only a relatively few precious

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fragments of the latter remain, but some of the most famous will be at the Exhibition.

Although Persian art shows a succession of epochs, each with its own highly individual style, these do not follow each other at random, nor does each epoch begin *de novo*, as one might sometimes judge from superficial art histories. In every case the transitional styles continue the great themes, and the new wine of fresh inspiration is safely preserved in old bottles. Many of the forms and still more of the ideas last through from the earliest moment of Persian art to the present day.

It is a commonplace now that the Arabian conquest did not sweep away any dying past, but rather renovated it with a new faith and new enthusiasms. Persian artisans and Persian clients were free for centuries to pursue their old habits and indulge their old tastes. The Sasanian style in bronze vessels and in animal sculpture continued for generations. The textiles, with their heraldic animal designs, were continued in a modified but still, for a time, unbroken tradition, while, in parts of Persia, the old Zoroastrian themes still found free play in the archaic but strangely powerful pottery of Garrus and Amol, which will be something of a feature at the Exhibition.

In the field of calligraphy and the art of the book new styles were developing and, along with them, thanks partly to the influence of the West, a new style of ornament also. Of the calligraphy and of sumptuous manuscripts, of wood carving and of stucco of the ninth and tenth centuries, made glorious by the memory of Haroun ar-Raschid and his successors, a few precious examples will be shown.

In short, the early Islamic period combined new and ingenious styles with something of the old Sasanian forms, but this style was, in turn, refashioned under the dominion of the Seljuks in the direction of a superlative elegance. The early Seljuk buildings, as may still be seen in the Masjid-i-Jâmi in Isfahân and in a little ruined mosque at Kasvin, attained a grandeur and dignity that place them in the forefront of architecture. These splendid forms, so reminiscent of certain European monuments, were decorated with stucco ornament, of which slight traces remain, of great delicacy and beauty. In the less substantial arts, particularly glass, faience, and textiles, an elegance and perfection were attained that have rarely been equalled before or since. A few of the exceedingly precious textile fragments, for the most part recently recovered from graves, have been garnered for the Exhibition. These are so light and so soft they seem as if they would dissolve at a breath.

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One of the sensations of the Exhibition promises to be the Harari collection of Seljuk silver vessels, a group of twenty pieces, massive coffers with floral and animal designs and inscriptions worked in niello and appliqués of silver gilt; stately ewers in rich repoussé, a magnificent cup in brilliant gold and green, and a remarkable ceremonial spoon. This precious treasure will be publicly shown for the first time.

The Seljuk dynasty, whose heroism, ethical and æsthetic distinction mark one of the finest moments in the life of Persia, fell to pieces after a little more than a hundred memorable years. The weak and confused successors were swept away in a fearful catastrophe when the Moguls descended like the fire of Heaven and all but destroyed the country. They were a devastating horde, but they had been taught, perhaps by their contact with China, to respect beauty, and so they kept alive the old arts and even fostered new.

In this period again the ceramic art flourished brilliantly. Only the Chinese have ever produced such a wealth and variety of forms, of decorations, and of colours as those that issued from the Persian kilns in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. The terrible destruction of cities was in a way fortunate, for it sealed underground many of the most precious of these treasures, where they have slowly yielded their loveliness to the native excavators, searching like a miner for nuggets.

Persian pottery is distinguished in that it always held true to the innate character of the art. Though less brilliant and less technically perfect than its Chinese counterparts, it is, in the opinion of many critics, the most beautiful pottery the world has known. The monochrome, with vivid turquoise, intense cobalt, aubergine or milky white, the green jars and pots with rich relief of animal inscriptions and foliage, the beautiful little wine bowls, the ware of kings and princes, on which miniature artists and gilders lavished their most perfect art, and finally the huge plates in delicate flaming gold lustre, and the grandiose jars, looking as if carved out of solid blocks of turquoise and lapis, will to many represent the high peak of the Exhibition. The American collectors have sought for these lovely objects with reckless passion—demanding, receiving, and paying for the finest pieces found. Thanks to the generosity of a group of American collectors, scores of the finest examples of this notable product are being kindly sent.

From this period on, the variety of arts available increases. Now we have wood carving of richness and beauty; coffres,

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mosque doors, grilles intricate and beautiful, but still respecting the character of wood. The best examples are coming from Persia and Russia. Examples of Persian glass, both carved and enamelled, from this and even from the preceding period, are coming from the collectors of France and Persia, and from the Art Institute of Chicago. One piece from the Hannibal collection, which seems to be Sasanian, is as finely cut as a gem; and a gorgeous enamelled piece from Hamadan recently added to the Eumorfopoulos collection will prove that in this delicate and difficult art Persian masters were equal to any.

A fine group of bronzes, many of them recently discovered, include a handsome candlestick with pierced columns, coffres with applied figures that anticipate those of the Rhine Valley and Limoges; ewers and lamps of noble form, and plates and basins with exquisitely incised animal and inscription friezes. A superlative group of gold and silver inlaid bronzes, the choice of the famous find at Hamadan in 1908, is coming from Persia. Excellent examples are promised also from Russia and from private collections in America, a few from the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin, and from Lyons. From the Harari collection, now in London (the most systematic collection of Islamic bronzes in existence), are coming important pieces, including signed and dated examples, that may permanently settle the vexed distinction between Mogul and Persian metal inlay.

The fifteenth century, politically disturbed and often demoralized as it was, saw the development of some of the most perfect arts. Here manuscript illumination touched the highest point of perfection it has ever reached, and a beginning was made of the translation into carpets and textiles of the manuscript illuminators' most poetic dreams. From the library of His Majesty the Shah, the Imperial Libraries of Persia, the libraries of the great mosques of Russia, from France, from America, and from the famous collection of Mr. Chester Beatty will come a succession of most important manuscripts and illuminations, that will for ever establish Persia's claims to be sovereign mistress of the arts of the Book.

For the Safavian period, the final renaissance of Persian art under Shah Tahmasp and Shah Abbas, an embarrassing mass of rich material is available. Ever since the fifteenth century, the discriminating in Europe have known that carpets could, in the hands of masters, attain high rank as works of art; but never has such an assemblage of

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carpets been gathered together since the days of the great Shahs, as will be displayed in Burlington House. Over one hundred carpets, the best that have survived, will adorn the walls of the Royal Academy. The great court carpets, such as the signed and dated hunting carpet from Milan, animal carpets, garden carpets, and the famous carpets of silk, gold, and silver; in fact, the entire range of this art will be shown in superlative examples. In addition to the famous pieces that have been borrowed from Austrian, German, French, and American collections, some surprising pieces have been discovered in England that are so important that they will hereafter always figure in the literature.

More surprising still will be the collection of carpets from Persia. The famous silk carpets from the Mosque of Qum that adorn the mausoleum of Shah Abbas II. in dazzling turquoise and pistache green enriched with orange, vermilion, emerald, and white, a range of colours and in a fineness of weaving that is unknown in Europe, will be one of the sensations of the Exhibition. From Imam Riza comes a sixteenth-century carpet of the so-called Isfahân type, that so far surpasses anything else of the kind known that we must revise upwards our estimate of the artistic excellence of these weavers.

The Mogul Emperors were determined to outdo their Persian predecessors and lavished every resource of a wealthy court on weavers instructed to surpass anything known. Working on Persian models they attained a degree of luxury of colour, fineness of weaving, and beauty of materials that are unique in the textile arts. Only two whole pieces of the finest quality are known in European and American collections, but a magnificent carpet in pristine condition, gift of Shah Jahan to the shrine of Imam Riza, will demonstrate unexpected possibilities in the art of carpet weaving.

One of the most surprising in an entire series of surprises is a great sixteenth-century North-West Persia carpet from Duveen's that has apparently scarcely been touched since the day it was made. Nothing exists from the period in such a remarkable condition. It gives us the most authentic idea of what the greatest carpets looked like at the moment of completion.

The aim to give a completely systematic exhibition of the arts of Persia was destined to frustration in view of the obvious impossibility of transporting Persian architecture *en masse* to London, and Persian architecture is a basic art bearing a constant relation to all of the others. But

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the impossible has been done. The portal of the Masjid-i-Shah, with its festooned masses of stalactites, its vivid turquoise triple cable moulding, its panels and great vases of golden alabaster, its intensely coloured mosaic faience of turquoise, cobalt, emerald, fawn, black, and white will be reproduced in the Royal Academy by a model thirty feet high, one-third of the original, by methods that give a startling replica of the real effect.

Passing through the portal, surely one of the noblest in the history of architecture, one enters a whole room of original mosaic faience of the fifteenth century, with a mihrab marking the direction of Mecca. Other architectural features also have been secured. The largest and most beautiful of all the lustre mihrabs will be placed on the central axis in line with the entrance. Spandrels and wall panels will be seen in a perfect quality and in a number that has never before been brought together outside of Persia.

Supplementing the actual architectural features themselves will be an extensive set of photographs of buildings, gardens and general landscapes, arranged in such a way as not to interrupt the artistic ensemble of the installation.

One of the most remarkable features of Persian art is the way in which its forms, its methods, and its ideas expanded throughout the world. From Gibraltar to China, from Scandinavia to Zanzibar and Malaya, Persian art and its derivatives inspired and instructed craftsmen of all types. The debt of all these countries to Persia, particularly China, Byzantium and Italy, Spain and the art of Europe generally will be shown by comparative examples arranged in a lucid and a dramatic way, calculated to reveal one of the most important cultural movements in the history of civilization.

To describe further the treasures that will be exhibited at the Royal Academy would be either to give a tiresome list of labels or to indulge in equally tiresome superlatives. Vessels of gold and silver, with figures as delicate as miniature painting, manuscripts and illuminations, glass, ivory, lacquer painting, enamel on gold, silver, and copper, gorgeous costumes and jewelry, every conceivable appurtenance of a rich, luxurious, and artistically gifted people will be displayed in London for the instruction and bewildered delight of those privileged to see it. No such an assemblage of material illustrative of the art of any one people has ever before been made, and it is hard to see how such a collection of Persian art can ever be made again for generations.

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THE INNER EAST

(*Conducted by* W. E. D. ALLEN, M.P.)

I

THE ORIGINS OF THE NATIONAL PRESS IN AZERBAIJAN

BY JEYHOUN BEY HAJIBEYLI

[The writer of this article, a well-known authority on Turkish history and law, was a member of the National Delegation of the Republic of Azerbaijan at the Paris Conference; he is a member of the Société Asiatique, and a frequent contributor to the *Revue du Monde Mussalman*, the *Revue des Etudes Islamiques*, the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, and other publications.]

THE national Press of Azerbaijan arose somewhat later than the theatre, which made its debut in 1851. The originator of the movement was Hassan bey Melik zade Zardabi, an erudite Azerbaijani, whose name is connected with many works of social welfare in the country. Educated at a university, he was a man of liberal ideas and extreme modesty who devoted his life to the emancipation of his people.

In order to acquaint his compatriots with the problems of modern politico-social life and to propagate his own ideas among them, Hassan bey, at a moment when no newspapers were published at Baku, even in Russian, founded the first journal in the Turkish language—the *Akintchi* ("The Sower"). He gave it this name in order to divert the suspicions of the Russian Administration which would not have tolerated Turkish papers of political tendencies in this corner of Asia; and as he was an agriculturist by profession, the title he chose was intended to lay stress on the scientific character of the publication.

This was towards the end of 1875. Happily the Russian Governor, M. Starosselski, was a liberal-minded man and well disposed towards the people under his rule. He was, moreover, a personal friend of Hassan bey, who was at that time Professor of Natural Science at Baku University, and the new venture, in consequence, met with a favourable reception on his part.

The *Akintchi* appeared three times a week in quarto; it was printed at the only existing press, which belonged to the Government, and the Arabic type had to be brought there

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from Tiflis as well as the sole compositor capable of setting it up.

Thus often Hassan bey, who combined the functions of founder, director, editor and contributor, was obliged to turn compositor in order to ensure publication. His office, too, was not overburdened in the matter of staff: one person alone performed all the duties, including that of posting copies to subscribers—Hassan bey's wife, Hanifa khanum, the first Muhammadan woman, perhaps, to be emancipated in that epoch, and an ardent worker who, until her death (in 1929), continued, in spite of advancing age and difficult circumstances, the noble task of educating and freeing her co-religionists. . . .

It was thanks to this strict economy forced upon him by circumstances that the farmer-professor succeeded in defraying the expenses of his venture, which, it must be admitted, were not unusually high at that period. The *Akintchi*, was welcomed with open arms by the few Azerbaijani intellectuals possessing a European education, and with some curiosity on the part of the masses who were not accustomed to this kind of innovation. The editor was warmly congratulated and requests for copies reached him, though they were not always paid for, the idea of paying for something which was not quite a book either in size or contents being regarded at that time as a novelty.

The price of subscription was three roubles per annum.

The *Akintchi* provided information appropriate to its readers; it gave them practical advice upon agriculture and hygiene; it urged them to abandon old prejudices and red-tape methods in favour of modern ideas, and exhorted them to adopt with the help of education the principles of Western civilization in order that they might attain to self-knowledge and take their place among advanced peoples.

The language in which it was written was simple, without the admixture of sonorous Arabic or Persian words, Hassan bey being opposed on principle to obstructing the development of the Azeri tongue by the introduction of so-called "Ibare"—literary words. In this connection the practical character of the journal must be remembered as well as the fact that its founder intended it to serve the everyday interests of the masses. In course of time a staff of voluntary contributors was formed, among whom may be mentioned the names of Haji Seid Azim Shirvani, the well-known Azeri poet, who has left a collection of poems and maxims; Najaf bey Vezirof, the dramatist; and Adiguezalof, author of a study dealing with the history of the Khanate of Karabagh.

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Seid Azim attracted attention by the highly popular pamphlets in which he attacked his opponents. Even Hassan bey himself was not infrequently the object of these pamphlets or "hejws"—scanned verses with sonorous rhymes interlarded often with somewhat strong and libertine expressions.

I well remember reading in the original the polemic in the columns of the *Akintchi* between the editor and a captain Sultanof of Karabagh, who took Hassan bey to task for the severe criticisms he had passed on the subject of the stupid custom prevalent in certain parts of Azerbaijan and Persia of commemorating by self-inflicted lacerations the day of *Ashoura*, the anniversary of the tragedy of Kerbela, when Imam Hussein, the son of Ali, and his family were massacred by the troops of Iyezid Ibn Moavia.

The celebration of this tragic event was seized upon by fanatics as an occasion for giving vent to their zeal by exaggerated manifestations of fervour.

Ten days before *Ashoura*—that is to say, at the beginning of the month of *Moharrem*—the period of mourning begins, and in every *mahalla* or parish preparations are made for investing the funeral ceremony with becoming solemnity; each *mahalla* strives to excite the jealousy of the other by its brilliance and inventiveness. It is also a source of amusement for the young who assemble in groups, and to the accompaniment of drums and clanging of metal instruments parade round the mosque, crying, "Haidar, Safdar"; after which they proceed to other *mahallas* where encounters take place, followed by brawls in which sticks and even daggers are freely used. The victors, naturally, cover their *mahalla* with laurels and glory, while the vanquished, as everywhere, hide themselves in shame and confusion. In the mosques, which are decorated with rich carpets, evening *takia* or funeral ceremonies are held and *nohas* or *mercia* chanted, describing in affecting verses the various episodes of the tragedy; here, too, the *mercia-khans* or the *roza-khans*, those "sob-artists" whom Persia lends us so lavishly, give free rein to their eloquence, their fanatical imagination, and their ability to draw tears from the public. But all this pales before the *Ashoura* ceremony itself, when in full view of the crowds, impatient after long hours of waiting, the various incidents of the drama of Kerbela are enacted in a more or less rich or artistic setting. It is now that the fanatical *Ag-Köynäks*, who are thus called on account of the white aprons they wisely wear, gash

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themselves with swords and daggers. Others, the *Alamdars*, are bent double beneath the weight of spiked objects attached to their bodies in order to imitate the victims who were pierced with arrows. . . . Others again, the *Sinäzäns*, strike their breasts to the accompaniment of *nohas* or lash their bloodstained backs with iron chains called *zenjir*. . . .

It was against this fanatical exaltation that the *Akintchi* raised protests which were regarded as an unwarrantable interference in the domain of beliefs by the reactionaries under the lead of Captain Sultanof, who, as he had been educated in Russian schools, should at least have acquired some notions of Western culture. Haji Seid Azim, who, though he had never enjoyed these advantages, was, as an erudite Mussalman, inclined to liberal views, and, as a poet, hostile to anything grotesque, intervened in the debate with a stinging pamphlet in which he trounced the captain in terms as varied as they were picturesque.

This symbolical polemic constitutes one of the most curious features of the *Akintchi*.

His criticisms in this, as in other matters, inevitably evoked hostility in the quarters interested, and intrigues and accusations of atheism were directed against Hassan bey. Complaints flowed into the Russian Government against his activities, but with the sang-froid and philosophy which were natural to him, Hassan bey persevered methodically at the task of awakening his people until the end of 1877, when, during the Russo-Turkish War, an insurrection of the mountaineers in Daghestan broke out under the leadership of Surkhay khan. The Russian troops crushed the insurrection, and among the thousands of heroes shot, imprisoned or deported, there was a considerable number of innocent persons. Hassan bey's noble nature revolted against this injustice, and he was imprudent enough to plead the cause of some of the prisoners among whom were his former pupils. This intervention on the part of an intellectual was ill received by the Russian authorities, notwithstanding that it was dictated by sentiments of humanity and civic consciousness. The Governor, Starosselski, had left Baku, and Hassan bey could no longer look to him for support. The *Akintchi* was suppressed by the Russian Administration, and Hassan bey exiled to Stavropol, where he remained for five years. On being allowed to return, he was obliged to hold aloof from social and political matters, and retired for some years to his native village of Zardab, where he rendered many services to the peasants in the locality.

The *Akintchi* had a circulation of about 700, but the

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sphere of its influence was far greater, owing to the practice then prevalent of collective readings.

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The second attempt at launching a newspaper in the Azeri language was made at Tiflis, in 1879, by the brothers Unsi-Zade—Hadji Seid and Jemal, natives of Shemakha. They had been educated locally and possessed a fair knowledge of Muhammadan law. The elder, Haji Seid, an eminent theologian, was a member of the Religious Department at Tiflis. He emigrated later to Turkey, where he became a member of the Sheikh-ul-Islamat and was appointed chamberlain to Sultan Abdul-Hamid, who greatly appreciated the manner in which he read the Koran aloud.

In consequence of a quarrel with M. Gaïb-Zade, the Mufti of the Caucasus Muhammadans, Haji Seid was obliged to resign his spiritual post and founded, with the assistance of his brother, a publication called the *Zia'* ("The Light"). It was a sort of weekly newsletter containing essays on literary, poetical, theological, and ethical subjects. It concerned itself especially with the question of the alphabet. Up to January, 1880, there appeared seventy-six issues printed by lithography. After that date the journal took the name of *Zia' I Kafkas* ("The Light of Caucasus"), and appeared at intervals printed by ordinary methods. Up to 1884 appeared 104 numbers. The *Zia'* was succeeded by another publication under the same management, called the *Käshkul*. The word signifies a kind of bowl made from the coconut, which is carried by dervishes and similar orders. Its choice serves to indicate its tendencies. The *Käshkul* continued to appear until 1891, but its circulation was not important. The fact was that both journals being published outside Azerbaijan were not sufficiently in touch with the masses, partly on account of the distance and partly because the language in which they were written was too literary to be appreciated by the average reader as the *Akintchi* had been.

The joint circulation probably did not exceed 500.

* * * * *

After these somewhat discouraging attempts there followed, as far as the Azeri Press is concerned, a period of stagnation which lasted until 1903. This was not only due to the restricted number of intellectuals in Azerbaijan, but to the lack of men possessing sufficient initiative and enterprise to overcome the material difficulties as well as the obstacles which the Russian Government placed in the way of ventures of this nature. It was not that the legisla-

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tion of the Empire imposed any particular restrictions on the rights of Muhammadans to publish periodicals in their own language, but that the Administration, quite apart from questions of general Imperial policy towards Muhammadans, had fallen under the reactionary influences which especially marked the end of Alexander III.'s reign and the beginning of that of Nicholas II.

In any case, the Administration viewed with little favour the spread of political ideas among Muhammadans of the Empire. Though I cannot affirm it categorically, I have good reason to believe that the Administration rejected more than one request on the part of individual Azerbaijanis for permission to found a newspaper in their tongue. This does not seem improbable if we remember that even after the promulgation of liberties by the Manifesto of October 17, 1905, the Azerbaijanis encountered many difficulties in the way of creating a national Press. However that may be, no Azeri journal was founded before the end of 1903. On the other hand, from 1893, or rather 1895, they possessed in the *Kaspie* an organ of their own which, though in Russian, was the only journal of its kind devoted to the dissemination of the ruling ideas not only of Azerbaijanis, but of Muhammadans throughout the Empire, and to the defence of their national aspirations and culture.

The *Kaspie* was founded at Baku by a Russian functionary, M. Kouzmine, about the beginning of 1890. It was then little more than a small newssheet. Shortly afterwards M. Kouzmine made it over to another functionary, M. Sokolinski, who enlarged its size and contents. A wealthy Azerbaijani, M. Taguief, then stepped in and purchased it, maintaining M. Sokolinski in his position as editor. The new proprietor acquired at the same time a printing office, for the use of which M. Sokolinski paid him 5,000 roubles annually. On the death of the latter in 1895, the management of the paper passed into the hands of Ali Mardan bey Toptchibachi,* who had just come to Baku after being called to the Bar at Tiflis. Before he could become effectively editor, M. Toptchibachi was, nevertheless, obliged to spend many months in making applications to the Administration. The Viceroy, Prince Galitzine, refused to grant permission on his own responsibility in view of "the gravity of the case," and recommended M. Toptchibachi to apply to St. Petersburg, where after eight months' negotiations and thanks finally to highly placed

* In 1919 the President of the National Delegation of the Republic of Azerbaijan at the Paris Conference.

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acquaintances, such as M. Goremikine, the Minister of the Interior, he succeeded eventually in obtaining the necessary authorization. . . .

M. Toptchibachi continued, as M. Sokolinski had done, to pay to M. Taguief a rent for the use of the printing press, though at a somewhat higher rate—namely, 7,000 roubles. He remained in sole control for a period of ten years until, as member of the first *Duma* and one of the signatories to the Viborg manifesto, he was deprived of certain civic rights, among them that of editing a newspaper. He did not, however, sever all connection with it until 1908.

The *Kaspie* was not only the organ of Azerbaijani intellectuals, but served as a connecting-link with other Muhammadans in the Empire. In pleading the cause of Muhammadans in Azerbaijan and exposing their grievances, the *Kaspie* was defending at the same time the interests of their co-religionists throughout Russia, whether in Crimea, in the Volga, or Turkestan; for the Muslim policy of the Russian Government made no local discriminations. Thus the Azerbaijanis played a preponderant rôle in shaping the national aspirations of the 25 million Turco-Tartar subjects of the Tsar. Their representative, who was at the same time editor of the *Kaspie*, invariably presided over the Muhammadan group in the Duma, as well as over the various Muslim Congresses. By this means the *Kaspie* contributed to the intellectual union of the scattered Muhammadan populations in Russia, awakening the national consciousness, the dignity and self-esteem of a mass which, though forming, after Russians proper, the most important element in the Empire, was denied the elementary rights accorded to smaller units which professed Christianity.

The *Kaspie* penetrated into Muhammadan circles outside Russia. Such was its popularity, due partly perhaps to its comparative longevity, that for a time the Muhammadan masses confounded its name with that of newspapers in general, and when journals in Azeri made their appearance, the inhabitants of Baku called them "Muslim Kaspies."

Its circulation, which barely reached 1,500 in 1895, had increased to 8,000 in 1906. Both Russians and Azerbaijanis contributed to its columns. Among the former were the poet Balmont, Bounine, member of the Academy, the traveller Hahn, and others; among the Azerbaijanis—Melik-zadé-Zardabi, editor *ad interim*, and Agha-oglou-

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Ahmed (formerly Ahmed-bey-Aghaef), who in his "Friday's Comments" gave free rein to his exaltation, the communicative warmth of a man who had come under the liberal and inspiring influence of French ideas while pursuing his studies in that country. Students and schoolmasters gave their services as voluntary contributors.

In 1908 the management of the *Kaspie* was offered by M. Taguief to a learned Russian, M. Weinberg, who attempted to combine national Azerbaijani interests with the ideas of the Russian liberals to whom he belonged. Notwithstanding his excellent intentions, M. Weinberg did not succeed in satisfying the two tendencies, and among Azerbaijani intellectuals some discontent was manifested that an organ, which belonged to them, did not succeed in defending their cause. This defect was in a certain degree obviated by the inclusion of further Azerbaijani contributors, but in 1917 the publisher, at the instance of the National Azerbaijan Committee, which had come into being at Baku during the February Revolution, handed over an entire page to the promotion of their interests, which were entrusted to the present writer.

The editorial office and printing press of the *Kaspie* were sacked and burned during the massacre of Azerbaijanis in March, 1918, and other Azerbaijani journals in Baku met with a similar fate. This brought the career of the *Kaspie* practically to a close; for although it was resuscitated in September, 1918, under the National Azerbaijan Government, it soon succumbed through its inability to correspond to the ideas of the time, and from the competition of a new national organ—the *Azerbaijan*, also in the Russian language.

* * * * *

We must now return to the subject of journals in Turkish.

During the Russo-Japanese War, and while the revolutionary movement in Russia and in the Caucasus was in full ebullition, a bi-weekly paper known as the *Sharki-Rouss* ("Oriental Russia") was founded by Muhammad-agha-Shahtakhtinski at Tiflis, the residence of the Viceroy.

The Shahtakhtinski family, whose home is near Nakhitchevan, is well known in Azerbaijan, and has produced severel intellectual workers of more than ordinary capacity.

Muhammad-agha completed his studies at Paris, in the philosophy section of the "École des Hautes Études Sociales." He lived for a time in Constantinople, where he published a pamphlet urging the Turks to transfer their capital to Anatolia. In spite of the fact that his suggestion has now been adopted, this novel plan for the salvation of

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the Ottoman Empire was not appreciated at the time, and its author was requested by the authorities to exercise elsewhere his talents of benevolent counsellor. M. Shahtakhtinski came to the Caucasus with a scheme for the reform of the Arabic alphabet, which he proposed replacing by a so-called "phonetic" one, in which the characters resembled Egyptian hieroglyphics. This suggestion, which he set forth in a pamphlet, did not meet with much success; it was received with scepticism in some quarters and indifference in others.

Muhammad-agha was elected a member of the Second Duma, but did not attract much attention in that assembly. After its dissolution he lived at St. Petersburg, continuing in journalism, and his apparent indifference to the political tendencies of the papers to which he contributed excited unfavourable comments on the part of his fellow-countrymen.

The *Sharki-Rouss* was well printed on fairly good paper, in new characters, easy to read, and in a language which was both simple and clear. The contents, however, left much to be desired. In the way of articles and news, there was little beyond the ordinary censored telegrams supplied by the telegraphic agencies and the editor's linguistic and other projects, together with attacks against the Baku bourgeoisie in the person of M. Taguief. There were few contributors, the only two of note being Fridoun bey Kotcharli, who is well known for his studies of the popular poets of Azerbaijan; and Abdul-Rashid Ibrahimof, the famous Tartar publicist. The circulation was about 500.

The journal of M. Shahtakhtinski came to an end a year after its début.

I have thought it not without interest to note these details in order to explain in part the reasons for the failure of the third attempt to introduce a national Press into Azerbaijan, and also to give some idea of the mental outlook of our society at this period.

* * * * *

The stabilization of the national Azerbaijani Press only began in 1905, with the appearance of the journal *Heyat*, and it is solely from this date onwards that the Azeri people possessed newspapers and reviews in their mother-tongue.

But this will be the subject of a further article.

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II

GEORGIAN POETRY (*Continued*)

By Chalva Béridzé

(*Translated by* Miss Nancy Williams)

At the head of the poets of the nineteenth century should be placed General Prince Alexander Chavchavadzé, whose earliest poem appeared in 1834, the first complete edition of his works being published at Tiflis in 1881.

In his poem of 1836, "The Different Ages of Man," he deplores the perpetual and increasing restlessness of humanity. The world, like a child, is born in sorrow; it is false, wayward, and deceitful. Uncertain, changeable, and fearful, man begins his life with tears; later, full of curiosity, he devours books, pillaging the learning of the ages; then love comes to him, and he turns to satisfy his desires; a captive to his unbridled passion, he quickly tires of his own amorousness.

As man becomes older, he grows still more difficult to please; he longs for fame and honour, he longs to be renowned, he follows after fleeting glory, and, finding it not, falls into grief and consuming bitterness. The years weigh heavily on him; he is old and bent, his habits change, the strength of his passions wane, ills of all kinds precede the death which lies in wait for him, whispering:

"Born in sorrow, thou shalt die in grief."*

Wickedness, trickery, lying, and violence pervade the world; death haunts us from the cradle; the monotonous, unheeding passage of time weakens our creative energy ("O! Universe," 1835).

If nightingales trill their exquisite songs with more than usual fervour, it is not only for love, it is their art, for this they were born; their divine eloquence is natural to them; nothing can equal the inspired passion of a poet: of the highest perfection, drawn straight from the sincerity of the heart, it knows no limits, needs no aids.

A pessimist from birth, Prince Alexander Chavchavadzé knew tragic hours of disgrace as an exile who had taken

* Victor Hugo gives us the same idea in his poem "Où donc est le Bonheur?" (1830), written before that of the Georgian poet, who knew French from his earliest youth. It is possible that the influence on him of the great French poet may be proved some day.

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part in the attempted deliverance of his country from the Russian yoke in 1832. The plot was discovered, the principal Georgian patriots were persecuted for many years.

* * * * *

Prince Nicholas Baratshwili is one of the most brilliant poets of the beginning of the nineteenth century. Born in 1816, he died in 1845.

An excellent poet, with an irreproachable style, he reveals all his poetic force in his poem "Pegasus," which owes something to the well-known "Pharys" of Ad Mizkievitch, who was then in fashion throughout Russia and the Caucasus.

When the poet comes into contact with the harshness of reality, his feelings drive him to extremities; he curses life and tries to find refuge outside its griefs and sins.

His verses have a Byronic note, he sings of his sorrows, he exalts them in his dreams of love. Poetry is to him a religion; often alone, he contemplates the marvels of Nature the creator, like all the other Romantics.

In short, some of the poems of Nicholas Baratshwili show that he might have been a poet of the first rank, but death cut short his life when he was twenty-nine. He was often fascinated by the tragic past of his country. The sound of a flute, the piercing music of the Orient, and the unheeding, yet tumultuous, flow of the River Kura—these moved him deeply and reminded him of the history of the Georgian race.

"On the Banks of the Kura" (1837) is imbued with this real, deep nostalgia: "Who knows what this river might tell us, this silent witness of centuries that are past?" The melodies of the "chonguri" (lyre) deepen his sufferings, for they recall the most terrible of past times. He would be a star, the forerunner of the dawn, whose rising is hailed by the voices of a thousand birds and by the "divine smiles of blossoming roses."

Beauty was an inspiration to this poet, and, like Baudelaire, he sang his hymn to beauty and grace; he loved the sea and the songs of birds. He, too, with the author of "Fleurs du Mal," frequently reiterated that "Beside him ever goes the Demon of Unrest"; it is then that spring-time loses little by little its enchanting scent, and only the thought of death consoles him; he dreams of that other unknown world which awaits him.

Deserted and alone, he roams like a hermit with neither protection nor shelter in this time of suffering. . . . The

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evil spirit lies in wait for him everywhere, and for his country, and he suffers for her who is so beautiful, for his country without which can be no joy.

* * * * *

Prince Gregory Orbeliani, an ardent patriot, a general, one of the organizers of the plot against Russian domination in Georgia in 1832, is considered to be a great stylist and most polished versifier.

All his poetry is a call to victory, to heroism, to brotherhood, and love. He is the translator of some of the fables of J. Krylov and a great influence on the literary movement in Georgia (between 1825 and 1875).

Here is a translation of one of his poems "The Wedding":

> "The wedding is good
> When complete liberty reigns there:
> It is good
> When sincerity only is the queen.
> I love the revelry
> And the cries of 'Drink!'
> I love the sparkling, happy glance,
> When it is she, my love, who looks upon me."

In his poem "Remembrance," Gregory Orbeliani laments his past which has fled so quickly in the hope of a brighter future, but alas! the hard heart of his mistress has made him suffer far more.

The picture of Queen Thamar rouses a host of patriotic thoughts; his country in her decline, the carelessness of youth, the selfishness of the world—all these sadden him when he contrasts them with the great age of Thamar.

Gregory Orbeliani made many translations of the poetry of Victor Hugo, of Jukovski, of Lermontov, and of Pushkin.

Prince Wakhtang Orbeliani, a namesake of the preceding, also a general in the Russian army, was one of the keen patriots of the nineteenth century (d. 1890).

In his earliest poem, dated "1834," he says farewell to his country and his friends. His devotion to the sacred cause of freedom was boundless. He never lets go of a fond hope for the future of Georgia, for the complete reestablishment of her happiness. He sings of her incomparable beauty, of her smiling skies, of her mountains, majestical and proud, and of the tumbling rivers. . . . In his melodious and spirited poem "The Nightingale" the writer describes to us the flowering of a delicate and lovely rose; not far off a sparkling spring gushes up. The

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ill-omened raven draws near to the rose, and bit by bit devours it. The nightingale, seeing this sad sight, pours forth his anguished cries. The dark bird replies with harsh croaks to his laments; the nightingale goes on with his lover's song, while the raven, black of heart and soul, continues tearing the rose in pieces. In his address to youth he praises learning, and sets forth the increasing necessity of study.

"Oh, Youth!" the poet cries, "love learning, which is the sun of the world, the bright light of all humanity. The future of our suffering country is in your hands; study set yourselves to ceaseless work in the infinite field of science; teach yourselves that you may teach others" (1881).

His poems touch the springs of humanity; they speak of heroism, love of one's fellows, liberty, equality, fraternity, beneficence, truth, justice, sincerity—all these are touched on in his poetical works:

"I am little of a poet,
Nor does the fire of poetry flame in my prosaic heart.
My lines are simple,
They cannot bring the tears
Into the eyes of the workers.
My speech is not difficult,
It neither asserts eternal truths
Nor heals the blind;
It cannot cure a lack of vision.
I am far from being either poet or leader;
My words are simple,
My music cannot rouse the heart-beats
In the breasts of those who suffer.
I am a simple man, singing in simplicity;
I love Nature and her glory,
I wonder at the open heaven, I gaze upon the dawn,
I adore the mountain tops reaching to very heaven;
My love enfolds alike the dayspring, stars and night."

1883.

His song is pleasant enough, flowers, without thorns, but one feels when reading him the power of sincere and musical phrasing.

* * * * *

The second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth are dominated by the illustrious name of Ilya Chavchavadzé, a politician, a publicist of note, and a great poet, who was the leader of his generation. Born in 1837, he was assassinated on August 30, 1907, while travelling, under circumstances which still remain doubtful and mysterious.

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In his earliest poetry (1857), "To the Mountains of My Country," he sings in sorrowful accents of the sad past of his country and her present decadence; he praises her natural beauties spread throughout her length and breadth.

In his following poems (1858) "To the Georgian Mother" he begs her to bring up her children to be patriots, to train them in the love of truth, of liberty, equality, fraternity, and to turn them towards the eternal light of knowledge.

In his miniature "Elegy" he complains of the indifference of the people to their country. He exclaims sadly:

> "O God! They sleep, still they sleep.
> Will the hour of awakening strike at last?"

"The Spring" is one of the most popular poems of this great national writer. Seeing the forest putting on its leaves, listening to the songs of birds, watching the beauty of the vines, and the flowering of field and plain, he asks himself the eternal question:

> "Will then my suffering country
> Flower again?"

The poet is terse in expression, and exhibits a pure literary style, enriched with the most varied metaphors.

When he experiences solitude, when a pitiless and cruel fate turns on him, then he addresses the River Kura ("Mtkwari," 1861), and confides to it his troubled thoughts.

In his poem "The Poet" he draws up his whole literary credo:

> "I do not sing
> Only for singing's sake
> Like the wild bird:
> It is not for this
> That Heaven has sent me
> To the earth."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> "I do not sing
> As a bird does in idleness and weakly,
> My song is from my heart,
> And one day may comfort my people in their sorrow."

While saying such things the poet does not confine himself to theories, but puts every line of his poetry to a hand-to-hand fight with the enemies of his country.

The spring brings him an exquisite joy, the warm Caucasian sun fills him with energy, the song and flight of birds charm him, the whispering of the flowers and the murmur of the brook are sources of the highest inspiration. All is flowering, all is coming to life under the smiles of Nature, but the heart of the poet, wounded to death, lives not again.

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In his very short poem "The Candle" he compares human life with a lighted candle which burns down little by little, . . .

The troubled waters of life toss the poet's little boat; sad and melancholy, he protests with sorrow that the past is dark, the present full of sadness, and the future still unknown. . . .

A just and impartial critic, an implacable and mordant political writer, a great patriot, full of sincerity, he was often attacked for his "hate," for his acute analysis of his times, and for the pitiless skill with which he probed so deeply into the human soul, but as he himself explains in his address to his pen:

> "True patriots will quickly understand
> That within all my hatred and dislike
> Lies hid my love." ("To My Pen.")

In a poem dedicated to the City of Paris he expresses his deep sympathy with the French nation and its heroic traditions, chivalrous ardour, and eagerness to serve the sacred cause of patriotism and liberty. ("Paris," 1898.)

When dark thoughts trouble him, he turns to Nature for means of consolation; swallows bring him thoughts of the return of spring, and the many coloured flowers provide subjects for the most varied poetry.

Sometimes a storm of envy and jealousy distracts him, often a pitiless and cruel fate betrays him, but the strength and pride of his nature leads him on to fresh battlefields. At such times he follows step by step the flowing of the Kura, which runs through the town of Tiflis, the tears burning on his cheeks, as he says: "Iron itself is broken to pieces when it is placed between the hammer and the anvil, sorrow may be turned into joy, after a dark and anxious night may come a bright, clear day, and all those who suffer under the destructive power of malice will one day be born again under the golden rays of love." ("Look Upon Me.")

The pen is a real weapon in the hand of a master, fit to serve the sacred cause of peace. He sums up in his numerous poems and articles, with surprising clearness, this great historical truth, that the ills which are continually vexing his country come not only from exterior enemies, but from ceaseless discord in her midst, between the Kartwels themselves and the other peoples of the Caucasus. He entreats this whole gathering, this union of strength and mind, to give themselves to be the power of a nation, the unity of a state.

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He is the author of several romantic and historical poems, notably "The Hermit," "The Phantom," "Kako the Brigand," "King Dimitri the Devoted," "Mother and Son," etc.

He is the translator of the poems of André Chenier (1861), while works by Byron, Schiller, Goethe, Heine, Lermontov, and Pushkin are included among his brilliant translations. The following is the subject of his chief poem, "The Hermit" (Gandeguilli), which is a masterpiece, written in decasyllabic metre, wanting neither in ideas nor picturesqueness.

On an unscalable rock, on an inaccessible glacier, higher even than the flight of vulture or eagle, where the voice of man is unknown and winds and storms are ruling masters, long ago, it is said, the servants of God built a monastery, which is still called "Bethlehem."

> "It is by a chain one mounts,
> And by a chain descends once more."

A solitary hermit lived in this deserted place, seeking to save his soul by the mortification of his body.

He quitted his former life to escape from the thousand seductions of the world, its vicious and perverse surroundings, and came to this distant refuge to purge away his carnal desires.

In spite of his youth and strength, he embraced the pure ideal of sacrifice and acts of religion. By continual fasting and prayer he was enabled to bear the most arduous voluntary privations. To save his soul, he mortified his flesh.

In return, the All-Powerful lent him miraculous help. A bright ray of sunlight came down each day into his silent cell to hold up his book of prayers; this ray stood up before him with surprising regularity for the sole purpose of holding up in space the Holy Book.

All went well in this monastery, once famous and crowded, now inhabited by a solitary recluse; the daily miracle was repeated each time he began his prayer. But one single evening of storm and rain changed the whole life of the hermit, who was still young and full of life.

Out of the midst of the raging storm a human voice attracted the attention of our hero . . . a human voice, in such infernal weather, in this place which was forbidden to ordinary mortals, a voice which begged for help and shelter.

(*To be continued.*)

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FRENCH DEVELOPMENT WORK IN INDO-CHINA

By Pierre Cordemoy

Translated by Miss Nancy Williams

Part II.: AGRICULTURAL HYDRAULICS

It is an historical fact that, from earliest times, the great civilizations have had recourse to agricultural hydraulics to fertilize the soil and insure the subsistence of human settlements.

In ancient times, Egypt and Assyria, Rome and China, were notable examples of the important part played in the development of empires by this art of controlling water.

In our times, it is particularly emphasized by those Western nations who have taken under their protection a great part of the Ancient World.

The English in Egypt and India, the French in Asia and Africa, the Dutch in the East Indies, have been forced, with the help of all the powerful resources of modern industry, to extend and protect indigenous cultivation by great systems of irrigation.

All these nations have installed a system of water supply suitable for the country and the peoples under their care. In Eastern Indo-China, where rice is the principal foodstuff and the main article of trade, France has been compelled, since the beginning of her occupation, to devote all her efforts to the furthering of this policy.

In point of fact, rice, which lives by water and sunshine, dies from too much water or sun; the failure of the crop can be the cause of misery, famine, and death among populations which, like the Annamites, are massed in the alluvial lands, which are the chosen domains of the precious cereal.

In such territories, the peasant must fight against the innumerable drawbacks of an exuberant climate: torrential rains, overwhelming floods, and prolonged dry seasons.

To help this age-long battle with the forces of nature, the representatives of France have thought out a vast programme of hydraulic work, the execution of which is now in hand.

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The Programme of Agricultural Hydraulics drawn up by the Department of Public Works of the Colony, under the direction of the Governor-General, includes all five countries of the Indo-Chinese Union.

Up to the present, however, its execution has been confined to the three countries which have the densest population and the greatest rice production: in Cochin-China since 1886, in Tonkin since 1902, in Annam from 1918.

In Cambodia and Laos, where population is more scattered and colonization less advanced, hydraulic works are hoped for in the future.

The whole scheme of agricultural hydraulics in Indo-China has for its purposes: defence against floods and drought, and the drainage of marshland; irrigation balancing insufficience or irregularity of rainfall. It allows of a considerable extension in the area of the rice-fields, and the production of two crops a year.

The results obtained are splendid; already 1,400,000 hectares have been developed, of which 1,250,000 are in Cochin-China, 90,000 in Tonkin, and 60,000 in Annam.

This directly beneficial work is marvellously productive: on a total expense of 60 million piastres,* it has produced an increase of capital of 200 million, and 90 million on the annual revenue, so that the income reaches 150 per cent. of the capital engaged.

The success of these enterprises is assured, moreover, by the eagerness of the natives occupying the lands under the scheme, and by the money contributions offered by many of the Annamite settlements to obtain an extension to their territory.

Governor-General Pasquier provides for, in the years 1930 and 1931, with the help of budgeted funds and a portion of the funds† of the Colonial Loan under consideration by Parliament, a large extension of this work in Tonkin, Annam, and Cambodia.

In these countries the land which has been developed reaches an area of 150,000 hectares, the work in hand at the moment involving 100,000 hectares.

For 1930 there has been planned the beginning of work, allowing for the fertilization of 165,000 hectares, and for 1931 the extension of work over a fresh area of 250,000 hectares, of which one portion is in Cambodia.

It may be stated, then, that in four or five years the area

* The Indo-Chinese piastre has been fixed at 10 paper francs (1s. 8d.).
† 40 million piastres.

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of developed land will include, not counting Cambodia, from 600,000 to 700,000 hectares.

As for Cochin-China, the scheme of work to be carried out up to 1950 allows for the addition of 500,000 hectares of cultivated land to the 1,250,000 already transformed by French enterprise.

We may add that a much more extensive programme is prepared in view of the continuation of the effort undertaken, and that after this is completed, about the middle of the century, the land under cultivation will reach to 4 million hectares for the whole of the Colony.

After this general view of the question, it remains for us to examine briefly what are the means being used, the results obtained, and the prospects for the future in each of the three countries which have already benefited from the system of irrigation (Cochin-China, Annam, Tonkin).

Cochin-China

Lower Cochin-China, or the Delta of the Mekong, is a low-lying uniform plain, practically devoid of inequalities, stretching as far as six French Departments. It is surrounded on two sides by the sea, whose level is higher than the land, causing tidal marshes, which reach far up the rivers. Well protected against an influx of salt water by the existence of coastal barriers and small dykes, this plain is principally irrigated by fresh water from rain or risings of rivers.

It is essential, then, that the rice-fields of Cochin-China should have a system of drainage to clear off, by way of the marshes, the excess of fresh water.

In consequence of this, hydraulic works have consisted in dredging for the opening up of canals, their close network serving both for drainage and up-country navigation. With remarkable method and perseverance, French engineers have excavated, in forty years, 2,600 kilometres of canals.

A few eloquent figures may serve to show the importance of the results obtained in those forty years.

The population has increased to 2,400,000 inhabitants, that is to say it has been doubled.

The rice-fields occupy 1,250,000 hectares of previously uncultivated land.

The annual exportation of rice has increased by a million tons, with a value of a milliard francs.

The carrying out of the work of dredging is to be con-

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tinued, as we have already said, up to 1950, according to the programme decided on by the Colonial Council of Cochin-China, allowing for the development of 500,000 hectares of uncultivated land.

Tonkin

The Tonkin Delta, formed by the Red River and the Thai Binh, is a rich but overpopulated region, much less flat and uniform than Cochin-China.

The rice harvest is not always sufficient for the Annamite population.

Agricultural production is hampered by three main factors—the rising of the Red River, excess of stagnant water in the low-lying parts, and drought in the uplands.

Hydraulic works therefore consist in the making of strong dykes, draining of low-lying ground, and irrigation of high ground.

1. *Dykes.*—The Red River, which flows from the high plateaux of Southern China, is a formidable opponent to man by reason of its sudden and violent risings, in the course of which it rolls down 30,000 cubic metres of water per second, and rises over 12 metres above the low water-level.

The dykes, which had been made since the thirteenth century, offered insufficient resistance up to the last few years to floods, and their failure led to disasters.

Since 1917 the Public Works Department has drawn up a preliminary programme for the raising and reinforcement of the dykes, stretching over a total development area of 550 kilometres.

The proposed Colonial Loan, of which we have already spoken, allots 8 million piastres for the execution of a complementary programme of work.

Work already done has even now had the happy effect of increasing the security of the cultivators, the reinforced dykes having resisted perfectly the assaults of floods during two or three years.

2. *Drainage.*—Drainage is applied to the districts called "casiers" (hollows), which retain, in time of flood, water from rain and river risings.

To make these casiers suitable for cultivation, they must be dried up by various means. In this way 55,000 hectares have been reclaimed in the maritime district and the neighbourhood of Hanoi.

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The work planned from the Loan funds will reach to the casiers of the Day, a tributary of the Red River, and will allow of the cultivation of 95,000 hectares in South Hanoi which have been hitherto unproductive.

3. *Irrigation.*—For centuries the Annamites have practised irrigation by means of ingenious, country-made apparatus, scoops or water-wheels, though these are insufficient to deal with the vast areas.

The modern systems of irrigation instigated by the French provides, according to need, for the collecting of water, whether by damming a river or by pumping apparatus in the river. The distribution of the water takes place, with the help of gravity, by means of a system of canals which form the arteries of the system of circulation.

In Tonkin alone the irrigation programme deals with about 300,000 hectares, divided into eight systems, of which

25,000	hectares	of the	systems	are	in use,
50,000	,,	,,	,,	,,	under construction,
225,000	,,	,,	,,	,,	under consideration.

Annam

The deltas of the rivers, which are usually short in Annam, are important centres of population and agricultural production.

They stretch along a coast of 1,800 kilometres, bounded by the Annamite chain and the China Sea.

These alluvial lands suffer from a very marked and often disastrous dry season, which accounts for the extensive irrigation programme.

Hydraulic works are planned for more than 300,000 hectares, divided into eleven areas of irrigation, of which

60,000	hectares	are	already in use,
20,000	,,	,,	in course of construction,
230,000	,,	,,	under consideration.

In short, in the matter of the canal drainage of Cochin-China, the reinforcement of the dykes of the Red River, the draining and irrigation of Tonkin and Annam, we may say, in this brief account, that the irrigation policy followed by France in Indo-China has had the most productive and beneficial results, and that it is of great moral and economic importance.

The carrying out of the programme, rendered possible by the Loan, can have none but the happiest results for the well-being and safety of the native population.

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Following on these studies devoted to the work carried out by France in Indo-China, let us try to arrive at some general conclusions.

This work might, without disadvantage, be compared with that accomplished in the same part of the world by Great Britain in the Indian Empire, or by Holland in the Dutch East Indies.

In communications as in hydraulics, in railways as in roads, in ports as in rivers, in dykes as in canals, the French Public Works are an honour to the nation that has undertaken them, and to those, her faithful servants, who have carried out her task.

They have made it possible in the space of one generation to multiply by three the production of a great country, to quadruple her general commerce, and to open up unexplored territory for colonization. They have helped to establish peace, safety, and prosperity in countries long devastated by the wickedness of man and the fury of the elements.

And what is, to our mind, still more admirable in this work which promises so much for the future, the ideal prevailing is not only the benefit of the mother-country, but above all, the interests of the people, united together in one enterprise of progress and civilization.

At this time, when the whole edifice built up in the East by the enlightened nations of the West is subject to furious and treacherous attacks, let us add this, knowing, moreover, the men who have studied with such honesty the grave questions of the hour.

The peace of Southern Asia is bound up with the maintenance of Western protection, the conditions of which may be bettered, but which still, for many years, is necessary from the human point of view alone.

Finally, whether we look towards the East or towards the West, it seems certain that the peace of the world depends in a great part on the Anglo-French alliance, sealed on the Battlefield for Right and Freedom.

For a forgetfulness of the friendship of the two nations, of the obvious solidarity of their interests if confronted by violence latent or open, would be for both, in some measure, an act of renunciation of their purpose and their ideal.

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THE BUILDING OF MODERN SIAM

By Sir Edward Cook, C.S.I., C.I.E.
(Late Financial Adviser to the Government of Siam.)

Some seven centuries ago, when the conquests of Kublai Khan were pressing heavily upon the peoples of Southern China, a race who called themselves the Thai (the "free") and were the ancestors of the modern Siamese, began to migrate southwards across the mountains into the rich valley of the Menam Chao Phya which waters the great central plain of Siam. They were a Mongoloid people, small of stature but hardy and warlike. They found the country occupied by the Cambodians (the "Khmers" of history), under a dynasty which had emigrated from Southern India centuries before and whose builder kings have left that astonishing series of monuments at Angkor in Cambodia. The Khmer power had passed its zenith and the Thai had no difficulty in making headway against their more civilized but decadent opponents, establishing themselves in the Menam valley, confining the Khmer sovereignty to what is now the French Protectorate of Cambodia, and penetrating down the upper part of the Malay Peninsula as far as the Indian Ocean.

Centuries of warfare followed with their neighbours, mostly with the Burmese on the west. The fortunes of the Siamese fluctuated greatly; at one time they ruled over a substantial portion of Southern Burma; at a later date, their then capital, Ayudhia, was sacked and destroyed by the Burmese. But thanks to the energetic leadership of certain of their kings and to their own sturdiness, they managed to retain the greater part of what their ancestors had won. With similar skilful leadership, aided by some good fortune, they survived the period of colonial expansion on the part of two great European Powers—to the west, Great Britain, established in Malaya and Burma, and, to the east, the French in Indo-China.

The preservation of Siam's independence is mainly the work of the Chakri dynasty, which has reigned for the past century and a half. The fourth of the line, King Mongkut, first opened the country to European trade and sent and received missions to and from various European Courts; but it is his successor, the great King Chulalongkorn, whose memory is rightly revered by the Siamese as the father of

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his country and the founder of modern Siam. It is with the progress of Siam under King Chulalongkorn, and the two sons (the late and the present King) who have succeeded him, that the present article deals.

King Chulalongkorn's great achievement was his perception that Siam could not hope to escape absorption by one or other, or possibly both, of the two great colonizing Powers then at the height of their expansion, if, like the kingdoms of Burma and Korea, she attempted to hold the West at arm's length and to remain a mediæval country in the fiercely competitive atmosphere of the nineteenth century. Taught by certain events in the nineties, when Siam came within an ace of losing her independence, and guided by the experience gained during a lengthy tour of Europe, he set himself to reorganize his kingdom on modern lines. He succeeded, where many other Oriental reformers have failed, in doing so without losing administrative control or impairing his country's individuality. He did not seek to introduce Western methods or institutions merely because they had proved suitable in a different hemisphere. Still less did he attempt to impose upon his people reforms which were too sweeping for them to assimilate or which cut directly across the national traditions. Borrowing largely from the West, he adapted what he borrowed, and the foreign experts whom he employed, although many of them attained a position of considerable influence, were not allowed to dominate the administration or by their over-enthusiasm to provoke undesirable reactions. The administration, though profiting largely by foreign advice, remained definitely Siamese, and the wisdom with which the necessary changes were made was reflected in the absence of mental disturbance and in the enthusiastic loyalty of his people.

At the time when King Chulalongkorn initiated his reforms Siam was completely undeveloped; there were practically no communications other than the waterways which intersect the central plain; the system of education had remained unaltered for centuries; the administration of justice was antiquated and could not be applied to foreigners, cases affecting whom had therefore to be dealt with by the foreign consuls; the finances were unorganized, the resources available to the King's Government depending on what the provincial governors chose or were forced to remit to Bangkok; the whole country, in short, was a huge personal estate which had outgrown the possibility of personal control.

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Space does not permit a description of the many reforms by which King Chulalongkorn laid the foundations of modern Siam; his reorganization of the provincial administration, of the courts of justice, and of national education; the sending of his many sons and nephews to Europe (mostly to public schools in England) at a sufficiently early age and for a sufficient time for them to carry back a lasting impression of Western culture and methods of thought; and the commencement of a policy of economic development. Important as all these were, the keystone of the whole structure was the establishment of a proper system of national finance. Not only was this essential to the success of all other reforms, it is probable that the soundness of Siam's finances has had much to do with the preservation of her independence. Her financial record, in fact, has won for her, more perhaps than any other achievement, the respect, sometimes, it may be, the envy of other nations.

It was clear to King Chulalongkorn and his advisers that much capital expenditure would be necessary in order to equip the country with a proper system of communications, without which economic progress would be impossible. Such capital could only be provided by foreign loans. It was equally obvious that foreign borrowing would be impossible except under very onerous terms which might involve the acceptance of some form of foreign control, unless the finances were properly organized, and it could be proved to the satisfaction of foreign lenders that a Siamese loan was a safe investment. Energetic steps were therefore taken to carry out this preliminary work. A proper system of annual budgets was introduced, the regulations governing it being of the strict and conservative kind associated with British finance of the nineteenth century; this was supplemented by a system of accounts and audit, following closely that of British India. A clear demarcation was made, by means of a Civil List, between the King's personal expenditure and the general expenditure of the country. The powers of the Ministry of Finance were strengthened. The system of revenue collection and taxation was overhauled by officers from Burma. Budgets were properly balanced, and all financial matters were made the subject of rule.

These measures bore rapid fruit. In 1905 and 1907 Siam was able to raise loans of £1,000,000 and £3,000,000 respectively, most of which was devoted to the pushing on of railway construction, which had hitherto been carried on

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in a haphazard manner from surplus revenues. In 1909 a loan of about £4,500,000 was taken from the Federated Malay States in order to build the Southern Railway which now connects Bangkok with the Malayan system. After the war—viz., in 1922 and 1924—two further loans of £2,000,000 and £3,000,000 were raised. All these loans were raised without difficulty, and on terms which would have been impossible but for the organization set up by King Chulalongkorn.

Siam's financial record is not to be measured merely by the ease with which she has borrowed the money necessary for her capital expenditure. The £13,600,000 borrowed between 1905 and 1924 has been reduced to about £11,000,000 by means of the sinking-funds attached to each loan. Apart from this, the Government has in recent years accumulated from surplus revenues a Debt Redemption Fund which is separately invested, and the amount of which will be sufficient to exercise the options of repayment in 1932 and 1934 of the £2,000,000 and £3,000,000 loans raised in 1922 and 1924, thereby saving about 3,500,000 ticals a year (£300,000) in interest and sinking-funds charges. When this repayment has been made, the amount of the national debt will be less than seven months of the country's present revenue, and about five ticals (9s. 1d.) per head of the population.

As against the present debt of £11,000,000 the capital expenditure on railway construction alone has been £17,000,000, apart from several millions spent on irrigation works and similar productive objects. Siam is therefore in the fortunate position of possessing no non-productive debt.

King Chulalongkorn's zeal for his country's advancement has continued to inspire his younger brothers, sons, and nephews, who, together with several prominent members of old official families, have carried on his work. A Western visitor, if he looks carefully and remains a sufficiently long time in the country, may find much to criticize; he will be a captious critic if he does not also find much to praise, especially when he remembers that, unlike the countries of the West, Siam has not had centuries of civilization to draw on, except at second-hand, and that the results which he now sees are the product of scarcely more than one generation's effort, carried out in the face of the dangers which must always arise when the floodgates of Westernism are opened upon an Oriental country.

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It is perhaps inevitable that such an observer, especially if he has had experience of other parts of Asia, should ask himself how far Siam's achievements are confined to the shop window, and whether, by penetrating behind the scenes, a different view may not be obtained. It would be a disservice to Siam to paint an unduly rosy picture, or to imply that all is well and that there is no room for improvement. Probably no one is more conscious than the present sovereign and his counsellors of the many things that remain to be done before the nation attains full growth and her future can be assured. Much spade-work, for example, will be necessary if the system of national education is to equip the people adequately to hold their own in the modern world of competition in which Siam now finds herself. And a country which is completely dependent on agriculture, and on one crop (rice) in particular, cannot, in spite of her great natural advantages, afford any longer to neglect considering whether her agricultural policy is sufficiently progressive. A still more urgent problem, which is by no means unconnected with those of education and agriculture, arises from the economic penetration of Siam by the Chinese—a problem bristling with difficulties, but which, somehow or other, must be solved if Siam is to remain Siamese.

Nevertheless, as regards the soundness of the fabric behind the *façade*, there are certain tests which can be applied, and certain facts which speak for themselves. Most of these relate to finance; they are the ones of which I myself have direct knowledge; moreover, it is by financial results that a Government which lays claim to more than it has achieved can usually, when the figures are uncooked, be found out.

I have referred to the low figure of the national indebtedness and to the fact that, on railway construction alone, Siam has spent much more than she has borrowed. In countries where the railways are owned and worked by the State their financial results afford a good test of governmental efficiency. In Siam the railways, by opening up those parts of the country, especially in the north and north-east, which hitherto had found no outlet for their produce, have contributed very largely to the recent increase in the national revenue and in the general prosperity. The railways have been managed with strict regard to economy, the percentage of gross receipts absorbed by working expenses (including depreciation charges) being no higher than 43·7 per cent. In the year

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ending March 31, 1929, the net railway revenue was Tcs. 11,000,000 (£1,000,000), exclusive of any charge for interest. Assuming a rate of 5 per cent. on that portion of the capital which was found by the State otherwise than from loan funds, then the interest on the total capital at charge would amount to Tcs. 9,300,000. The Siamese railways, therefore, apart from the great indirect benefits they have brought to the country, also yield a substantial direct profit to the taxpayer. Although some European officers are still employed, mainly as engineers, the administrative direction of the railways is entirely in Siamese hands.

Another important test of administrative soundness is the position of the currency. On this matter the rulers of Siam have shown their wisdom by following the straight and narrow path, firmly setting their faces against all temptation to evade their difficulties by such expedients as inflation and an insufficiently secured paper issue. Siam was one of the first countries to adopt the Gold Exchange Standard—a system which at one time was thought to be specially suited to the needs of countries at a certain stage of their economic development, as contrasted with the full "gold standard" of older and richer countries, though the events of the past decade have shown that in reality there is little difference between the two. During the war Siam, unfortunately as it turned out, followed India's lead and, to borrow Lord Meston's expressive phrase, allowed the exchange value of the tical, like that of the rupee, to be "washed up by the rising tide of silver." When the post-war bubble was pricked, heavy exchange losses were incurred, the whole of which, however, have since been written off from revenue surpluses.

The efficiency of any currency system based on gold turns on the possession by the Government of adequate reserves either in gold, or in foreign currency convertible into gold and sufficiently liquid to be brought into play rapidly in times of emergency. For some time in Siam paper money, secured by a reserve, circulated side by side with silver ticals; more recently, the latter, which have not been coined since the war, have ceased to be popular and most of those previously in circulation have found their way back to the treasuries, so that the present note issue (Tcs. 130,000,000 gross and Tcs. 108,000,000 net) represents practically all the Government's currency liability. Against this liability there is a reserve of Tcs. 151,000,000, of which Tcs. 52,000,000 consists of coined silver. Neglecting the

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silver holding completely, the active portion of the reserve is Tcs. 99,000,000 (£9,000,000) and is very liquid, being composed of British Treasury Bills, U.S.A. Treasury Notes and Certificates of Indebtedness, and cash at call in London and New York. Of the net note circulation, therefore, no less than 91·6 per cent. is covered by assets readily convertible into gold. The note issue is strictly regulated by law, no addition to the circulation being permissible without the deposit in the reserve of an equivalent amount in gold or gold exchange. The very high proportion of liquid cover is a great safeguard for a country whose economic life is dependent on the seasons and on one particular article of produce, and has enabled the Government to assume liability for maintaining the external value of its currency at the rate of eleven ticals to the sovereign.

As regards the national budget itself, there is a margin between revenue and ordinary expenditure which enables the programmes of railway, irrigation, and road construction to be financed without recourse to the raising of new loans, while during the past three years a fund of £4,000,000 has been accumulated for the redemption of debt.

The attainment of this strong financial position has been facilitated by the intrinsic strength of the economic position, for in most years there is a large balance of trade in the country's favour, much more than sufficient to meet her foreign expenditure. But it has not been all plain sailing. Eleven years ago there occurred an extensive crop failure (happily rare in Siam) giving the country an economic shock the effects of which lasted for several years. Added to this, during the closing years of the last reign (which ended in 1925), there had been some administrative deterioration; the expenditure was growing faster than the revenue, and much of it was devoted to objects which did not benefit the country as a whole. The revenue was in arrears; there was a series of budget deficits and the Treasury balances were getting low. What made the position more difficult was the fact that under the then existing treaties with foreign countries there was no elasticity in the fiscal system, and it was not possible to increase the revenue to an extent sufficient to cover the expenditure.

The administrative toning-up which followed the accession of the present King coincided with the completion of the treaties' revision. The Government could, with the attainment of fiscal freedom, have chosen the easy solution of balancing the budget by means of the additional resources obtainable from a proper customs tariff. It rejected that

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solution and achieved a balance, without drawing on its fiscal powers, by affecting a severe all-round retrenchment in administrative charges, including a large reduction made by the King in the Civil List.

The adoption of this sounder though more difficult course was quickly rewarded. The additional resources obtained from the new tariff in the following year, instead of being used up to balance a deficit budget, were made available both for urgently needed expenditure and for a general strengthening of the position against the demands of the future. With a new tariff the customs revenue was doubled, and the opportunity was taken to scrap a number of ancient export duties and the inland transit duty. Administrative improvements resulted in larger collections of ordinary revenue, while a series of good harvests and a great increase in the volume of the country's foreign trade brought large revenue surpluses. The Government has thus been able in the last few years to budget annually for a substantial amount of new expenditure without raising new loans for its development programme, to write off all its bad debts and to put by funds for the redemption of its loans. More recently, the slump in world-prices, coupled with the reduction in the purchasing power of China due to the fall in silver, has begun to affect the trade in rice, Siam's staple export, and there is likely to be some falling-off of revenue and a reduction in the balance of trade. But the cautious policy followed by her Government should enable Siam better than many countries to face the consequences of the present great world depression.

Administrators whose efficiency was merely on the surface, or who were actuated by personal or political aims, could not have achieved these solid results; in Siam, as elsewhere, events have proved that to win the Sovereign's approval, and to promote one's country's advancement are motives which make for sound administration more effectually than the need for the winning of votes. Marked progress has been made in other branches of the administration, though less susceptible of being measured by concrete figures. Thus, the modernizing of the courts of justice and of the system of law, initiated by King Chulalongkorn, has sensibly gathered pace during the past decade, with the result that those nations which formerly possessed extensive extra-territorial rights have surrendered most of them, and the time is in sight when the vestige still remaining will disappear. Medical relief is being widely extended with the growth of a cadre of medical officers, trained at a well-equipped college,

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in the establishment of which Siam owes much to the co-operation of the Rockfeller Foundation. The Boy Scouts movement has taken healthy root throughout the country, and bids fair to have a marked influence upon Young Siam. The Air Force is an organization whose efficiency has struck foreign experts, and of which Siam is justly proud. Progress, and a keen desire to make good, are in the air, especially among the generation now arriving at maturity. With all this, administrative costs, judged by British Indian standards, are low, for the personnel nowadays is almost entirely Siamese.

What of the future? So far as internal politics are concerned, Siam is very fortunate. Absolute monarchy, as interpreted in practice by Siam's sagacious rulers, has many advantages. A Supreme Council, consisting of five senior and experienced Princes, advises the King on matters of policy. The heads of the various ministries form, together with the five Councillors, a Cabinet Council, at whose weekly meetings, presided over by the King in person, all new proposals of importance are discussed. An act of State is therefore, in Siam, very far from being the act of an irresponsible despot. This is not to say that among the Siamese political consciousness does not exist; but it is subordinated to a deep affection and reverence for their dynasty and a firm resolve not to allow their country to be contaminated by the virus of Moscow or Canton. Certainly, I have myself not noticed, even among the younger Siamese, any desire whatever for a wholesale or premature importation of political institutions on Western lines. They have observed the discount at which democratic government, as previously understood, now stands in so many countries. They have watched with great interest the Indian experiment and are not impressed by its success. It is impossible to say what political developments the future may bring, or what will be the effect on the national mentality when the present system of compulsory education has been in force for a generation. In any case, much will depend on the success of the efforts now being made to build up a Siamese commercial class and thus to counter the hold possessed by Chinese immigrants upon the country's economic life—a hold which is at present so firm as to contain potentialities of danger. But, as for the Siamese themselves, their particularly happy temperament, which makes them such an attractive people to live among, their national religion and the close union between Church and State, their fortunate freedom from alien rule, the

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lightness of taxation and a standard of living distinctly higher than among the peasantry of India and China, do not constitute a favourable breeding-ground for revolutionaries, and it seems likely that any changes which may occur will be of slow growth and will bring no abrupt breach of continuity with the past.

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NETHERLANDS INDIES SECTION

THE INTERNATIONAL LABOUR OFFICE AND THE COLONIES

By Dr. H. Cohen de Boer
(Secretary-General, since 1925, of the Netherlands-England Society)

As the International Labour Office at Geneva steadily enlarges the sphere of its activities, so it has to deal with an increasing number of problems, to the solution of which the original plan of its organization proves not to be calculated. One of the principal objections concerns the manner in which eventually the decisions concerning subjects under discussion have to be taken: it is the Conference, the assembly of representatives of the fifty-five member-countries, which by a majority of votes either accepts or rejects the principles laid down in the Conventions.

This system entails that whenever questions are brought up for discussion which affect only a number, or even no more than a small minority, of those entitled to vote, an antithesis is automatically created between those interested and those who are not. Whilst logically it might be expected that those directly interested would be accorded a preponderant influence on the decisions to be taken, it is ultimately those States in whose territory the issues to be settled do not arise, and who therefore cannot consider the question from the point of view of experts, but whose judgment must inevitably be influenced by a number of considerations of a different nature, who by their numerical superiority make the decision or, at least, turn the scales. This drawback made itself most strongly felt when the International Labour Office began especially to occupy itself with colonial problems. As these chiefly affect only the five great Colonial Powers—Great Britain, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Portugal—it is no matter for surprise that those countries raise objections to the fact that the other fifty members of this international organization also have a voice in the matter, and, even under the regulations, must vote on the final decision.

Before discussing in detail the opposition offered to this system by the countries mentioned and the reply made

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by the Director of the International Labour Office, it may be pointed out that in particular the latest, the Fourteenth International Labour Conference, held in June of this year, throws a clear light on the defects of the working methods followed at Geneva. In addition to the question of forced labour in the colonies, the coal question was on the agenda-paper, a matter in which also only a small minority, nine only out of the fifty-five States, was involved. The convention drafted for this latter point came to nothing because it could not obtain the required majority of votes. In striking contrast with this, not a single adverse vote was cast against the convention concerning forced labour, although it is certainly not without importance that the Government representatives of France, Belgium and Portugal, the countries chiefly interested, refrained from voting after having made statements from which it may be deduced that a ratification of the convention in its present form will probably meet with important objections on the part of their Governments. That the decisions taken in this manner lose much of their importance for real decrease of forced labour is clear. Professor Dr. Moresco, the Netherlands Government delegate at the recent Labour Conference, laid great stress on this point, and, speaking to a correspondent of the *Algemeen Handelsblad*, published at Amsterdam, said:

> "In this manner, the labour organization finds itself in a more or less critical position. If no satisfactory method is found to deal with questions of this nature, the organization is in danger of losing all influence thereon. Naturally one may go on discussing them and formulating draft-treaties, which may, perhaps, do some good as means of propaganda in national political campaigns, but no direct influence will emanate from them, on behalf of those who are to be protected."

The same delegate, indeed, made a proposal at Geneva in June to meet this evil by stipulating that for the general application of any convention its ratification should be required, not, as is the case at present, by at least any two members of the organization, but by the majority of the countries directly interested. The Labour Office wished to revise in any case this proposal in such a manner that ratification by two of the interested countries should be necessary. Neither of the two proposals, however, found a majority. In the light of the subsequent discussions at the general assembly, Professor Moresco, indeed, regarded such a clause as no longer sufficient. Concerning the course of affairs he gave the following further particulars:

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"At that sitting, all amendments by the Government delegates of the States interested were rejected. Of the nine amendments of the labour groups (forming, as always, one compact block) seven were passed. The two which were rejected with a very small majority, indeed, might have seemed to the delegates from the non-interested States to fall more or less within their spheres. They referred to certain well-known terms (eight-hour working day, trade unions). This was not the case with the seven amendments adopted, and these were readily accepted. This characterizes the position."

Commenting on these statements, the *Handelsblad* pointed out, *inter alia*, that, according to data periodically published by the International Labour Office itself, only 192 or about 15 per cent. of the 1,131 ratifications which might have been made have at this moment materialized. In this respect, the fact should further not be lost sight of that from sixteen member-countries no data were received, which in all probability is not a sign of a high ratification percentage in those countries. Europe was responsible for something over 86 per cent. of those 392 ratifications, and the rest of the world for the remaining 14 per cent. "These figures might be a matter for reflection," the *Handelsblad* writes in comment. They indicate considerable disparity in a competing world. As regards the moral right to be heard at Geneva, they indicate just as great a disparity. As far as the non-European part of the world, roughly speaking, is concerned, one might almost say that there is much talk but very little done.

Let us now, after this brief introduction and digression, return to the movement which has originated in various colonial mother-countries, as a result of the first step made last year in the direction of intervention in colonial labour affairs by the International Labour Office, a movement which has called forth a statement from the Director of that Office in paragraph 176 of his Report laid before the Fourteenth Labour Conference. It would be in my opinion going too far to assert that this statement is altogether convincing. In any case, there is reason for satisfaction in the fact that M. Albert Thomas has become aware of the dissatisfaction, which is being voiced in the colonial circles of various countries, with the decisions expected from Geneva for the formulation of uniform measures applicable to all colonies and with the control exercised by the International Labour Office.

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The numerous expressions of this *a priori* negative attitude of the competent organizations in various countries could scarcely have failed to come to M. Albert Thomas's notice. Thus, a few days after the closing of the International Labour Conference of June, 1929, the *Institut Colonial International* met in congress at Brussels, where the debates from the very beginning formed a striking reaction from the results just arrived at by the Conference at Geneva. On that occasion the Institute agreed with the conclusion at which its general *rapporteur* had arrived: *qu'il n'y aurait place, dans l'état actuel des choses, pour des accords internationaux que dans une mesure limitée et entre puissances coloniales*—that as the position was at present there would be no room for international agreements unless in limited measure and between colonial Powers. Not only this Institute, but also the principal French colonial organizations, occupied themselves with this question. The Congress of *la France d'outre-mer*, which met at Paris in October last under the auspices of the *Ligue maritime et coloniale française*, declared itself strongly against *un contrôle international du régime des indigènes, intervention qu'il jugeait inutile et dangereuse, et contre l'application d'une législation du travail uniforme pour l'ensemble des colonies*—international control of the regulations for the natives, an intervention which in its opinion was useless and dangerous, and also declared itself against labour legislation uniformly valid for all colonies. Further, the *Académie des Sciences coloniales* appointed a special committee for this purpose, which expressed the opinion "that there was no reason whatever to formulate a new international convention for forced labour, as it was inclined to the belief that the Slavery Convention answered all requirements of the present position." Finally, several Chambers of Commerce, including that of Paris, strongly protested against "all interference of the International Labour Office in the question of labour regulations in the colonies."

Not only in France, but also in Belgium and Portugal, energetic action has of late been taken with regard to the International Labour Office's rôle in colonial affairs. M. Albert Thomas declares that in this matter the colonial organizations have made use of the most varied expedients: press articles, conferences, decisions, motions, etc. In the Netherlands also, those organizations have not hesitated to make their views known. We need only refer to the annual speeches delivered in 1929 and also this year by the Chairman of the Board of Industry for the Netherlands East Indies. In the former he referred, *inter alia*, to the

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danger of the International Labour Office, owing to unsatisfactory working methods, becoming "an institution of internationally sanctioned superficiality," whilst in the latter Professor Treub referred to the recent emphatic statements of the French Minister for the Colonies, who refused to recognize the decisions taken by fifty-four Powers, forty-six of whom possess no colonies whatever, and followed up his refusal by saying "that in such a matter France willingly accepts every recommendation but energetically rejects all control." This control proposed by the Labour Office for the due observance of what is "recommended" at Geneva surely introduces a debatable element in the newly adopted method of settling national-colonial labour problems internationally. Over and above the control already exercised in virtue of article 408 of the Treaty of Versailles through the annual reports which it is incumbent upon the States to draw up concerning the measures taken for the carrying out of the conventions ratified by them, the International Labour Office wishes to establish a supplementary supervision by the institution of a permanent committee of experts, *comprenant des spécialistes des questions coloniales et permettant, par conséquent, un examen particulièrement compétent des rapports des Etats*—including specialists on colonial questions, thus enabling a specially competent examination of the report drawn up by the States. Is it a matter for surprise that this should already have been interpreted as an effort at the internationalization of the colonies? The reply of the Director of the International Labour Office to this reproach seems to me to be purely negative—not negative in the sense that he denies the facts on which it is based, but in so far as he omits every positive refutation of the same. Indeed, by the few words which he adduces on this point, M. Albert Thomas strengthens the assumption that this is more a question of practical supervision than of theoretical enquiry into reports. He points out, for instance, that the proposal, "in the wording in which it was accepted, may, in its essence, be reduced to the institution of a commission *analogous to that of article* 408." As a matter of fact, the words which M. Albert Thomas puts in italics are open to question for three reasons. Firstly, is his employment of the analogy of the commission of article 408 supportable as valid? Article 408 of the Treaty of Versailles makes no reference whatever to such a commission. It only mentions the annual reports which the States have to produce with respect to the measures taken by them in accordance with an established model, and an extract therefrom which the

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Director has to lay before the next sitting of the Conference. The *Comité d'experts de l'article* 408 is, indeed, a creation, dating from January, 1927, of the International Labour Office itself. Secondly, both this Commission and the already existing *Comité d'experts pour le travail indigène* are temporary institutions. The first-named, originally appointed for two years, has since 1928 been tacitly renewed year by year, whereas the commission now proposed would mean a further step in the direction of the appointment of a *permanent commission.* Thirdly, it is not correct to say that the proposed permanent commission is analogous to that ex article 408 except "that it would include experts for colonial affairs." Not only would it in that case be more obvious to augment the Commission ex article 408 by a number of colonial experts, so that there would be no motive for the institution of a special commission, but it is also clear that another analogy is more obvious—namely, that of the equally permanent Mandate Commission ex article 22 of the Covenant. That most of the States realized this would appear clearly from the energetic opposition which arose in the recent Conference to the mere notion of including a question on this subject in the Questionnaire addressed to the States. It was immediately pointed out that the same control which is logical when applied to mandated territories under the auspices of the League of Nations would infringe the sovereignty of the colonial Powers when applied to conditions in the colonies of independent States. The Government delegate of Liberia and Nicaragua said on this subject, *inter alia: "Il s'agit ici d'une commission destinée à contrôler la politique intérieur des Etats. . . . Aucun gouvernement ne saurait tolérer l'intervention, l'immixtion d'un autre Etat en matière de politique intérieure, et encore moins celle d'une commission quelconque, à moins que la Société des Nations ne devienne un Super-Etat."*—It would conduct itself as a Commission intended to control the internal affairs of States. . . . No Government will tolerate such interference by another State by any such Commission whatsoever, unless the League of Nations is to become a super-state. The Government delegate of Portugal also offered strenuous opposition: "*Je me permets, respectueusement, de m'opposer de toutes mes forces à ce que l'on adopte ici un pareil principe (c.à.d. l'abdication des droit nationaux devant une Commission du B.I.T.).*"—I would, respectfully, oppose with all my power the adoption of such a principle—the surrender of a national right to a Commission of the International Office. The vote, by fifty-nine to forty-nine, according to which (despite

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the opposition offered by those directly interested) it was decided to lay the question of the desirability of such a Commission before the Powers which are members of the Office again illustrates the procedure of the Conference from which the International Labour Office derives its authority, and which I criticise. With the exception of their employees' delegate, the following States voted adversely: South Africa, Australia, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Columbia, Great Britain, France, British India, Liberia, Portugal, etc.—that is to say, with the exception of Spain and the Netherlands (Italy was not represented when the vote was taken), nearly every country which may be considered to have an interest in the matter. To obtain a majority in favour of the proposal, the votes of countries like Germany, Austria, Denmark, Esthonia, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Norway and Sweden were decisive, the votes of which can scarcely have been prompted by the interests of colonial possessions. The illogical nature of such a process appears very clearly from the Report which has been laid before the present Conference concerning the replies to the Questionnaire. It appears—as, indeed, could hardly be expected otherwise—that all those countries which on each occasion recorded their vote so readily and with so much conviction in favour of a still further extension of the Questionnaire were themselves unable to reply to most of the questions.

Thus, the question referring to the permanent commission was answered by only eleven Governments. Of those, the replies of Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and the Netherlands were in the affirmative. Germany and Spain made an energetic reserve with a view to the controlling power being eventually accorded to the Commission. South Africa, Belgium, France, Great Britain, British India and Portugal simply denied the desirability of such a commission. Belgium added to its denial:

"*Cette commission aurait le caractère d'une institution de contrôle, ce qui porterait atteinte à la souveraineté des Etats. Elle apparaîtrait bientôt aux indigènes comme un organisme supérieur au gouvernement lui-même. Ils ne cesseraient d'y faire appel. Tout au moins leurs espérances dans l'intervention de cette commission créeraient dans leurs milieux une agitation permanente.*"—This Commission would be in the nature of a controlling body which must detract from the sovereignty of States—it would seem to natives to be superior to their Government itself. They will never stop appealing to it. Their hopes of intervention by the Commission will bring about a standing agitation amongst them.

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Great Britain declared categorically :

"*Le Gouvernement britannique ne serait pas disposé à accepter que des pouvoirs de contrôle et de surveillance soient attribués à cette commission.*"—The British Government is not prepared to agree that powers of control and supervision should be assigned to this Commission.

All this, again, shows clearly the results of a minority of interested parties being overruled by an unconcerned majority and of placing the decision on all-important colonial interests in the hands of an assembly the majority of whose members have no share in those interests and no first-hand knowledge concerning the same.

What M. Albert Thomas adduces in his Report concerning this serious grievance I can hardly call a defence, let alone a refutation of the arguments offered. First of all, he points out that the codification of so-called native labour does not exclusively concern purely colonial Powers but also those countries holding mandates over other territories (Australia, New Zealand, the South African Union), as well as certain independent States such as Liberia and Abyssinia and certain Latin American States. From the vote referred to above, however, it appeared that practically all those interested States declared themselves against the proposal, although this did not prevent its adoption. The argument against a great majority of non-interested non-experts thus remains unaffected. But, the Director goes on to say, the fact should not be lost sight of that the States who are members of this organization, by signing the League of Nations Covenant and Chapter XIII. of the Treaty of Versailles have solemnly assumed a general and international obligation to strive after the improvement of labour conditions *non seulement en leur nom particulier et sur les territoires soumis à leur jurisdiction respective, mais encore dans le domaine international et à titre de Membres de l'Organization*—not only in their own names and in respect of territories subject to their own authority, but also as an international matter and concerning themselves as members of the organization.

One seeks, however, in vain in the Treaties in question for a clause according to which the States engage to strive after social improvements *dans le domaine international*, which somewhat vague term, contrasting as it does with "the territories subject to their own authority," can mean nothing else than "the territory under the authority of some other State." All that the Powers have agreed to do, indeed, is to strive after conventions on social provisions, such as maximum working hours, accident insur-

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ance, labour of women and children, etc., should a large majority agree thereon in principle; but the introduction would be delayed by a few States remaining in default. This is also clearly evident from the third consideration of the *considerans* of the Statute of the International Labour Office, which runs as follows:

"*Attendu que la non-adoption par une nation quelconque d'un régime de travail réellement humain fait obstacle aux efforts des autres nations désireuses d'améliorer le sort des travailleurs dans leur propres pays*," etc.—Whereas the failure by a particular nation to adopt a labour regulation of a humane nature is a hindrance to the efforts of the other nations anxious to ameliorate the conditions of labour in their own country, etc.

It is hardly necessary to point out how entirely different from and opposed to the words *par une nation quelconque* (by a particular nation) and *dans leurs propres pays* (in their own country) of the Peace Treaty is the interpretation which the International Labour Office now wishes to give to it, and according to which Governments in whose territory the conditions to be codified do not rule would together indicate the direction to be followed in the matter of labour conditions which those interested consider undesirable and incapable of uniform regulation. "This being premised," M. Albert Thomas says further, "I have always admitted that the decisions of the Conference with respect to the codification of native labour should in the main be prepared with the co-operation of the States in whose territory this sort of labour is especially met with; and this has happened in practice." As a matter of fact, however, it is not in the first place the preparation which counts, however important that may be in itself, but the ultimate result, the "recommendations," the "decisions," the "conventions." It is the manner in which these are effected to which exception is taken, and this M. Albert Thomas seems to pass over in silence. More especially as regards the convention on forced labour referred to, it has from various sides (see *inter alia* above) been pointed out to the International Labour Office that since the adoption of the convention on slavery, the same may be regarded as absolutely superfluous, because on the basis of the last-named convention adequate opposition may be offered to all excrescences of forced (public) labour or obligatory (private) labour. With respect to this, however, the fact is lost sight of, replies the Director, that on the occasion of the adoption of the slavery convention, the Assembly of the League of Nations especially called the attention of the Office to *l'importance que présentent les*

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travaux entrepris par le Bureau en vue d'étudier les modalités les plus appropriées afin d'éviter que le travail forcé ou obligatoire n'amène une situation analogue à l'esclavage ("the importance of the tasks entered upon by the Office in view of studying the ways most suited for avoiding forced or obligatory labour bringing on conditions analogous to those of slavery"). Now, it seems to me that this dictum of the Assembly rather strengthens the standpoint of the opponents. In fact, all that the Assembly has done here, on the basis of the slavery convention just adopted, is to request the Office to study the most suitable means of averting, on the ground of the accepted principles and clauses, also those forms of forced labour which resemble slavery to a very marked degree. The distance between this request and the proposal to abolish all forced labour and *impressed* labour may in the opinion of the International Labour Office be only one step, but it seems to me that such a conception is on a par with the decision of one who, instructed to prepare an arrangement of maximum working hours for obviating the difficulty of an excessive working-day, should simply propose abolishing the whole working-day altogether.

The methods of the International Labour Office have given rise to other criticisms: viz., that the Office simply ignores article 421 of the Treaty and drafts special *colonial* conventions, whilst this article provides definitely for the dual reserve under which all conventions adopted will also apply to the colonies; the danger that the action of the Office has the tendency to reduce colonial production at the very moment when everything should be done to increase it. M. Albert Thomas refers to these complaints, but does not refute them. A very important objection which has repeatedly been raised to the working methods followed at Geneva, but which M. Albert Thomas does not mention, is that, as the *Soerabayasch Handelsblad* only recently formulated it, a number of problems, the solution of which is a question of gradual development, are drawn into the international sphere; that they are constantly "kept simmering" and bid fair to become a source of agitation for the Red or communistic trade union or political action. In this manner, those problems entirely lose their original character, and their solution is forced in a direction governed by other than objective considerations. With regard to these and similar objections, M. Albert Thomas has little or nothing to say.

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PERIODICALS

INDIAN AFFAIRS. Vol. I., No. 3. (*Edson, Ltd., Essex Street, Strand, W.C.*) 5s. net.

(*Reviewed by* F. H. BROWN.)

Recent discussions on such subjects as the attitude of the United States towards the British connection with India have shown the necessity for widened channels of information and opinion on the course of events in that country. Sir Albion Banerji has done a distinct public service by the establishment of a quarterly devoted entirely to this purpose. He takes a tolerant view of the range of opinions permissible for contributors, the majority of whom are his fellow-countrymen. For instance, in the present issue Mr. V. Krishna Menon is given opportunity to express a critical judgment on the Simon Report, which may be assumed to represent the views of the Commonwealth of India League. The article is at least what it professes to be—"A Study"; so that, while hostile to the Report in almost every particular, Mr. Menon is not to be classed with those Indians who decline even to read the Report. The most important feature of the third number, as of its prececessors, is the editor's leading article. His criticisms of the Simon Report are strong. His chief complaint of the scheme it propounds is that judged from experience of administration both in British India and the States, it will be unworkable. The unitary system of government proposed for the provinces is held to be unitary only in name. Viewing the situation with grave misgiving, Sir Albion urges that a strong and united party must be formed, both within and outside the Conference, to avert disaster. He suggests that in essence there are two parties remaining in India—one for the British connection and the other for complete severance, and that the former should stand for the establishment of responsible government within the limit of a strictly defined period, and put all the force at its command into the fight for law and order and the retention of the connection with England, which is vital to the ordinary development of India. Mr. R. J. Udani urges the desirability and the feasibility of some agreement on economic matters being reached at an early date between British and Indian business men.

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LITERARY SECTION

LEADING ARTICLE

WOMEN IN HEROIC LITERATURE—II

By Stanley Rice

[The first part of this article appeared in the April issue.]

In comparing the Greek with the Indian heroines, the key is to be found in the different conceptions of art. Greek art is realistic. The Greeks, as everyone knows, aimed at perfection of the human form; their gods are simply idealized men. There is nothing in the Belvedere Apollo which might not equally be predicated of Teucer; there is nothing in the Venus de Medici which would not suggest any other bather—for example, Susanna. What is the difference in the plane of divinity between the Ariadne and the huntress Artemis, whose connection with the moon is not even suggested unless we take the arrows as symbolical? The Greeks, therefore, carried this conception of art into their literature, as indeed they were bound to do. That is why Helen has nothing to recommend her but "the face that burned a thousand ships." It is characteristic that the old greybeards of Troy found the physical beauty of Helen sufficient excuse for a long and terrible war, the hardships of a siege, and the risk of destruction. It is impossible to imagine any other nation who at that time would have conceived such an idea, for though all heroines are beautiful, and some marvellously so, it is only in the "Iliad" that sheer beauty of form is made the *motif* of the whole. In the case of other heroines some secondary use is made of beauty; thus Damayanti's beauty is used in contrast to her later disfigurement after her wanderings. Kriemhild and Brünnhilde are beautiful, but only with the conventionality of a constant Homeric epithet.

Holding this conception of art, the Greek tragedians conceived majestic heroines who were none the less real women, subject to all the passions and frailties of the female sex. Some, like Medea and Electra, are moved by righteous indignation at a wrong done; others, like Clytemnestra and Phædra, conscious of guilt, will go to the length of murder for self-gratification; in Iphigenia and Penelope, perhaps the most perfect character of all, we see the

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woman's wit working to avert disaster. Antigone, for all her nobility, is no exception. We know the extreme veneration which the Greeks had for burial of the dead, and to set this religious duty above the law, which in her private judgment was unjust, is exactly what we should expect of a determined woman. There is, however, one play, a puzzle to the critics, which seems to stand apart: in form, a tragedy with a happy ending; in climax, the supernatural *dénouement*; in *motif*, the devotion of a wife; and here and there, even in detail, the Alcestis is thoroughly Indian in conception, and almost alone among Greek heroines the queen herself, what we know of her, which is not much, is flawless.

If, then, the Greeks strove to represent women as they saw them, but raised to the heroic stature, the Indians also were true to their own conception of art. India does not care about accuracy of form; their gods are not beautiful as human or superhuman figures. Hanuman, the monkey god, Ganesha of the elephant's head, and Vigneswara of the protruding stomach are utterly grotesque to European eyes, and can hardly be less so to so artistic a people as the Hindus. But that does not matter. What they aim at is the idealization of attribute, not of form. If you can express terror by the bulging eyes of a Narasimha, omnipotence and omniscience by a multiplication of arms or of heads, and rhythmic motion by the pose of a Nataraja, the actual form is of little or no consequence. In their music they pass by the obvious in search of the ideal; programme music seems to them unworthy of the name of art. If an Indian musician were asked to portray a storm he would not present it as Beethoven did, he would ignore the roll of thunder, the flashing of lightning, and the swish of rain, and concentrate upon their effects upon the mind and spirit of man. Thus it is that in literature the great Indian heroines are types; they show us what a woman ought to be, not what she is. Sita, Damayanti, Draupadi are cast in the same mould, because if you idealize woman, it is inevitable that the cardinal conceptions should be the same, though details may differ according to the setting. To the ancient Indians the supreme feminine virtues were obedience and devotion to the man, unceasing constancy, and above all unimpeachable chastity, and these three make up the foundations of the real Indian heroine.

This view is supported in more than one way. The subordinate female characters are by no means perfect; Kaikeyi, Rama's stepmother, is as much swayed by

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jealousy and ambition as any Greek, and this shows that the Indians also realized the flesh and blood in a woman. The much later dramatists have done exactly the same, though, perhaps, from a rather different angle; they have treated the heroine ideally, but painted the lesser women as they found them. And again in the more homely literature of the "Panchatantra," woman takes a very different place. In most of the stories that deal with human beings she is frivolous, unchaste, and deceitful, and the few aphorisms which allude to her are anything but complimentary. The Eighth Novel of the Seventh Day of the "Decameron," which is taken from the "Panchatantra," is a typical illustration; heroic women must be ideal, the baser woman falls even below the level of average humanity.

If there is any force in this reasoning there can be no valid comparison between Greek and Indian heroines. Medea and Phædra and Electra, all the more terrible because they are drawn upon the heroic scale, are inconceivable to an Indian poet, just as the flawless idealism of a Draupadi would be inconceivable to Greek realism. The contention of Indians that their conception of womanhood is the higher falls to the ground because the Eastern and Western canons of art differ. The two are not in the same category. And we who have been nurtured in the Greek tradition not unnaturally give our admiration to that which we best understand. Apart from the unfamiliarity of Sanskrit, such idealism leaves us cold. Is not our sympathy aroused rather by Tess than by Adam Bede, and is not Satan the hero of "Paradise Lost"?

So much emphasis has been laid upon Greeks and Indians because they are the highest forms known to us of European and Asiatic culture, because they can be more easily contrasted and because the Indian literature is not so well known as the others. But the same realism is apparent in the "Nibelungenlied" also—with a difference. For the Epic is the product of two civilizations; upon the wide old Norse canvas has been painted the picture of chivalry as mediæval Europe knew it. The women of the "Nibelungenlied" are like tamed tigers whose natural ferocity is always latent and on occasion bursts furiously out. Brünnhilde is the embodiment of physical force; is it not characteristic that while Atalanta can excel all men in fleetness, Brünnhilde can hang up Gunther on a nail and yields only after a fierce struggle to the superlative Siegfried? Kriemhild is devoted to the memory of Siegfried—not with the devotion of an Alcestis or a Damayanti, but with a brooding hunger for the

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hour of revenge which she nurses through nearly thirty years. Yet otherwise she was a product of her age; "her virtues were an adornment to all women"; she helped to found an abbey "for Siegfried's soul"; she scattered her wealth freely in largesse as well as to pay for masses; she ruled Etzel's kingdom virtuously. But underneath it all burnt the volcanic fires of her vengeance, and when at last the opportunity came she sacrificed everything—husband, kinsmen, friends, and honour—to that overmastering passion.

And here we touch upon a quality which all alike recognize as peculiarly feminine. Germans and Indians and Greeks, whether in Epic or in Drama, are agreed in attributing to the heroines a stedfastness of purpose which never wavers even in the most unfavourable conditions. Here again, to quote Ruskin once more, Shakespeare has found the same thing. Once these women have taken their resolution, they cling to it with bulldog tenacity. It does not matter whether the motive be good or bad, whether the action be prompted by righteous indignation, by jealousy, by wifely devotion, by thwarted desire, by a spirit of revenge or by the call of honour. The action itself is of no moment, the attainment of the object is everything. Though Kriemhild is the extreme instance of this tenacity of purpose, it is equally well marked throughout. The matricide of Electra, Phædra's sacrifice of Hippolytus, Medea's murder of her children and Clytemnestra's of her husband are matched by Sita's constancy in Lanka, Damayanti's unwearied search and Penelope's endless spinning. Even Dido, thwarted of her purpose, refused to submit and rather than endure the bitterness of defeat took her own life. We have been taught to look upon woman as a creature of moods; variable she may be and inconstant in the details of life, but the lesson of all epic and tragic literature seems to be that in the larger purposes woman is pre-eminent in constancy to her ideal.

(*Concluded.*)

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

INDIA

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF INDIA. By Edward J. Thompson. (*Faber and Faber.*) 10s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS.)

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of Mr. Thompson's historico-political work is his unflinching zeal in pursuit of justice. He is no believer in the polite commonplaces that conceal fundamental differences of opinion: he tears into tatters the garments beneath which hypocrisy and complacency conceal their unlovely shape. This attitude of mind is not without its own dangers: it leads insensibly to provocative writing, and may indeed produce the kind of bias sometimes to be observed in those whose championship of a cause passes into fanaticism. It is quite possible, as the Americans expressively put it, to be so upright that one "falls over backwards." But anyone who believes that Mr. Thompson, in some of his previous books, may have done less than justice to England in his endeavour to be fair to India, will gladly admit that in this, his latest work, he holds the scales remarkably even. In his first pages, Mr. Thompson sketches his historical background, tracing the rise of the Nationalist movement in British India from its origins to its latest manifestations in the non-co-operative campaign. This survey, though necessarily of the most summary description, is perhaps the most valuable contribution to clear thinking which the book has to offer: for it disposes, *en passant* as it were, of a number of time-honoured fallacies. It exhibits the spiritual content of Indian nationalism in its strength, its weakness, its inconsistencies, its follies, and its heroism: it shows at the same time the strength and the weakness of British administration. Both Britain and India will do well to study, and reflect deeply upon, the figure that they respectively act in this remarkably objective and dispassionate delineation. Neither the one nor the other will find the process of contemplation particularly agreeable; but I venture to think that in days to come Mr. Thompson's picture will be found more in accord with Clio's final verdict than anything which has hitherto been written.

The second part of the book is devoted to an investigation of three of the major problems involved in the present and future relationship between Britain and India, the problem of the Princes, the problem of Defence, and the problem of communal divisions. It is not without significance, as indicating a timely orientation of informed opinion, that the problem of the Princes is not only treated at the greatest length, but is also given pride of place. Mr. Thompson makes a valiant and on the whole successful effort to summarize the true position, pointing out the danger involved in all attempts, whether on the part of Britain or British India, to ignore the position, or override the rights, of the Indian States. Moreover, he appreciates the attitude of the Indian rulers towards the Nationalist movement, and does not fall into the common mistake of

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underestimating their genuine desire for co-operation with British India upon a federal basis. His treatment of the problem of defence is, by comparison, sketchy, and seems to suffer from a lack of that careful study and wide reading which Mr. Thompson's readers are accustomed to expect from him. He is much more at home in dealing with communal divisions, where he puts his finger upon the root of the trouble, which is the inverse ratio between fighting strength and numerical superiority. I wish, however, that Mr. Thompson had brought out more plainly a very important aggravating factor—irreconcilable traditions of past Imperial sway; for while, quite rightly, he has much to say about the Sikhs, he gives little information about Maratha nationalism, which is at least as important.

The last fifty pages of the book, which constitute Part III., are devoted to some very plain speaking regarding the practical needs of the present situation. The author has no more sympathy with sloppy sentimentalism than he has with the "shoot 'em down" school. But while this portion of the book is characterized by the same zeal for impartiality as that which marks the preceding parts, it is necessarily more subjective in treatment, since it deals with opinions as well as with facts. Mr. Thompson's opinions are fairly summarized in the following extract (pages 287-288).

> "Looking back, over ten years, on the two most obvious parties to this controversy, we can see that on the one side there has been stumbling and bewilderment; on the other, impatience and a refusal to come to grips with any facts other than those out of which political capital might be made; on both sides futility. We for our part can better afford to quicken the pace than to linger it out any further. The terms under which the Round Table Conference is summoned should make it plain, beyond all possibility of misunderstanding, that it is for the people of British India to present an agreed scheme in essentials, for the Princes to say what they intend to reserve in the inevitable settlement with the larger India, and how they propose to bring their own people in line with the modern democratic world, for the Government to show how it will reconcile its pledges to both Native and British India and its responsibility for the equal rights and protection of all minorities."

The book concludes with two useful appendices—an admirable survey of the Simon Report in that detached spirit of which Mr. Thompson is an acknowledged master—and a "Table of Political Events" from 1599 to 1930, which might well have been expanded to twice its present dimensions.

INDIA AT THE CROSS-ROADS. By Lex. (*W. H. Smith and Son.*) 1s. (*Reviewed by* A. L. SAUNDERS.)

A short pamphlet containing notes and suggestions on the Indian political situation. They are shrewd and well-informed, and the author evidently writes from first-hand knowledge of India. The book, however, was written without special reference to the Simon Commission's Report and indeed before its publication, and is necessarily therefore somewhat out of touch with any definite scheme, but it is well worthy of consideration.

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THROUGH AMANULLAH'S AFGHANISTAN. A Book of Travel. By Sorab Katrak. With map and illustrations. (Karachi: *Sind Observer Press.*) 10s. net.

Mr. Katrak is one of the few travellers who have been fortunate to visit Afghanistan, and this he did by motor-car in order to see the country and perhaps chiefly with an eye to business. He has made himself evidently well acquainted with the geography and later history of the country and given a very readable account of both, and also his journey to Kabul is well told. In his description of Kabul the author gives a good picture both of the city and the life, and, further, he informs us here and there of the charges made at custom-houses and those by hotels. It is surprising to learn that in King Amanullah's time Persian, French, German, and Russian were taught in some schools and that primary education was free. After Kabul, visits were paid to Paghman, to Bamian (where the famous Buddhist sculptures are to be found), to Ghazni, and Kandahar. The final chapter deals with the late King, with whom he is in great sympathy. Lastly, we have very appropriately the British-Afghan treaties of 1921 and of 1919. A very informative book.

FAR EAST

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE AND AFTER. By Yamato-Ichihashi, etc. (*Milford.*) 18s. net.

(*Reviewed by* BRIGADIER-GENERAL C. D. BRUCE, C.B.E.)

To students of Far Eastern politics Mr. Ichihashi's book on the Washington Conference will come as a welcome reminder. Why the author should have waited so long before giving to the public these most carefully documented details of an event of such importance is not at first sight apparent.

It is nearly ten years since President Harding offered his official welcome (November 12, 1921) to the leading Powers who met at his invitation to co-operate with the U.S.A. in the interests of world peace. This interval will appear long or short according to the views held by individual readers of Mr. Ichihashi's book. If any rapid concrete result was to be expected from the Washington Conference in 1921 the period will appear long. But if the time which has passed is regarded as well spent in laying the definite foundations necessary to any preliminary discussions or agreements on world peace, it has surely not been wasted. As a participator behind the scenes at the Washington Conference, Mr. Ichihashi might with advantage have given more personal experiences. These would certainly have made the book more interesting to the general reader, and space could easily have been found by omitting a proportion of the somewhat overdone newspaper comments. Whatever power the present-day dividend-earning press may have in helping to frame public opinion in the face of forthcoming events, its subsequent comments are to

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the majority of readers merely dust and ashes. Mr. Ichihashi gives, in sum total, pages of these comments, and even his footnotes seem at times redundant. Nearly ten years after the Washington Conference few readers are likely to consult official documents, especially if they must search the dusty shelves containing diplomatic correspondence in Europe, America, and Japan. The bibliography, as quoted by the author, reaches to twenty-three whole pages. It includes lists of official publications, treaties, Japanese magazines, daily papers, such as the London and New York *Times*, the *Jiji* and the *Asahi* of Tokyo, with *Le Temps* and *Le Matin*. The actual number of books to which reference is made is over 150, a small library in itself, and this is not to mention the choice of perusing 239 separate articles from periodicals. Forty-seven pages more are occupied by six appendices which contain various treaties and agreements.

The book itself is divided into two parts. Part I. consists of "The Conference on Limitation of Armaments"; Part II. of "The Pacific and Far Eastern Conference"; and there is at times a tendency to repetition. As a work of reference to what was actually accomplished at the Conference, Mr. Ichihashi's book will be indispensable to serious students of Far Eastern affairs. Apart from the records of the different committees, the lists of tonnage to be scrapped, the somewhat dry details of ships which may or may not be retained by the various nations, the reader is given other and more interesting matter. It is the human element which captures the imagination of the "plain" man. He likes to hear of the cross-currents of opinion, the reactions and antipathies between the different nations, the difficulties—at times the almost impossibility—of reconciling the claims or pretensions of nine different countries all undoubtedly seeking for peace—but, at a price.

The author being a Japanese, it is perhaps natural that readers should turn with added interest to Part II. of the book. They may to some extent be disappointed at not being allowed further behind the scenes at the Conference, but if this is so it must be because they are unacquainted with the Japanese, an extremely self-contained people.

That the author is entirely fair and free from bias in his judgment of various diplomatic discussions is obvious from his comment upon the historic "twenty-one demands."

"In 1915," writes Mr. Ichihashi (p. 191), "Japan committed a serious diplomatic blunder by making her infamous twenty-one demands on China."

That this was a diplomatic blunder of the first degree most of the Foreign Offices of the world have endorsed. But it should not be forgotten that the Great War loosed passions which no nation now cares to look back upon. Also, that the circumstances were altogether exceptional. The at one time favourite amusement of throwing stones at the sinner-found-out has to some extent ceased to form part of the diplomatic art of attack and defence. The Japanese statesmen responsible for presenting the twenty-one demands had no excuse for such a procedure. But rather over fifteen years previously other great Powers had almost begun what is

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frequently known as "the era of partition" in China. Imperialistic countries like Russia, Germany, Great Britain, and France were not above demanding "leased territory," and even a free and enlightened Republic was anxious to join in the scramble. Mr. Ichihashi quotes the following telegram sent by Secretary Hay on December 7, 1900, to Mr. Buck, at that time American Minister to Japan:

> "The Navy greatly desires a coaling station at Samshah Inlet north of Fuchow. Ascertain informally and discreetly whether Japanese Government would see any objection to our negotiating for this with China."

As Japan naturally raised objections to such negotiations, the matter was dropped.

Much of the material made use of in Part II. has been so continuously before the public that it is unnecessary to refer to it in detail. Chapters XVII. to XXI. discuss mainly matters of interest to Japan. International questions affecting tariff reform in China, extra-territoriality, army reduction, Chinese judiciary, railways, the Siberian expedition in 1918-1920, and the Shantung question, all have their place. Chapter XXII. may be said to be a summing up of China's foreign relations, again chiefly as concerns Japan.

With Mr. Ichihashi's final comment on the present situation most foreigners will be inclined to agree: "But in China chaos has continued to prevail, and the powers have been forced to face difficulties just as before the Conference. Patient, watchful waiting seems to be the only way out of the situation. . . . Yet optimism is not warranted, and pessimism seems prejudicial to Chinese interests; it is for China to prove her case."

THE RIM OF MYSTERY. A hunter's wanderings in unknown Siberia. By John B. Burnham. With 60 illustrations and map. (New York: *Putnam.*) 15s. net.

A record of a hunting trip after mountain-sheep in the south-east corner of Siberia. The author has well pictured a part of the world that has seen but few visitors. The scenery of such a vast stretch of land inhabited by few people cannot fail to interest the reader by his own fireside, while the traveller and adventurer undergoes the hardship, indeed for his own satisfaction, but also to provide with news the reader who stays at home. Adventures in such parts have their glamour, and Mr. Burnham has told them well, sometimes as the explorer, on other occasions in the way of the story-teller. His descriptions of the Eskimo, of the Chukchi, are always interesting: they make us acquainted with their life and pastimes, their character and philosophy.

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NEAR EAST

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE RWALA BEDOUINS. By Alois Musil. (*New York American Geographical Society:* Oriental Explorations and Studies, Vol. VI.)

Rarely has work of such magnitude and genuine worth been achieved on the subject of Arabia as that by Professor Alois Musil. It is so imposing that the wish may well be expressed that for the sake of thorough enjoyment and appreciation the work should be extended.

However, the last volume of this series is perhaps the one that will interest even a wider circle than the previous volumes, as he gives a full and intimate description of the true Bedouin tribe of Northern Arabia. In fact, we know of no other work to be compared with it. He gives an account of the climate, of the animals of various kinds, of the structure of society, the habitation, mode of living, food, dress, etc., of the Arabs, and their marriage customs, love of hospitality, their poetry in transliterated Arabic with English translations. There are, further, special chapters on camels and horses, and on other subjects pertaining to the life of these interesting people.

In fact, the whole life and thought of the Arabs is here laid bare. This work is fundamental in character; it will be studied and used by scholars and travellers for years to come.

GENERAL

LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN THE TROPICS. By H. Martin Leake, D.Sc.(Cantab.). (Cambridge: *W. Heffer and Sons.*) 7s. 6d. net.

(*Reviewed by* P. PADMANABHA PILLAI.)

Mr. Martin Leake here discusses "the influence of the land policy on development in tropical countries." His competence for the task he has set himself is undoubted, for he has had ample opportunities for studying the land and agricultural systems in India and in Trinidad, and his earlier work on "The Foundations of Indian Agriculture" shows that those opportunities have been turned to good account.

The importance of the subject itself hardly needs to be emphasized. "The consideration of the problem of tropical development as a static one can only lead to future difficulties, for an increase in population will alter the entire aspect of the situation. As far as it is humanly possible to see, the temperate zones will remain the centres of industrial development, while the tropical zones will develop agriculturally, providing in ever increasing degree the requirements in food and raw material of the industrial populations further north and south. Agricultural production, however, is the winning of wealth from the land by means of labour; it is the system of land tenure which largely determines the distribution of the

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rewards of labour." A sound system of land tenure, therefore, must not only provide for an equitable distribution of these rewards among the parties concerned (and these parties, in the normal system, are the Government, the landlord, and the tenant), but it must also be flexible and capable of securing that equitable distribution under the changed conditions that must inevitably arise in the future.

After discussing, in the first chapter, the economic position of land, the author proceeds to set out the salient features of the Indian land tenure system, and, in the light of the experience thus obtained, indicates the lines of development that may be followed generally in the tropics, not only with a view to obtaining the maximum of productivity, but also with the avowed object of helping on the indigenous population to a higher level of culture and civilization. As applied to the latter part of the book, its title may appear rather misleading, for the author is here more concerned with the general aspects of the problem of tropical development than with the technique of land tenure or agricultural systems. Nevertheless, there are many who will be grateful that this is so, and Mr. Martin Leake deserves our warm congratulations and thanks for setting out in their proper perspective the moral elements that are indispensable if our schemes for developing the tropics are to yield permanent results. The earlier attempts of the white man to develop the natural resources of this part of the world have in some cases been influenced by their commercial origins and their disregard for these same moral elements. The covenant of the League of Nations, actuated by a high spirit of justice and humanity, has now set up a standard for the government of the backward races (in the mandated areas) by the more advanced, based on the principle of trusteeship; and Mr. Leake's plea for the extension of this standard of fair and humane government to all tropical regions, whether under the mandates system or not, deserves our most enthusiastic support. It is possible to argue that good and equitable systems of administration, sanitation, education, etc., do not strictly belong to the domain of the economic reformer; but it should not be overlooked that it is only through these agencies that a fund of creative energy can be built up, and that it is this energy that, in the last resort, will be the mainstay of all well-ordered systems of production.

Mr. Leake reproduces as appendices three of his earlier articles having a close bearing on the subject-matter of the present volume, and has also supplied us with a carefully prepared index.

STATESMEN OF THE WAR IN RETROSPECT. By William Martin. (*Jarrolds.*)

(*Reviewed by* FRANCIS P. MARCHANT.)

The foreign editor of the *Journal de Genève*, a competent authority on international affairs and a neutral witness in contact with the League of Nations at its centre, has furnished a series of sketches of over twenty outstanding figures of the world conflict, in which he sums up their characters

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and abilities. English readers will be interested in the chapters on Lord Grey, the country gentleman; Lord Oxford, the scholar; and Mr. Lloyd George, the popular orator. Of the peasant statesman, Nicholas Pachitch, Mr. Martin observes that numbers of statesmen fail to achieve their aim and others achieve unsought aims: Pachitch is among the latter since he desired a greater Serbia and lent his name to the creation of a state of a different ideal, that of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes. Of Cardinal Mercier, who the Pope declared had saved the Church, we read:

"In saving his people the Cardinal did more. He laid the foundation for the New City which must be built upon patriotism, justice, and faith. A man of war from love of peace, Cardinal Mercier at a cruel hour stood out as the incarnation of his country, of invincible justice, and of faith in God."

Of special interest is the account of President Masaryk and Dr. Benes. "Rarely have two men complemented each other so admirably." Masaryk, son of a Moravian coachman, the young blacksmith who became professor of philosophy at Prague, was visited lately by the writer, who found him hale, hearty, and hopeful at an advanced age. Benes, creator of the Little Entente, is called "the most European statesman in Europe." Czechoslovakia alone, says Mr. Martin, among the succession states has two statesmen really worthy of the name.

These concise portraits by an acute neutral observer who knew their subjects well deserve widespread attention, and Mr. Martin could easily expand them. It is unavoidable that after holding our interest in a single personage he is obliged to break off his study abruptly.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS. By the late F. W. Hasluck. Edited by his wife, Margaret M. Hasluck. Two vols., with map of the former Turkish Empire. (*Clarendon Press.*) £3 3s. net.

These two volumes, which give testimony to the author's scholarship, are a valuable contribution to the English world of learning. It is a matter of regret that Mr. Hasluck has not been able to live to see the work in print; he died at the early age of forty-two, leaving the difficult task of arranging and editing the MS. to his wife. The short Turkish glossary, the enormous index of over one hundred pages, and the bibliography of forty pages, are entirely her own work. It is difficult to do justice within the space of a review to the author's extraordinary knowledge, which he gained, no doubt, in his capacity as librarian of the British School at Athens, where complete materials must have been at his disposal. The division of the work explains its contents. The first part is devoted to the interactions between Christianity and Islam in Asia Minor and the old European Turkey. It is astonishing to find how, for instance, by examples carefully quoted, Christian sanctuaries were frequented by Muhammadans and vice versa. The second part, which is much larger

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than the first, is a veritable mine of information regarding Turkish folklore and its relation to Christianity. The survivals of earlier cults, such as the tree, stone, and cave cults, have been thoroughly explored and brought together for the first time. To this section belong the chapters on the saints, either of Jewish, Koranic, or tribal tradition. The second volume forms Part III. of the division, and offers a great variety of miscellaneous information on special subjects. For instance, on p. 475 we find lists of the heterodox tribes; on p. 500 is given the geographical distribution of the Betakshi sect, who, in spite of their persecution by Mahmud II., still exercise a secret influence in Albania; on pp. 694-622, on the ceremony of the girding of the Sultan at Eyyub by the Sheikh of the Mevlevi dervishes and its origin. In Chapter LVII. is to be found an account of the mosques of the Arabs in Constantinople.

The nature of the work demanded that each statement required documentation, and this has been done most liberally; references are to be found on every page. There is no doubt that Mr. Hasluck's original and pioneer work will be explored by later students, and rightly so, as many chapters deserve further investigation.

How to Draw in Lead-Pencil. By Jasper Salwey, A.R.I.B.A., F.R.S.A. (*John Lane.*) 5s. net.

It may be said to have become almost a necessity in these days to bring before the eyes pictures as well as description of *all* subjects under consideration.

Mr. Jasper Salwey, who is well known as an exponent of the art of drawing in lead-pencil, has already written several books on the subject. This latest volume, issued by John Lane, whose art publications especially are always carefully and wisely selected as well as charmingly produced, is replete with almost every detail necessary for this special form of drawing. It is written in a clear and masterly manner which cannot fail to interest as well as instruct all who wish to gain knowledge on the subject. For those who will follow art the information contained in the book will not fail to receive their reward.

From the rudiments of even how to prepare the pencil and select the paper best suited to the object under consideration, to the representation of the same, will all be advised and made obvious. This book will doubtless, like others of the author, find its way into many lands; for besides being one which the schoolmaster may safely consult, the wandering artist who often works alone in secluded haunts will be glad to stow away a copy in his wallet and refer to it when difficulties and indecisions arise. Mr. Salwey considers pencil work almost capable of endowing a picture with colour by careful shading in "tones," and as for atmospheric effects—clouds, rippling water, soft materials in drapery, skies, beauty in portraiture—pencil work gives, by careful study, a wonderful charm of its own. The beautiful illustrations and the numerous pictures of small objects and even pieces of objects will speak for themselves to the

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student, and doubtless receive the praise they deserve. The connoisseur as well as the uninitiated will be equally charmed with the directness with which this fascinating pencil work has been imparted to lovers and pursuers of art in the short but progressive chapters of Mr. Salwey's instructive volume.

NETHERLANDS INDIES

DANS EN WAJANG. A Western Artist and the Overwhelming East. By Jan Poortenaar. (Haarlem: *Joh. Enschedé and Zonen.*)

(*Reviewed by* JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

Except, perhaps, among the French, who possess in a large measure the comforting conviction that nations and countries are, in fact, what the French expect them to be, so that even their mysteries become quite comprehensible, European artists have usually felt fairly powerless to give a true rendering of the overwhelming East, even a true rendering of their own vision of it. According to the earnestness of their endeavour and the measure of their skill, they have therefore usually had to resign themselves to a more or less successful, but always superficial, picture of what they thought they had seen—or else abandon the unequal contest. The struggle has been waged by many and described by some artists, but none, perhaps, has summed it up so tersely, so accurately, and so gracefully in a few small pages as M. Jan Poortenaar in the opening chapter of the little book mentioned above.

A young Dutch painter of honest quality and an etcher of sound ability, who had never previously stepped beyond the confines of the European continent, set out to the East of his dreams to paint the landscape of Java! "But who could ever imagine what the light of the tropics is like? In our hemisphere we all go about imagining the tropics to be the superlative of our sub-tropical regions, and bitterest disillusion punishes our thoughtlessness." It is not merely the effect of six months of "dry season" which shrivels the earth and discolours vegetation; it is the overbearing shower of light which takes colour as well as form out of all one sees, except during those few moments which precede the setting of the sun or follows its rising. At all other times of the day the sun stands "higher than the highest volcano's top and sheds his perpendicular rays alike upon what previously was light and what was in the shade, depriving it of all depth and form. . . . Flattened out is the land; no tree has roundness. The light pours on its trunk in front, behind, at the sides . . . there is no 'other side' to anything. . . . The strength of the light blinds; it kills all colour; dull and flat is all the land. There is little to do for the painter at such times."

But it is not only the physical vision which is new and elusive; there are the people, there is their attitude to that part of the universe in which they live and to which they belong. Unlike the Westerner, who is ever conscious of the contrast between himself and his surroundings, who

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stands objectively before the things outside himself and sees them and consciously undergoes their influence as such, the native feels himself too much an inherent part of his surroundings to be conscious of the latter as things in themselves. "Hence he cannot understand what painting is or aims to be. . . . He does not know that nor why a thing is beautiful. . . . He merely gives expression to his intuitive sense for the harmony of line and form, according to the traditions of his race or country. . . . With the Westerner it is intellect, with the Oriental intuition by which he lives." "The unconscious unity of rhythm between the inhabitant and his country is apparent in everything. As the *ayah* undulatingly walks with her little parasol, as the coolie jog-trots along with his burden, as bathing children pour water over their heads, as the courtier crouches before his prince and in noble gesture sketches the symbol of obeisance—all is in perfect harmony."

Coming from the general to the specific and describing the impression made upon him by the courts of the two remaining Javanese Sultanates, M. Poortenaar observes: "Pallid faces, framed in the rigid pleats of the kerchiefs; *fatiks* in dull browns and blues without any glitter of colour; courtly restraint; a separate language in which the inferior addresses his superior; the well-born proceeding with a retinue of attendants, grouped, no doubt, according to rank and duty, worshipful all. The *gamelang** sings there more dreamily than in Bali, and the dance of the *serimpis* and *bedoyos*† is shy, silent and wonderful, like the opening of the petals of flowers. The refinement of ages floats everywhere in the heavily scented atmosphere and renders tangible the gentle torpor of this secluded world." But not only is the artist struck by this dignified somnolence and courtly monotony, the eternal repetition of symbolic gestures and hieratic movements, handed down by honoured tradition, by *adat*, and everlastingly repeated, always alike in everlastingly alike surroundings, baffles him, the Western observer. "Here we find centuries of repetition—repetition in everything—in architecture, in sculpture, in the movement of dances, in climate, every day like unto the previous day. . . . The landscape ever green, ever growing, ever the same. A leaf drops, another leaf unfurls."

Even the contemplation of Borobudur brings back the sense of repetition. "It breathes repetition: in its terraces, its Buddhas, its stupas, its ground plan. It rises high into the heavens, for it is a monument on the top of a hill, surrounded by wide, flat valleys at the far horizon of which stand, changelessly, the silhouettes of the mountains." M. Poortenaar does not consider Borobudur to be "picturesque," for "like the country it is of vast dimensions, and too overwhelmingly abundant; it has no charm, but is hard; it is tropical, clear, free of mystery. Its site is lonely and its spirit seems to be solitude, aloofness from all that is of the world. No Western painter's art can encompass it, just as

* Javanese set of musical instruments, comprising various gongs, xylophones, etc.

† Court dancers of Solo and Jogja.

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the country itself is too vast to be reduced to the dimensions of a canvas. . . . It is as though our methods of depicting become inadequate in this country, because life here is imbued with a different spirit."

Having written so well, M. Poortenaar accompanies his text with six minute etchings, measuring about $2\frac{3}{4}$ by $4\frac{1}{4}$ inches, in which by the economic use of a very few graceful lines he fixes for us, not any impression of the country or its people, but a few fleeting movements of dance or symbolic salute, in which more fragrantly than from any broad canvas something of the spirit of Java is wafted to us. Particularly strong and yet graceful is the second etching, "A *Wayang*-dancer." Would it be ungrateful, in view of the artist's frank confession, to say that in some of the other sketches, especially of women, there pierces just a little of that alien feeling of which the artist is conscious? The strange undulating movement of the arms of the dancers which a French artist once described as "*le mouvement serpantant d'un bras à l'autre*" is hard to fix. And the attitude of a crouching Javanese woman is somewhat unusual, unless, perhaps, as a child in Java, one has oneself crouched down just like that. It is interesting, too, to observe in the careful selection of his few lines a strong and conscious discipline which is less noticeable in some of the artist's etchings of more congenial, more familiar subjects.

Both the author and the publishers are to be congratulated on this exquisite and stimulating little book, and we look forward with expectation to the book and the etchings which M. Poortenaar is to devote to Borobudur.

THE MEDICAL SERVICE OF THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY (DE GENEESKUNDE IN DEN DIENST DER OOST-INDISCHE COMPAGNIE IN NEDERLANDSCH-INDIE). By Dr. D. Schoute. (Amsterdam: *J. H. de Bussy.*) 333 pp.

(*Reviewed by* JOHN DE LA VALETTE.)

The Dutch impress one as being too accurate and too conscientious to make good historians. They make excellent research scholars, but, somehow, their power of synthesis seems frequently clogged by too acute a critical faculty and by a dominant predilection for analysis. Their scholars seem obsessed by the weak points of even their best arguments and—crediting their readers with equal knowledge and perspicacity—are inclined to answer in advance all the objections which might conceivably be raised in the course of making what might otherwise have become a fundamental statement. The lively and in their *abandon* intensely truthful *genre* pictures which the Dutch have so brilliantly rendered with the brush, they have rarely achieved with the style of Clio.

As if to confirm the truth of this view, as a general rule, we have here the brilliant exception of Dr. Schoute's book. It is based upon original and minute research into the detailed sources of information concerning the history of the medical service of the D.E.I. Company, made both in

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the archives in Holland, including the rather less explored documents at Middelburg, and at Batavia. But in presenting the results of this minute research, a vigorous synthesis, full of life, has been achieved. It is as though the trained medical mind had first carefully garnered the fullest possible harvest of symptomatic details, and then, leaning back, had visualized the pulsating living process of which these were but the incomplete external hints. Under this sympathetic, warm-blooded scrutiny the dead and dusty bones of long-forgotten "Minutes of Meetings" become clothed once again with the flesh of human trial and failure. From the fierce, frequently personal, controversies of a decayed past, Dr. Schoute resuscitates, not the storm in the bygone teacup, but the broad bases of human thought; the clear-cut endeavours towards conscious ideals; the straggling trail of bitter failure, due to lack of scientific knowledge; the endless struggle, never successful, yet never abandoned, against the eternal bane of colonizing races: tropical disease. And these general conclusions and conceptions he does not present to us in the form of dreary theses, but gradually forces them upon us, by enabling us to live the lives of those thousands of young men who "went out East," never to return; of those "doctors, barbers and *chirurgians*" who treated them on board or ashore in the half-way hospital at the Cape or the "guest-houses" at Batavia and the other "factories"; of the "brothers-of-the-sick," the "house-mothers" and various menials who tended to their wants in hospital. With them we suffocate in the overcrowded wards where, all instructions notwithstanding, the inmates themselves frequently prevent adequate ventilation. We even seem to get a taste of those various "*spirituosa*, tinctures, elixirs, balsams and *oleo destilata*," and of those, admittedly more expensive, but equally more effective medicaments which, prepared "according to the latest receipts of the best writers of these days, are remarkably better and of greater fruitfulness to the patients than those ever before used in the Company's hospitals."

From the very start the book enthrals like a vividly written novel. We are drawn into the vortex of the activities required in the middle of the seventeenth century to prepare a fleet of East India traders to proceed on its adventurous voyage. We are fully introduced to the thoughtful preoccupations of the Zeeland "Chamber of Power-holders" of the Company. We are told of the training of doctors and *chirurgians*; of their exams. and the terms upon which they are engaged; and at last we find ourselves on board one of the vessels on our way to the Indies, living in the 'tween-decks, with the able-bodied seamen, as do the doctors and barbers; suffering with them from the lack of air and the stuffy smell of the galley, especially during those long weeks when bad weather prevents the opening of the scanty scuttles. With them we watch disease getting hold of the frequently emaciated, under-nourished bodies of the men whom indiscriminate press gangs have collected for a crew. In their scores we watch them die at sea, ere they reach the coast of Java, nor always recover after being landed at the Cape.

Once at Batavia we take a strenuous part in the deliberate attempts to organize a sanitary service, to provide treatment, solace and comfort for

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the sick, to cure natives and heal the wounds of the Company's men-at-arms in their frequent warfare on land and sea. As in so many of his better-known activities, we learn to appreciate Jan Pieterszoon Coen in his endeavours to found an adequate hospital at Batavia and to create the beginnings of an efficient medical service in the Indies. For a century and a half, right until the last days of the Company's existence, we watch its Governors persevering in applying, in the best light of available scientific knowledge, those preventative as well as curative remedies which, it is hoped, will stay the terrible course which death runs among the Company's servants, both afloat and ashore. Report after report, memorandum after memorandum are carefully scrutinized both by successive Governors-General and by "My Lords Seventeen" at Amsterdam. The best men of the day are consulted; no means are spared to give effect to approved recommendations; greater, roomier, airier hospitals are erected; isolation of certain types of cases—graded more often by the symptoms than the causes—is applied; better food, better treatment are provided, and constant thought is given to supply "solace, comfort and ministration" to the Company's stricken servants. Before all else stands the consciousness of our dependence in all things upon the grace of Providence. To this day one may see in the fort at Ternate two stones which, in 1658 under the rule of Governor Simon Cos, were placed respectively at the entrances to the hospital and to the pharmacy and which bear these Latin inscriptions:

Si petis Æger opem, medicus Medicina, domusque Præsto sunt miseris, nec tamen Inde Salus. Est sua laus mediis, ut sint Benedicta, potentis Imploranda prius gratia Sola Dei.	If thou seek help, O sick one, Physician, medicine and the house are at the disposal of the suffering, But expect not thy health from all these. To the intermediaries the praise they deserve, But so that these may be blessed, It is necessary first to implore the grace of Almighty God.
Pharmaca si cupis Æger, erunt Medicamini nulla, Hic tibi nec medicus, qui valet Absque Deo. Ast aderunt medicus subito et Medicamina magnum Si prima pura mente precare Deum.	If thou desire physics, O sick one, Thou shallst find neither medicine nor physicians to heal thee without the aid of God. But promptly a physician and medicine Will reach thee, if first with a clean heart thou invoke Almighty God.

In this spirit of pious humility and of manly confidence that Providence helps those who help themselves, we watch the Governors and servants of the D.E.I. Company at their strenuous work to create and improve a medical service. We see them scrutinizing reports on hygiene afloat and studying the influence of better food and purer water. Isolation and the burning of clothing and bedding are applied to cases already discerned as infectious. The faculty of medicine at Leyden, including the great Boerhaave and his contemporaries, are invited to advise. Physicians of merit, like Bontius and Dureus,* are placed in charge at Batavia, and

* It is of interest to British readers to note that of the two famous physicians who, during the thirty years which followed the foundation of Batavia, worked so successfully to place the medical service there on a

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gradually a local medical service is built up. A course for the training of "barbers" and "chirurgians" is established at Batavia and the standard for their examinations is fixed. The previous experience of the Portuguese and local native knowledge of healing are studied and their results blended with Dutch medical science. In addition to hospitals for the Company's servants at the Cape, Batavia and the "outlying offices," a hospital for native waifs is founded at Batavia and separate hospitals for Chinese and "Moors." A "Chamber of Anatomy" is installed and leprosy hospitals are organized in Batavia and the island of Purmerend.

The care for the convalescent came to be appreciated at its true value and led to the foundation of an "Outer hospital" at Batavia in more salubrious surroundings. And after the discovery by Governor-General Van Imhoff of the hot springs at Chipanas, near Chianjiur (Java), he caused a thermal institute to be established there for the treatment of those convalescents who were unable fully to recover their health. For the transportation of the sick between the Town hospital at Batavia and the Outer hospital, covered *sampans* were arranged and transport took place during the cool hours of the day only. Special bamboo *palanquines* were used for carrying weak patients. Even a better appreciation of mental cases is noticeable in the eighteenth century, when we find an order to construct "comfortable cubicles in which the 'empty-headed' were henceforth to be separated from the other sick."

These random instances give a very incomplete measure of the minute care with which, as Dr. Schoute so poignantly shows, the medical problems of those days—which in a great measure are still ours—were being approached by the Dutch Company. A keen sense of the value of keeping not only its servants, but the population of their settlements generally, in good health has been constantly displayed by the Governors of the

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high level, one turns out to have been a Scot. Hitherto the name "Andreas Dureus" had always been assumed to represent the Latin form of "Andries van Duren, or Van Duuren," who was consequently accepted as being a Hollander. The researches of Dr. Schoute, aided in this respect by Mr. W. G. Readdie, provost of Anstruther, and Dr. R. W. Innes Smith of Sheffield, have established that the great physician was born at Anstruther, the son of the Rev. Robert Durie of that parish, and that his name was "Andrew Durie." In 1605 Robert Durie, owing to religious dissensions, left Scotland for the Netherlands. In 1606 he became the first minister of the Scotch Church in Leyden, where he died in 1616. On his flight to Holland he was accompanied by his son Andrew, who on October 18, 1612, being then eighteen years of age, was admitted to Leyden University as a student of medicine. For some reason he did not take his degree, but on December 26, 1619, sailed to Java as chief surgeon on board the *Hollandia*, owned by the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch East India Company, at a wage of twenty-nine guilders per month. Thus Andrew Durie arrived at Batavia in 1620 and became "Andreas Dureus," under which name he faithfully served his adopted country until his death, which probably occurred at Batavia in 1654 or 1655.

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Company, and Dr. Schoute would seem to have finally proved that all which it was humanly possible to do in those days was done.

Yet the results were deeply disappointing. The terrible loss of life during the voyage out was no less towards the end of the eighteenth century than it had been in the middle of the seventeenth. Dealing with fifteen ships which sailed between 1625 and 1631, and of which full particulars are available, Dr. Schoute concludes that of their 2,550 hands all told, 368, or 14·4 per cent., died before reaching Java. The worst instance was *Het Wapen van Delft*, which on her voyage in 1627 lost 78 men out of 261, or 30 per cent., although in 1631 she made the passage with a loss of only 5 men out of 198. Of 20 vessels which sailed between 1640 and 1648, the total losses *en route* equalled 8 per cent. Now and again a vessel might reach Java in 114 or 115 days without touching land and report her arrival "to our great astonishment direct by sea all the way with healthy crew." The average duration of the voyages was usually much greater than this—viz., 185 days. Rare indeed around 1639 were passages of less than 136 days, whilst the longest recorded lasted 419 days.

Of course, not all deaths were due to disease. Several were the normal result of the complications of the rigging and its dangers, especially during bad weather, and an average loss of 3 or 4 per cent. of the crew might well be considered as unavoidable. Tuberculosis, infected wounds, and pneumonia also accounted for individual deaths. Isolated occurrences of other death causes were noted, such as those of the German "blunderbus-shooter," who, having first drunk too much *arak*, had thereupon, "to quench the fire," imbibed two ewers of water and "thereby, having overwhelmed his heart," died; or the constable's mate, who, "having languished for a time from *morbum gallicum*," had finally succumbed. But in all cases where the death-rate was excessive there appeared no effective remedy against the main causes, which included scorbut, typhoid and "malignant fevers." In fact, the medical reports for 1766, 1767, 1768 show no improvement on these unsatisfactory figures: Of the crews of 25 ships which arrived in 1766, 368 died before reaching the Cape and 199 between the Cape and Batavia, whilst 849 were there landed sick. For 29 ships in 1767 the corresponding figures were 359 and 687 deaths and 1,208 sick. Finally, the results of 22 voyages during the first nine months of 1768 were 364 and 554 deaths and 917 cases of illness. It is estimated that not less than one-third of those landed sick died in hospital.

Comparing the figures so computed with the total crews of these vessels (350 hands per ship on an average), Dr. Schoute reaches for the period 1766-1768 an average death-rate of 16 per cent. No improvement then, but rather a worse average than a century before. And this notwithstanding the Company's unremitting struggle. Nor was the death-rate ashore much better. Thus, at the end of the book, we are shipped back to Amsterdam, disheartened, wearied, at a time when the Honourable Company itself was reaching the end of its career—an end partly brought about by its shortcomings, no doubt, but mainly rendered inevitable by

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"the death-rate on board and in the Indies, which was as a slow hæmorrhage. How much greater would not have been the joint physical and moral power of resistance of those hundreds of thousands of the Company's servants, if death had not restlessly prowled among them!" Granted that "the Company had only one motive for its work in succouring the sick, a motive of a purely businesslike nature: with healthy servants, there was much money to be gained, with sick servants much less, and with the vacant posts of those that died, none at all." Even so Dr. Schoute's impartial and careful study leads him to assert that "during every period of its existence, the Company did, according to its means, strive for better preservation and recovery of the health of its servants." At all times it called in the best available advisers and endeavoured to give effect to the advice received. "Should we then reproach medical science" for this lack of results? "We might with equal ground reproach humanity that three centuries ago it had not yet discovered the art of flying, for which it had so long been searching. Just like this art, medical science had to wait for the development of natural science, which development was in turn to enrich technical practice with a thousand new possibilities. But all this will never do away with the fact that the impotence of medical science has, during those years, had terrible consequences."

In conclusion, the author devotes a few lines of sober but amply merited praise to those medical men who in modern days have unremittingly laboured "day by day to pay off this old debt of honour with compound interest by bringing health and safety of life not only to Europeans, but also to the Indian peoples."

Is it too much to hope that this highly competent author may one day give us an equally fascinating volume on the development of the Dutch medical service in the Indies since the commencement of the nineteenth century and of the honourable contributions to public health made by some of the great agricultural enterprises operating in Java and Sumatra?

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WHERE EAST AND WEST MEET

INDIAN WOMEN'S EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

GENERAL MEETING AND REPORT, 1930

THE general meeting of the Indian Women's Education Association was held in the Lecture Hall, 21, Cromwell Road, London, S.W. 7, on Tuesday, September 9, at 4.30 o'clock.

Sir Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree, K.C.I.E. (Chairman of the Committee), presided, and among those present were Sir B. K. Mullick, Mr. David S. Erulkar and Mrs. Erulkar, Mr. and Mrs. Kotval, Miss Martin, Mrs. C. Mukerjee, Mrs. Palit, Mrs. Polak, Mrs. Basak, Mr. and Mrs. Bonarjee, Mr. and Mrs. S. Dorabjee, Miss Dove, Mrs. Bhuttacharji, Mrs. V. Kantilal Javeri, Mr. A. S. Kalapesi, Miss K. Khandvala, Mr. T. C. Khandwata, Mrs. Mehta, Mr. and Mrs. Patel, Miss E. Olivera, Mrs. Radamji, Mrs. L. H. Nundy, Mr. and Mrs. and Miss Gordon Roy, Miss Mary Sorabji, Miss Vakil, Miss M. Vajifdar, Mr. and Mrs. Westbrook, Miss Western, and Mrs. J. K. Yajhik.

The Chairman requested the Hon. Secretary, Mr. E. Oliver, to read a message of greeting to the assembly from Lady Wedderburn, the President of the Association, which read: "Will you kindly tell the meeting that I send my greetings and much regret that my health does not now permit me to travel, but I am always interested to hear of the progress of the present holders of the scholarship."

(The Secretary then read the report, which will be published in due course.)

The Treasurer, Mr. K. P. Kotval, in submitting the audited accounts of the Association up to December 31, 1929, explained that the funds amounted to about £10,000 and the net income to about £360. The administrative expenses were not more than about £60 a year, and the scholarship grant was one £250 each year. When the balance of income over expenditure permitted, a second scholarship was offered, and it was hoped that two students could be appointed for the training period 1931-32.

The Chairman, in reviewing the period covered by the report, said that the statement regarding the revenue and income of the Association reminded him of the principle that had guided the policy of the Association since he had been actively interested in it—viz., that all societies working for the welfare of India should be independent of financial help from other sources than India. When the Association was started the efforts of the Committee were directed towards collecting funds in this country, and as he was convinced that that policy was a waste of labour and the amount likely to be subscribed in England negligible, he felt bound to decline the invitation to join the Committee until that policy was abandoned.

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The Committee was continuing to work in close co-operation with the Calcutta Branch, who were necessarily in a better position to choose the most eligible candidate on the spot, and also to find good positions for the students when the latter returned to India on the completion of their training here.

Referring to the resignations from the Committee, the Chairman said that these had been accepted for the reasons mentioned in the report, and with great regret, but they were fortunate in securing the invaluable services of Sir B. A. Mullick, who had such a profound knowledge of Indian education; of Mr. David Erulkar, who had had wide business experience; and of Lady Simon, who had already shown herself very active and interested in the affairs of the Association.

With regard to the prospects of recent students, the present holder of the scholarship, Mrs. Basak, gave every promise of being successful; as for Miss Vakil, she had shown exceptional competence under severe handicaps, and her experience at an English college would alone be of great assistance to her in her career as a teacher.

The Chairman then moved the adoption of the report and accounts laid before the meeting. Mrs. Kotval seconded the motion, which was unanimously carried.

Miss Vakil next read a paper relating her experiences as an Indian student in this country.

Sir B. A. Mullick said he had been much impressed by the evidence he had had that afternoon of the good work of the Association, although the names of Sir William Wedderburn and Sir Mancherjee Bhownaggree were guarantee enough of this. Nevertheless if students of the calibre they had listened to at this meeting were being sent out each year, India was being well served. The backwardness of India was largely the result of the backwardness of her womenkind. Hence he was cordially with the suggestion that the number of students should be increased.

Mrs. Polak moved a vote of thanks to Miss Vakil for her entertaining address, and complimented her on the treatment and manner of delivering it. She also referred to the difficulties of arranging for the arrival of new students so as to avoid the winter terms the beginning of their course of training. Mrs. Palit seconded.

The Chairman concluded the proceedings by presenting the Wedderburn Certificate and prize volumes to Miss Vakil.

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EDITORIAL NOTE.

COMMENCING with the next (January, 1931) issue of the ASIATIC REVIEW there will appear a series of articles on the Malay States. The first of them will be entitled "General Development in Malaya under British Protection." Photographs supplied by the Malayan Information Agency are reproduced on pages 626-628 of the present issue.

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